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Saml Genawine
Louisville June 13th 1848

Saml Genawine.

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# ANNALS OF THE WEST:

EMBRACING A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF

## PRINCIPAL EVENTS

WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THE

## WESTERN STATES AND TERRITORIES,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TO THE YEAR EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY FIVE.

COMPILED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY JAMES H. PERKINS.

CINCINNATI:

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# PREFACE.

An attempt has been made in this volume to present the outlines of Western History in a form easy of reference, and drawn from the best authorities: those authorities are in almost every case referred to, and a list of the works consulted may be found on pages xviii, xix, and xx. Whenever it could be done, with a proper regard to conciseness, the words of eye-witnesses have been used in the accounts given of important events.

The limits of this volume have made it necessary to state most matters with great brevity, and, with the exception of the Indian wars in 1790–95, no subject has received a full developement; upon that portion of our history the Compiler dwelt longer than upon any other, because the conduct of the administration of Washington toward the Aborigines is believed to be among the most honorable passages of American Annals. The events of the last war, and those which have occurred since, are given in a few words comparatively,—as many volumes are in circulation which state their details.

A Chronological Table, an Index which it is believed will be found sufficiently full, and three Maps, illustrating the early settlements, are added to the Annals, making in all a volume of 612 pages,—one hundred more than the Publisher promised in his Prospectus.

Notwithstanding great care has been taken in preparing this work, many mistakes have been made, a list of those noticed is on page 592; and it is not supposed that it is free from other important errors and omissions: if any one will point out these, or any of them to the Compiler by letter or otherwise, it will be regarded as a favor, as his wish is to make any future editions, if called for, as full and exact as possible.

Hoping that this volume may prove of some service to the Student of Western History, and of some interest to the inhabitants of the Great Valley, it is

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO THE

NATIVES OF THE WEST.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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| 1512. | | Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. |
| 1516. | | Diego Miruelo visits Florida. |
| 1526. | | Pamphilo de Narvaez goes to Florida. |
| 1538. | | De Soto asks leave to conquer Florida. |
| 1539. | May, | De Soto reaches Tampa bay. |
| | November, | De Soto reaches Appalachee bay. |
| 1540. | | De Soto in Georgia. |
| | October, | De Soto reaches Mavilla on the Alabama. |
| 1541. | May, | De Soto reaches Mississippi.<br>De Soto crosses it and goes to Washita. |
| 1542. | | De Soto descends Washita to Mississippi. |
| | May 21, | De Soto dies.<br>His followers try to reach Mexico by land and fail. |
| 1543. | July, | De Soto's followers reach Mexico by water. |
| 1544. | | De Biedma presents his account of De Soto's expedition to King of Spain. |
| 1616. | | Le Caron explores Upper Canada. |
| 1630. | | Charles 1st grants Carolana to Sir Robert Heath. |
| 1634. | | First mission founded near Lake Huron. |
| 1641. | | French at Falls of St. Mary, Lake Superior. |
| 1660. | | First missionary station on Lake Superior. |
| 1664. | | Colonel Wood's alledged travels previous to this year. |
| 1665. | | Allouez founds first permanent station on Lake Superior. |
| 1668. | | Mission at St. Mary's Falls founded. |
| 1670. | | Perrot explores Lake Michigan.<br>La Salle first goes to Canada.<br>Alledged travels of Captain Bolt. |
| 1671. | | French take formal possession of the northwest.<br>Marquette founds St. Ignatius on Strait of Mackinac. |
| 1673. | May 13, | Marquette and his companions leave Mackinac to seek the Mississippi. |
| | June 10, | Marquette and his companions cross from Fox river to Wisconsin. |
| | June 17, | Marquette and his companions reach Mississippi. |
| | June 21, | Marquette and his companions meet Illinois Indians. |
| | July, | Marquette and his companions reach Arkansas. |
| | July 17, | Marquette and his companions leave on return to Canada. |
| | September, | Marquette and his companions reach Green Bay. |
| 1675. | May 18, | Marquette dies.<br>La Salle goes to France to see the King. |
| 1676. | | La Salle rebuilds Fort Frontenac. |
| 1677. | | La Salle visits France a second time. |
| 1678. | July 14, | La Salle and Tonti sail for Canada. |
| | Sept. 15, | La Salle and Tonti arrive at Quebec. |
| | Nov. 18, | La Salle and Tonti cross Lake Ontario.<br>Persons from New England said to have explored the southwest. |
| 1679. | January, | La Salle loses his stores. |
| | August 7, | The Griffin sails up Lake Erie. |
| | August 27, | The Griffin at Mackinac. |

1679. Sept. 18, The Griffin sent back to Niagara.
Nov. 1, La Salle at St. Joseph's river, Lake Michigan.
Dec. 3, La Salle crosses to Kankakee.

1680. Jan. 4th, La Salle in Peoria Lake.
Fort Crevecœur built.
Feb. 28, Hennepin sent to explore Mississippi.
March, La Salle returns to Canada.
April&May, Hennepin on the Mississippi. [Illinois.
September, Tonti after commencing Fort St. Louis (Rock fort,) forced to leave the
Oct. & Nov. La Salle returns to the Illinois.
November, Hennepin returns to Canada.

1681. June, La Salle and Tonti meet at Mackinac.
August, La Salle a third time goes to the Illinois.
Nov. 3, La Salle at St. Joseph's again.

1682. Jan. 5 or 6, La Salle goes from Chicago westward.
Feb. 6, La Salle on banks of the Mississippi.
Feb. 13, La Salle descends Mississippi.
March 6, La Salle discovers mouths of Mississippi.
September, La Salle returns to St. Joseph's of Michigan.

1683. Dec. 13, La Salle reaches France.

1684. July 24, La Salle sails from France for mouth of Mississippi.
Sept. 20, La Salle reaches St. Domingo.
Nov. 25, La Salle sails from St. Domingo for mouth of Mississippi.
Dec. 28, La Salle discovers the main land.
Iroquois place themselves under England.

1685. January, La Salle in Gulf of Mexico.
February 4, La Salle sends party on shore to go eastward for mouth of Mississippi.
Feb. 13, La Salle reaches Matagorda Bay.
March 15, La Salle left in Texas.
July, La Salle building in Texas: unfortunate.
August, La Salle building in Texas: unfortunate.
Dec. La Salle goes to look for Mississippi.

1686. March, La Salle returns to Matagorda Bay.
April, La Salle goes again to seek the Mississippi.
April, Tonti goes down Mississippi to meet La Salle.
August, La Salle returns unsuccessful.

1687. Jan. 12, La Salle leaves for Mississippi the third time.
March 15, La Salle sends men to look for stores.
March 17, La Salle follows and is killed by those men.
May, His murderers quarrel; seven go on toward Mississippi.
July 24, The seven reach the Arkansas.
Sept. 14, The seven reach Fort St. Louis on Illinois river.

1688. La Hontan's travels to the "Long river."

1693. Before this time Gravier, the founder of Kaskaskia, was among the
Kaskaskia founded, date unknown. [Illinois.
Cahokia founded, date unknown.
Peoria founded, date unknown.

1698. Oct. 17, D'Iberville leaves France for Mississippi.
Dr. Coxe sends two vessels to the Mississippi.

1699. Jan. 31, D'Iberville in Bay of Mobile.
March 2, D'Iberville enters Mississippi.
D'Iberville returns to France.
September, Bienville sounds Mississippi and meets English.

1700. January, D'Iberville returns from France.
D'Iberville goes up the Mississippi.
D'Iberville sends Le Sueur for copper.

1701. De la Motte Cadillac founds Detroit.
D'Iberville founds colony on Mobile river.
Iroquois again place themselves under England.

1707. First grants of land at Detroit.

1708. D'Artaguette in Louisiana.

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| 1710. | | Governor Spotswood of Virginia explores the Alleghanies. |
| 1712. | | Louisiana granted to Crozat. |
| 1714. | | Fort Rosalie commenced. |
| 1717. | | Crozat resigns Louisiana. |
| | September, | Louisiana trade granted to Company of West. |
| 1718. | | Colonists sent to Louisiana and New Orleans laid out. |
| 1719. | | Company of the West made Company of the Indies. |
| 1720. | January, | Law made minister of finance. |
| | April, | Stock of Company of the Indies worth 2050 per cent. |
| | May, | Company of Indies bankrupt. |
| 1722. | | Charlevoix visits West. |
| 1726. | | Iroquois a third time place themselves under England. |
| 1729. | Nov. 28, | French among the Natchez murdered. |
| 1730. | Jan. & Feb., | Natchez conquered and destroyed. |
| | | Alleged travels of Salling in the West. |
| 1731. | | Previous to this Governor Keith wishes West secured to England. |
| 1732. | | Company of Indies resign Louisiana to King. |
| | July 14, | Daniel Boone born. |
| 1735. | | Vincennes settled according to some, (see pp. 40 and 41.) |
| 1736. | May, | Expedition of French against Chickasaws. |
| | May 20, | D'Artaguette conquered. |
| | May 27, | Bienville fails in assault on Chickasaws. |
| | May 31, | Bienville retreats. |
| 1739. | | French collect to attack Chickasaws. |
| 1740. | March, | Peace between French and Chickasaws. |
| 1742. | | John Howard goes down Ohio. |
| 1744. | | Treaty of English and Iroquois at Lancaster. |
| | | Vaudreuil fears English influence in West. |
| 1746. | | Illinois makes large exports. |
| 1748. | | Chickasaws attack French post on Arkansas. |
| | | Conrad Weiser sent to Ohio. |
| | | Ohio Company formed. |
| 1749. | | Grant of land to Loyal Company. |
| | | Celeron sent to bury medals along Ohio. |
| | | English fort built on Great Miami. |
| | | English traders seized on Maumee. |
| 1750. | | Five French villages in Illinois. |
| | | Forty vessels at New Orleans. |
| | | Dr. Walker explores Kentucky. |
| 1751. | | Christopher Gist explores Ohio and Great Miami. |
| | November, | Gist surveys lands south of Ohio, east of Kanawha. |
| | | General Andrew Lewis surveys for Greenbriar Company. |
| 1752. | | French build forts on French creek. |
| | | French attack English post on Great Miami. |
| | June, | Treaty of Logstown. |
| | | Families settle west of Alleghanies. |
| 1753. | May, | Pennsylvania Assembly informed of French movements. |
| | June, | Commissioner sent to warn French. |
| | | Trent sent with arms for friendly Indians. |
| | August, | Colonies authorized to resist French by force. |
| | September, | Treaty of Winchester. |
| | | Treaty with Iroquois ordered by England. |
| | October, | Treaty of Carlisle. |
| | | Ohio Company open line of "Braddock's road." |
| | Nov. 15, | Washington leaves Will's creek for Ohio. |
| | Nov. 22, | Washington reaches Monongehela. |
| | Dec. 4, | Washington reaches Venango. |
| | Dec. 11, | Washington reaches French Commander. |

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| 1754 | Jan. 6, | Washington returns to Will's creek. |
| | | Troops called out by Virginia. |
| | April, | French fort at Venango finished. |
| | April, | Virginia troops moving westward. |
| | April 17, | Fort at the Fork of the Ohio taken by French. |
| | May, | Washington crosses Alleghanies. |
| | May 28, | Washington attacks and kills Jumonville. |
| | June, | New York sends £5000 to Virginia. |
| | July 1, | Washington at Fort Necessity. |
| | July 3, | Washington capitulates. |
| | October, | Washington retires to Mount Vernon. |
| | | French hold the whole West. |
| 1755. | January, | France proposes a compromise. |
| | Feb. 20, | Braddock lands in Virginia. |
| | April, | France and England send fleets to America. |
| | April 20, | Braddock marches westward. |
| | May 20, | Expedition against Nova Scotia leaves Boston. |
| | July 8, | Braddock reaches Monongehela. |
| | July 9, | Braddock defeated. |
| | July 13, | Braddock died. |
| 1756. | January, | Lewis commands an expedition against the Ohio Indians, and fails. |
| | April, | Indians fill the Valley of Virginia. |
| | May, | War declared between France and England. |
| | September, | Armstrong attacks Indians at Kittaning. |
| | | First treaty of Easton. |
| 1757. | | Massacre of Fort William Henry. |
| | June 29, | Pitt returns to office. |
| 1758. | | Louisburg and Fort Frontenac taken. |
| | July 15, | Post leaves for the Ohio river to conciliate the Indians. |
| | August 24, | Post confers with Indians at Fort Pitt. |
| | Sept. 21, | Grant defeated. |
| | October, | Washington opening a road over the mountains. |
| | Nov. 5, | Washington at Loyalhanna. |
| | Nov. 25, | Washington at Fort Du Quesne, which the French left on the 24th. |
| | | Second treaty of Easton. |
| | | Post's second mission to Ohio Indians. |
| 1759. | | Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec yield to English. |
| 1760. | Sept. 8, | The French yield Canada. |
| | | Cherokee War. |
| | | General Monkton treats with the Indians at Fort Pitt for land. |
| | | Settlers go over the mountains. |
| | Sept. 13, | Rogers goes to Detroit. |
| | Nov. 19, | Rogers reaches Detroit. |
| | December, | Rogers returns across Ohio to Fort Pitt. |
| 1761. | | Alexander Henry visits northwest. |
| | | Christian Post goes to settle on the Muskingum. |
| 1762. | | Bouquet warns settlers off of Indian lands. |
| | | Post and Heckewelder go to Muskingum. |
| | Nov. 3. | Preliminaries to peace of Paris settled, Louisiana transferred to Spain. |
| 1763. | Feb. 10, | Treaty of Paris concluded. |
| | May 9, | Detroit attacked by Pontiac. |
| | June 4, | Mackinac taken by Indians. |
| | June, | Presqu'ile (Erie) taken by Indians. |
| | June to Aug. | Fort Pitt besieged and relieved by Bouquet. |
| | October, | Proclamation to protect Indian lands. |
| | Nov. 3, | M. Laclede arrives in St. Genevieve. |
| | December, | M. Laclede selects site of St. Louis. |
| 1764. | June to Aug. | Bradstreet makes peace with northern Indians. |
| | November, | Bouquet makes peace with Ohio Indians. |
| | April 21, | French officers ordered to give up Louisiana to Spain. |
| 1765. | April, | Sir William Johnson makes treaty at German Flats. |
| | May, June, | George Croghan goes westward. |
| | | Captain Stirling for England takes possession of Illinois. |

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| 1766. | | Settlers cross mountains.<br>Walpole Company proposed.<br>Colonel James Smith visits Kentucky. |
| 1767. | | Western Indians grow impatient.<br>Franklin labors for Walpole Company.<br>Finley visits Kentucky.<br>Zeisberger founds mission on the Alleghany. |
| 1768. | Oct. 24, | Treaty of Fort Stanwix by which the title of the Iroquois to all south of the Ohio is purchased. |
| 1769. | March, | Mississippi Company proposed. |
| | May 1, | Boone and others start for Kentucky. |
| | June 7, | Boone and others reach Red river. |
| | Dec. 22, | Boone taken by Indians. |
| 1770. | October, | Treaty of Lochaber.<br>Ohio Company merged in Walpole Company.<br>Washington visits the West.<br>The Long Hunters explore the West.<br>The Zanes found Wheeling.<br>Moravians invited to Big Beaver.<br>Captain Pittman in Illinois.<br>Spain obtains possession of St. Louis. |
| 1771. | March, | The Boones return to North Carolina. |
| 1772. | | Indians killed by whites on Lower Kenawha. |
| | May 3, | Moravians invited by Delawares, found Shoenbrun on the Muskingum. |
| | April, | General Gage's proclamation against settlers on Wabash. |
| 1773. | Sept. 25, | Boone and others start to settle Kentucky. |
| | Oct. 10, | Boone and others are attacked by Indians and turn back.<br>Bullitt, McAfee, &c., descend the Ohio.<br>Bullitt, McAfee, &c., survey at Falls, and on Kentucky river.<br>General Thompson surveys in the valley of the Licking.<br>General Lyman goes to Natchez. |
| | July, | Purchase by Illinois Company in Illinois. |
| 1774. | | James Harrod in Kentucky. [within Virginia. |
| | January, | Dunmore sends Connolly to take possession of Pittsburgh as being |
| | Jan. 25, | Connolly calls out the militia; he is arrested by St. Clair; his followers are riotous, and fire on the Indians. |
| | March 28, | Connolly, released on parole, comes to Pittsburgh with an armed force. He rebuilds the fort and calls it Fort Dunmore. |
| | April 16, | Cherokees attack a boat on the Ohio. |
| | April 21, | Connolly writes to the settlers to beware of the Indians.<br>Cresap, having Connolly's letter, attacks Indians.<br>Greathouse murders several Indians.<br>Preparations for war.<br>Logan revenges his family. |
| | June, | Boone sent for surveyors in Kentucky. |
| | June 10, | Friendly Shawanese attacked by Connolly.<br>Traders murdered. |
| | July, | McDonald attacks Wappatomica. |
| | Sept. 6 & 12, | Troops under Lewis march down Kenhawa. |
| | Oct. 6, | Troops under Lewis reach Point Pleasant. |
| | Oct. 10, | Battle of Point Pleasant. |
| | November, | Dunmore makes peace. |
| 1775. | March 17, | Treaty of Wataga; purchase by Transylvania Company. |
| | April 1, | Boone goes to Kentucky and founds Boonesboro'. |
| | April 20, | Henderson reaches Boonesboro'. |
| | May 23, | Henderson calls representatives together. |
| | May 27, | Legislature adjourns. |
| | April, | Massachusetts Council try to prevent hostility by Iroquois. |
| | May, | Guy Johnson influences Iroquois against Americans. |
| | June 28, | Oneidas and Tuscaroras adhere to America. |
| | June, | Boone and several families move to Kentucky. |
| | July, | Congress forms three Indian Departments. |
| | August, | Meeting of Commissioners and Indians at Albany. |
| | October, | Meeting of Commissioners and Indians at Pittsbro'.<br>Connolly arrested in Maryland. |
| | October, | Purchase by Wabash Company on Wabash. |

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| 1776. | April 29, | An attack on Detroit proposed in Congress. |
| | April 19, | Washington advises the employment of the Indians. |
| | May, | Indians incline to British. |
| | June 3, | Congress authorises the employment of Indians. |
| | July 7 to 21, | Indians attack Kentuckians; settlers leave. |
| | | George Rogers Clark moves to Kentucky. |
| | June 6, | Kentuckians petition Virginia for admission as citizens, and choose Clark and Jones members of Virginia Assembly. |
| | August 23, | Clark procures powder from Council of Virginia. |
| | Dec. 7, | Virginia admits Kentucky among her counties. |
| | | Clark and Jones return by Pittsbro' with powder. |
| | Dec. 25, | Jones killed while going for powder to Limestone. |
| | | Clark reaches Harrodsburg. |
| 1777. | Summer, | Cornstalk murdered at Point Pleasant. |
| | | Congress of Indians and British at Oswego. |
| | Spring, | Kentucky infested with savages. |
| | April, | Kentucky chooses Burgesses. |
| | May, | Logan's station attacked. |
| | April 20 to | June 22—Clark's spies in Illinois. |
| | August, | Logan crosses the mountains for powder. |
| | | Colonel Bowman and 100 men come from Virginia. |
| | Sep.26 & 27, | Fort Henry (Wheeling) attacked. |
| | September, | First Court at Harrodsburg. |
| | Oct. 1, | Clark leaves for Virginia. |
| | Nov. 20, | The attack on Detroit urged in Congress. |
| | Dec. 10, | Clark opens his plan for conquering Illinois to Governor of Virginia. |
| 1778. | January 2, | Orders issued to Clark to attack Illinois. |
| | February 7, | Boone taken prisoner at Blue Lick. |
| | March 10, | Boone carried to Detroit. |
| | June 24, | Clark passes Falls of Ohio. |
| | June 16, | Boone escapes. |
| | May, | McIntosh commands at Fort Pitt. |
| | | Fort McIntosh built. |
| | June 25, | New Jersey objects to land claims of Virginia. |
| | July 4, | Clark takes Kaskaskia. |
| | July 6, | Clark takes Cahokia. |
| | Aug. 1, | St. Vincents joins the American cause. |
| | Aug. 1, | Boone goes to attack Paint creek town. |
| | Aug. 8, | Boonesboro' besieged. |
| | | Fort Laurens built. |
| | September, | Clark holds council with the Indians. |
| | Sept. 17, | Treaty with Delawares at Pittsbro'. |
| | October, | Virginia grants Henderson and Company 200,000 acres on Green river. |
| | December, | Governor Hamilton takes Vincennes. |
| 1779. | Jan. 29, | Clark hears of capture of Vincennes. |
| | January, | Delaware objects to land claims of Virginia. |
| | Feb. 7, | Clark starts against Hamilton. |
| | Feb. 24, | Hamilton surrenders. |
| | | Hamilton is sent to Virginia. |
| | April 1, | Americans suspect and attack Iroquois. |
| | | Lexington Kentucky settled. |
| | May, | Virginia passes land laws. |
| | May 21, | Maryland objects to land claims of Virginia. |
| | July, | General Sullivan devastates Iroquois country. |
| | July, | Bowman's expedition against Indian towns on Miamies. |
| | August, | Fort Laurens abandoned. |
| | September, | Indians treat with Brodhead at Fort Pitt. |
| | October, | Rogers and Benham attacked by Indians. |
| | Oct. 13, | Land Commissioners open their sessions in Kentucky. |
| | Oct. 30, | Congress asks Virginia to reconsider land laws. |
| 1780. | | Hard winter—great suffering. |
| | Feb. 19, | New York authorises a cession of western lands. |
| | Spring, | Fort Jefferson built on Mississippi. |
| | Spring, | Great emigration to Kentucky. |
| | May, | Virginia grants lands in Kentucky for education. |
| | May, | St. Louis attacked by British and Indians. |
| | | Louisville established by law. |
| | June, | Byrd invades Kentucky. |

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| 1780. | July, | Clark prepares to attack Shawanese. |
| | July, | He destroys British store on Miami, &c. |
| | Sept. 6, | Resolution of Congress relative to western lands. |
| | October, | Connecticut passes first act of cession. |
| | October, | Fort Pitt threatened by savages. |
| | November, | Kentucky divided into three counties. |
| | December, | Clark prepares to attack Detroit. |
| 1781. | Jan. 2, | Virginia makes her first act of cession. |
| | January, | Spaniards take St. Joseph's. |
| | Feb. 15, | Mr. Jay instructed that he may yield the navigation of the Mississippi. |
| | March 1, | New York cedes her western lands. |
| | | Brodhead attacks Delawares on Muskingum. |
| | April 16, | Mary Heckewelder born; first white child in Ohio. |
| | | Americans begin to settle in Illinois. |
| | | Chickasaws attack fort Jefferson. |
| | September, | Colonel Floyd rescued by Wells. |
| | September, | Moravians carried to Sandusky by British and Indians. |
| | October, | Moravian missionaries taken to Detroit. |
| | | Williamson leads a party against the Moravians, but finds the town deserted. |
| | | Kentucky organized. |
| | | Great emigration of girls to Kentucky. |
| 1782. | March, | Moravians murdered by Americans. |
| | March, | Moravian missionaries taken to Detroit. |
| | March 22, | Estill's defeat. |
| | June, | Crawford's expedition. |
| | June 11, | Crawford burnt. |
| | Aug. 14, | Attack on Bryant's station. |
| | Aug. 19, | Battle of the Blue Licks. |
| | September, | Clark invades the Miami valleys the second time. |
| | November, | Land offices opened. |
| | Nov. 30, | Provisional articles of peace with Great Britain. |
| 1783. | Jan. 20, | Hostilities of United States and Great Britain cease. |
| | March, | Kentucky formed into one District. |
| | April 18, | Congress calls on States to cede lands. |
| | April 19, | Peace proclaimed to the army. |
| | | English propose to carry away negroes. |
| | May, | Washington protests against course of English. |
| | June, | Rufus Putnam applies for lands in west. |
| | July 12, | Baron Steuben sent to receive western posts. |
| | August, | Cassaty sent to Detroit. |
| | | Virginia withdraws Clark's commission. |
| | Sept. 3, | Definitive treaty of peace. |
| | Sept. 7, | Washington writes to Duane about western lands. |
| | Sept. 13, | Congress proposes terms of cession to Virginia. |
| | Sept. 22, | Congress forbids all purchases of Indian lands. |
| | Oct. 15, | Congress instructs Indian Commissioners. |
| | | Virginia grants Clark and his soldiers lands. |
| | Dec. 20. | Virginia authorises cession on terms proposed. |
| | Nov. 25, | British leave New York taking negroes. |
| | | Daniel Brodhead opens a store in Louisville. |
| 1784. | Jan. 4, | Treaty of peace ratified by United States. |
| | February, | James Wilkinson goes to Lexington Kentucky. |
| | March 1, | Virginia gives deed of cession. |
| | March 4, | Indian Commissioners reinstructed. |
| | | Pittsburgh re-surveyed. |
| | April 9, | Treaty of peace ratified by England. |
| | June 22, | Virginia refuses to comply with treaty. |
| | July, | England refuses to deliver up western posts. |
| | Oct. 22, | Treaty with Iroquois at Fort Stanwix. |
| | | Logan calls meeting at Danville. |
| | Dec. 27, | First Kentucky Convention meets. |
| | | Kentucky receives many emigrants. |
| 1785. | Jan. 21, | Treaty with Delawares, &c., at Fort McIntosh. |
| | April, | An attempt to settle at mouth of Scioto. |
| | May 20, | Ordinance for survey of western lands passed. |
| | May 23. | Second Kentucky Convention meets. |
| | July, | Don Gardoqui comes from Spain. |
| | August 8, | Third Kentucky Convention meets. |

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| 1785. | August, | Indians threaten hostility. |
| | | Great confederacy of northwestern Indians formed by Brant. |
| | | Fort Harmar built. |
| 1786. | January, | Brant visits England to learn purposes of ministers. |
| | January, | Virginia agrees to independence of Kentucky. |
| | Jan. 10, | Putnam and Tupper call meeting to form Ohio Company. |
| | Jan. 31, | Treaty with Shawanese at Fort Finney, (mouth of Great Miami.) |
| | March 1, | Ohio Company of Associates formed. |
| | May 16, | Governor of Virginia writes to Congress respecting Indian invasions. |
| | May, | The negotiations as to Mississippi before Congress. |
| | May 26, | Resolution of Congress produces cession by Connecticut. |
| | June 30, | Congress authorises the invasion of northwestern territory. |
| | July 29, | Pittsburgh Gazette first published. |
| | August, | Mr. Jay authorized to yield navigation of Mississippi for a term of years. |
| | September, | Clark and his troops at Vincennes. |
| | Sept. 14, | Connecticnt makes second act of cession. |
| | October, | Clark's troops leave him. |
| | October 8, | Clark seizes Spanish property at Vincennes. |
| | November, | Virginia protests against yielding navigation of Mississippi. |
| | | Great dissatisfaction in the west. |
| | November, | Governor of Virginia informed as to Clark's movements. |
| | Dec. 22, | Great Indian Council in northwest; they address Congress. |
| 1787. | January, | Fourth Kentucky Convention meets. |
| | March 8, | Ohio Company chooses Directors. |
| | May, | Meeting in Kentucky relative to navigation of Mississippi. |
| | June, | Wilkinson goes to New Orleans. |
| | July. | Dr. Cutler negotiates with Congress for lands for Ohio Company. |
| | July 27, | Congress make order in favor of Ohio Company. |
| | July 13, | Ordinance passed for government of northwestern territory. |
| | July, | Harry Innis refuses to prosecute invaders of Indian lands. |
| | August 18, | Kentucky Gazette established. |
| | August 29, | Symmes applies for land. |
| | | Entries of Virginia Military Reserve, north of Ohio, begin. |
| | Sept. 17, | Fifth Kentucky Convention meets. |
| | Oct. 27, | Ohio Company completes contract for lands. |
| | Oct. 2, | Symmes' application referred to Board of Treasury. |
| | Oct. 3, | Troops ordered west. |
| | Oct. 5, | St. Clair appointed Governor of northwestern territory. |
| | Nov. 23, | Preparations made by Ohio Company to send settlers west. |
| | Nov. 26, | Symmes issues proposals for settlers. |
| | December, | John Brown, first western representative goes to Congress. |
| 1788. | Summer, | Indians expected to make treaty at Marietta. |
| | | Great emigration; 4,500 persons pass Fort Harmar. |
| | January, | Denman purchases Cincinnati. |
| | Feb. 29, | The admission of Kentucky debated in Congress. |
| | April 7, | Ohio Company settlers land at Muskingum. |
| | July 2, | Marietta named. |
| | July 3, | The admission of Kentucky refused by Congress. |
| | July 9, | St. Clair reaches northwestern territory. |
| | July 28, | Sixth Kentucky Convention meets. |
| | July 25, | First law of northwestern territory published. |
| | | Symmes starts for the west |
| | August, | Losantiville (Cincinnati) laid out. |
| | Sept. 2, | First court held at Marietta. |
| | Sept. 22, | Symmes reaches his purchase. |
| | | Great Indian Council in northwest to forbid treaties with separate nations. |
| | Nov. 4, | Seventh Kentucky Convention meets. |
| | Nov. 18, | Columbia settled by Stites. |
| | November, | Dr. Connolly in Kentucky as a British agent. |
| | Dec. 24, | The founders of Cincinnati leave Maysville. |
| | Dec. 28, | Cincinnati reached according to McMillan. |
| | Dec. 29, | Virginia passes third act to make Kentucky independent. |
| | | George Morgan removes to New Madrid. |
| 1789. | Jan. 9, | Treaties of Fort Harmar concluded. |
| | | Wilkinson goes to New Orleans again. |
| | Spring, | Daniel Story, first teacher and preacher, in Ohio Company's purchase. |
| | June, | Symmes' settlements threatened by Indians. |
| | June, | Major Doughty arrives at Symmes' purchase and begins Ft. Washington. |

1789. July, Western scouts withdrawn by Virginia.
July 20, Eighth Kentucky Convention meets.
September, Governor Miro of New Orleans writes Sebastian.
Sept. 29, Congress empowers President to call out western militia.
Oct. 6, President authorises Governor St. Clair to call out militia.
Dec. 29, General Harmar reaches Cincinnati with 300 troops.

1790. Jan. 1 or 2, Governor St. Clair at Cincinnati, which name is then given it.
Spring, St. Clair goes west to Kaskaskia.
April, Gamelin sent to Wabash Indians.
May, Indian hostilities take place.
July 15, St. Clair calls out western militia.
July 26, Ninth Kentucky Convention meets.
Sept. 15, Troops gather at Fort Washington.
Sept. 30, Harmar leaves Fort Washington.
Oct. 15, Colonel Hardin with the advance reaches Miami villages.
Oct. 17, Main army reaches Miami villages.
Oct. 18, Trotter goes after Indians.
Oct. 19, Hardin's first defeat.
Oct. 22, Hardin's second defeat.
December, Kentuckians petition Congress to fight Indians in their own way.
December, Admission of Kentucky to United States brought before Congress.
December, Massie and others contract to settle Manchester.

1791. Jan. 2, Big Bottom settlement destroyed by Indians.
Feb. 4, Congress agree to admit Kentucky.
March 3, Excise laid on spirits.
March 9, Scott of Kentucky authorised to march against Indians.
March 12, Procter starts on his western mission.
April 27, Procter reaches Buffalo creek.
May 5, Procter is refused a vessel to cross Lake Erie.
May 15, St. Clair at Fort Washington preparing his expedition.
May 21, Procter abandons his mission.
May 23, Scott marches up Wabash.
July 27, Meeting at Brownsville against excise.
August 1, Wilkinson marches against Eel river Indians.
Sept. 6, Collector of Alleghany and Washington counties (Penn.) attacked.
Sept. 7. Meeting at Pittsburgh against excise.
Sept. 17, St. Clair commences his march.
Oct. 12, Fort Jefferson commenced.
October, Wilson maltreated in west of Pennsylvania.
Nov. 4, St. Clair's defeat.
Nov. 8, The remainder of the army at Fort Washington.
December, Convention elected to form Constitution for Kentucky.

1792. January 7, Peace offered by the U. States to the Indians, through the Senecas.
January 9, Pond and Stedman sent west.
Feb. Brant invited to Philadelphia.
Feb. 1, Wilkinson sends to field of St. Clair's defeat.
Gallipolis settled.
March, Iroquois chiefs visit Philadelphia.
April 3, Instructions issued to Trueman.
April 3, Kentucky Constitution prepared.
May 8, Excise laws amended.
May 8, Captain Hendrick sent west.
May 22, Instructions issued to Rufus Putnam.
May 22, Trueman leaves Fort Washington--Hardin also.
June General Wayne moves westward.
June 20, Brant visits Philadelphia.
Fire lands given to sufferers, by Connecticut.
July 7, Indians seize O. M. Spencer, &c.
Aug. 21, Great anti-excise meeting at Pittsburgh.
Sept. 15, Washington issues proclamation on Excise law.
Sept. 27, R. Putnam makes a treaty at Vincennes.
Nov. 6, Adair attacked near Fort St. Clair.
Nov. 6. Opposition to excise law diminishes.
December, United States troops at Legionville, on the Ohio.

1793. March 1st, Lincoln, Randolph and Pickering, appointed to treat with Indians.
April, United States legion goes down to Cincinnati.
April 8, Genet reaches United States.
May 17, Commissioners reach Niagara.
May 18, Genet is presented to Washington.
May 30, First Democratic society in Philadelphia.

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| 1793. | June, | Commissioners correspond with Governor Simcoe. |
| | July 15, | Commissioners meet Brant and hold a council. |
| | July 21, | Commissioners at Elliott's house, mouth of Detroit river. |
| | July 31, | Commissioners meet Indian delegates. |
| | Aug. 16, | Final action of the commissioners and Indians. |
| | Oct. 7, | Wayne leaves Cincinnati with his legion. |
| | Oct. 13, | Wayne encamps at Greenville. |
| | Oct. 24, | Wayne is joined by Kentuckians under Scott. |
| | Oct. 17, | Lowry and Boyd attacked. |
| | Nov. | French emissaries sent west. |
| | Dec. 25, | Field of St. Clair's defeat taken possession of by Wayne's troops. |
| | Dec. 25, | Dissatisfaction in the West. |
| | | Opposition to excise feebler. |
| 1794. | January, | Whiskey riots recommence. |
| | February, | Lord Dorchester's speech to Indians. |
| | February, | The Mingo Creek Association formed. |
| | Spring, | Wayne prepares for his campaign. |
| | April, | General Simcoe builds a fort on the Maumee. |
| | April, | Democratic society formed at Pittsburgh. |
| | May, | Spaniards offer help to Indians. |
| | May, | French emissaries forced to leave west. |
| | Summer, | Contest respecting Presqu'isle. |
| | June 30, | Indians attacked Fort Recovery, |
| | June, | Suits commenced against whiskey rioters. |
| | July 16, | First gathering about Neville's house. |
| | July 17, | Neville's house burnt. |
| | July 23, | Meeting at Mingo Creek. |
| | July 26, | Mail robbed by Bradford. |
| | July 26, | Scott, with 1600 men, joins Wayne. |
| | Aug. 1, | Great gathering at Braddock's field. |
| | Aug. 7, | Washington issues proclamation against whiskey rioters. |
| | Aug. 8, | Wayne near Maumee. |
| | Aug. 13, | Wayne sends his last peace message to Indians. |
| | Aug. 18, | Wayne builds Fort Deposit. |
| | Aug. 20, | Wayne meets and conquers Indians. |
| | Aug. 21, | Commissioners of government meet committee of rioters. |
| | Sept. | British try to prevent Indians making peace. |
| | Sept. 11, | Vote taken upon obedience to the law in Pennsylvania. |
| | Sept. 25, | Washington calls out militia. |
| | Sept & Oct | Fort Wayne built. |
| | Dec. 28, | Indians ask for peace of Colonel Hamtramck. |
| 1795. | Jan. 24, | Indians sign preliminaries of a treaty. |
| | Spring, | Prisoners are interchanged. |
| | May, | Connecticut prepares to sell her reserve. |
| | June 16, | Council of Greenville opens. |
| | July, | The Baron de Carondelet writes Sebastian. |
| | July, | Jay's treaty formed. |
| | Aug. 3, | Treaty of Greenville signed. |
| | Aug. 10, | Council of Greenville closed. |
| | August, | Grant by Congress to Gallipolis settlers. |
| | Sept 5 or 9, | Connecticut sells Western Reserve to Land company. |
| | Oct. 27, | Pinckney concludes treaty with Spain. |
| | Nov. 4, | Dayton laid out. |
| 1796. | | Chillicothe founded. |
| | | M. Adet, French Minister, sends emissaries to disaffect the west to the union. |
| | | Sebastian visits the southwest. |
| | Sept. | Cleveland laid out and named. |
| | July, | British give up posts in northwest. |
| | August, | Difficulties with Spain begin. |
| | August, | General Wayne died. |
| | August, | First paper mill in the west. |
| 1797. | | Power visits Kentucky, and writes to Sebastian. |
| | Oct. | Daniel Boone moves west of Mississippi. |
| | Oct. | Occupying claimant law of Kentucky passed, |
| 1798. | | W. H. Harrison appointed secretary of Northwest territory. |
| | | Alien and sedition laws passed. |
| | | Nullifying resolutions in Kentucky. |
| | | Death abolished in Kentucky, except for murder. |
| | Dec. | Representatives for Northwest territory first chosen. |

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| 1799; | Feb. 4, | Representatives of Northwest territory meet to nominate candidates for Council. |
| | February, | Kentucky constitution amended. |
| | February | Internal improvements talked of in Kentucky. |
| | Sept. 24, | Assembly of Northwest territory organizes at Cincinnati. |
| | Oct. 6, | W. H. Harrison appointed delegate in Congress for N. West territory. |
| 1800. | May 7, | Indiana territory formed. |
| | May 30, | Connecticut yields jurisdiction of her reserve to the U. States, and U. States gives her patents for the soil. |
| | Oct. 1, | Treaty of St. Ildefonso. |
| | Nov. 3, | Assembly of Northwest territory meets at Chillicothe. |
| | Nov. 3, | First missionary in Connecticut Reserve. |
| 1801. | | W. H. Harrison appointed Governor of Indiana territory. |
| | | St. Clair re-appointed Governor of Northwest territory. |
| | | Cincinnati, in place of Chillicothe, again made seat of government for Northwest territory. |
| | Dec. | Thomas Worthington goes to Washington to procure the erection of Ohio into a state. |
| 1802. | January, | University at Athens, Ohio, established. |
| | January, | First Bank in Kentucky. |
| | April 30, | Congress agree that Ohio may become a state. |
| | Oct. 16, | The Spanish Intendant forbids the use of N. Orleans by the Americans |
| | Nov. 1, | Convention meets to form a constitution for Ohio. |
| | Nov. 29, | Constitution formed. |
| 1803. | April, | New Orleans opened to Americans again. |
| | April, | Livingston and Munroe in France—purchase Louisiana. |
| | April, | Lands located for Miami University. |
| | April, | Miami Exporting Company chartered. |
| | Oct. 21, | The Senate ratify the purchase of Louisiana. |
| | Dec. 20, | Louisiana given up to the Americans. |
| 1804. | March 26, | Louisiana organised. |
| | May 14, | Lewis and Clarke start on their expedition. |
| 1805. | Jan. 11, | Michigan territory formed. |
| | June 11, | Detroit burned to the ground. |
| | June, | Burr visits the west. |
| | June, | General Assembly meet in Indiana territory. |
| | June, | Tecumthe and the Prophet begin to influence the Indians. |
| | June, | Steps taken to make National road. |
| 1806. | July 29, | Burr's letter to Wilkinson. |
| | Aug. | Spaniards cross the Sabine. |
| | Aug. 21, | Burr goes west; is at Pittsburg. |
| | Sept. | Lewis and Clarke return from Oregon. |
| | Nov. | Davies tries to arrest Burr. |
| | Dec. 6, | Sebastian found guilty by Kentucky House of Representatives. |
| | Dec. 10, | Burr's men go down the Ohio. |
| | Dec. 14, | Burr's boats and stores arrested. |
| | 26, | Burr meets his men at the mouth of the Cumberland. |
| 1807. | Jan. 17, | Burr yields to civil authority of Mississippi. |
| | Jan. | Burr escapes and is seized. |
| | May | Burr's trial at Richmond. |
| | May, | Slavery finally forbidden in Indiana. |
| 1808. | | Bank of Marietta chartered. |
| | | Bank of Chillicothe chartered. |
| | June, | Tecumthe and the Prophet remove to Tippecanoe. |
| 1809. | | Illinois territory formed. |
| | Feb. 17, | Miami University chartered. |
| 1810. | August, | Meeting of Tecumthe and Harrison at Vincennes. |
| 1811. | July, | Tecumthe goes to the south. |
| | August, | Harrison proposes to visit Indians. |
| | Oct. | Harrison marches toward Tippecanoe. |
| | | First steamer (New Orleans) leaves Pittsburg. |
| | Nov. 7, | Battle of Tippecanoe. |
| | Dec. 16, | Great earthquakes begin. |
| 1812. | June 1, | General Hull marches from Dayton. |
| | June 28, | British at Malden hear of the declaration of war. |

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| 1812, | July 1, | Hull sends men and goods by water to Detroit. |
| | July 2, | Hull hears of the declaration of war. |
| | July 12, | Americans at Sandwich. |
| | July 17, | Mackinac taken by the British. |
| | Aug. 7, | Hull retires to Detroit. |
| | Aug. 13, | Brock reaches Malden. |
| | Aug. 14, | Brock at Sandwich. |
| | Aug. 16, | Brock before Detroit. |
| | Aug. 16, | Hull surrenders. |
| | Aug, 15, | Massacre of troops near Chicago. |
| | Sept. 8, | Fort Harrison attacked. |
| | Sept. 17, | W. H. Harrison appointed Commander in Northwest. |
| | Oct. | General Hopkins attacks the Indians on the Wabash. |
| | Oct. | Governor Edwards attacks the Indians on the Illinois. |
| | Dec. | Colonel Campbell attacks the Indians on the Missisinneway. |
| 1813. | Jan. 10. | Winchester reaches the rapids of Maumee. |
| | Jan. 17, | Sends troops to Frenchtown. |
| | Jan. 18, | British at Frenchtown defeated. |
| | Jan. 22, | Americans defeated at Frenchtown, with great loss. |
| | Jan, 23, | Massacre of the wounded. |
| | Jan. 24, | Harrison retreats to Portage river. |
| | Feb. 1, | Harrison advances to Maumee, and builds Fort Meigs. |
| | April 28, | Fort Meigs besieged. |
| | May 5, | General Clay reaches Fort Meigs; Dudley's party lost. |
| | May 9, | British return to Malden. |
| | July 18, | British fleet prepare to attack Erie. |
| | July 31, | Fort Stephenson besieged. |
| | Aug. 2, | Siege of Fort Stephenson raised. |
| | Aug. 4, | Perry's vessels leave Erie. |
| | Sept. 10, | Victory by Perry, on lake Erie. |
| | Sept. 27, | American army at Malden. |
| | Sept. 29, | American army at Sandwich. |
| | Oct. 5, | Battle of the Thames. |
| 1814. | Feb. | Holmes's expedition into Canada. |
| | Feb. | J. C. Symmes died. |
| | July, | Expedition under Croghan against Mackinac. |
| | July, | Fort Shelby, at Prairie du Chien, taken by the British. |
| | July 22, | Treaty with Indians at Greenville. |
| | Oct. Nov. | McArthur's expedition into Canada. |
| | Dec. 24, | Treaty of Ghent. |
| 1815. | | Various treaties with Indians. |
| | Feb. | Ohio taxes the Banks. |
| 1816. | March, | Pittsburgh incorporated. |
| | March, | Columbus made capital of Ohio. |
| | Dec. | Bank of Shawneetown chartered. |
| | Dec. | General Banking law of Ohio passed. |
| | Dec. 11, | Indiana admitted to the Union. |
| 1817. | September, | Northwest of Ohio bought of Indians. |
| | Jan. & Oct. | United States bank opens branches in Cincinnati and Chillicothe. |
| 1818. | Aug. 26, | Illinois becomes a State. |
| 1819. | | The first steamer on Lake Erie. |
| | September, | Contest of Ohio and the United States bank. |
| 1820. | December, | Nullification resolutions of Ohio. |
| | Nov. 23, | Missouri admitted to United States. |
| | May, | Cass visits Lake Superior, &c. |
| 1822. | Jan. 31, | Ohio moves in relation to canals. |
| | Jan. 31, | Ohio moves in relation to schools. |
| 1823. | Feb. 14, | Illinois moves in relation to canals. |
| 1825. | Feb. 4 & 5, | Ohio passes canal and school laws. |
| 1826. | | The first steamer on Lake Michigan. |
| 1830. | | Treaty by Keokuk at Prairie du Chien. |
| 1831. | | Blackhawk driven west of Mississippi. |
| 1832. | | First steamer at Chicago. |
| | | Blackhawk crosses Mississippi again. |

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| 1832. | February, | Great flood in Ohio. |
| | May 14, | Stillman's defeat. |
| | May 21, | Indian creek settlement destroyed. |
| | July 21, | Blackhawk defeated on Wisconsin. |
| | Aug. 2, | Blackhawk defeated on Mississippi. |
| | Aug 27, | Blackhawk delivered to United States. |
| | July, | Cholera among Scott's troops and along Lakes. |
| | Sept. | Treaty with Indians. |
| | Oct. | Cholera at Cincinnati and along the Ohio. |
| 1835. | May, | Michigan asks admission to United States. Congress offers her conditions. |
| 1836. | Sept. | Terms offered Michigan rejected. |
| | Dec. | Terms in a second Convention agreed to. |
| 1837. | | Michigan admitted. |
| | Sept. | Alton riots, Lovejoy killed. |
| 1838. | | Contest with Mormons in Missouri. |
| 1839. | | Bank Commissioners appointed in Ohio. |
| 1840. | Spring, | Nauvoo founded. |
| 1842. | May, | Cincinnati Astronomical society founded. |
| 1843. | | Illinois banks closed by Legislature. |
| | Nov. | Corner stone of Cincinnati Observatory laid. |
| 1844. | June 27, | Joe Smith killed. |
| 1845. | | Banking law of Ohio creating a State bank with branches, and independent banks. |
| | April, | Observatory at Cincinnati finished. |

# LIST OF BOOKS

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" V. and VI. " Indian Affairs, I., II.
" VII., VIII., IX. are Finance, I., II., III.
" X., XI., are Commerce, &c., I., II.
" XII., XIII., are Military Affairs, I., II.
" XIV. is Naval Affairs, I.
" XV. is Post Office, I.
" XVI., XVII., XVIII. are Public Lands, I., II., III.
" XIX. is Claims, I.
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" Sketch of History of Ohio. Cincinnati. 1833.
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Mac Afee's History of the War of 1812. Lexington, Ky. 1816.

* Since this work went to press, a translation of the Letters referred to in it has been published in New York, in a couple of volumes entitled " Early Jesuits in North America. Translated by Rev. William Ingraham Kip."

† Since this work went to press, a volume called " Notes on the Northwest by Wm. J. A. Bradford," has reached us, in which an attempt is made to throw discredit upon Marquette's alleged discovery. The attempt is, however, based upon an error, viz. that Marquette's account was not published till 1687, after La Salle's Voyage, whereas it appeared in 1681, the year before La Salle reached the Mississippi. Mr. Bradford had never seen the original edition of Thevenot. See his " Notes," p. 68

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Marshall's Life of Washington. 5 Vols. Philadelphia. 1804 and 1807.
Martin's History of Louisiana. 2 Vols. New Orleans. 1829.
McDonald's Sketches. Cincinnati. 1838.

Nicollet's Report to the Senate. Washington. 1843.
North American Review. Boston.
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Observations on the North American Land Company, &c. London. 1796.
Old Journals of Congress, from 1774 to 1788. 4 Vols. Way & Gideon. Washington. 1823.
Ohio Journals, published yearly.
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Pownall's Memorials on Service in North America. London. 1767.
Present State of North America. London. 1755.
Proud's History of Pennsylvania. 2 Vols. Philadelphia. 1797.
Plain Facts. Philadelphia. 1781.
Proofs of the Corruption of James Wilkinson. By Daniel Clark. Philadelphia. 1809.
Plea in vindication of the Connecticut Title to contested lands west of New York. By Benjamin Trumbull. New Haven. 1774.
Present State of Virginia, &c. By Hugh Jones. London. 1724.
Present State of European Settlements on Mississippi. By Captain Philip Pittman. London. 1770.
Pitkin's History of the United States. New Haven. 1828.

Revised Statutes of Virginia. Richmond. 1819.
Report of the Committee to inquire into the conduct of General Wilkinson, February, 1811. Washington. 1811.
Review of the Military Operations in North America, from 1743 to 1756. By Governor Livingston, of New Jersey. London. 1757.
Ramsay's History of the War from 1755 to 1763. Edinburgh. 1779.
Relations de la Louisiane, &c. 2 Vols. Amsterdam. 1720. N. B.—Vol. second contains the documents relative to Law's Mississippi Company.
Rogers' Journals. London. 1765.
Renwick on the Steam Engine. New York. 1839.

Silliman's Journal. Vol. 31. New Haven. 1837.
Sparks' Washington. 12 Vols. Boston. 1837.
" Franklin. 10 Vol. Boston. 1840.
" Life of Morris. Boston. 1832.
Stuart's Memoirs of Indian Wars.
Stone's Life Brandt. 2 Vols. New York. 1838.
Smollett's History of England.
Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana. Philadelphia. 1812.
Set of Plans and Forts in North America, reduced from actual survey. 1763. Probably published at London.
State of British and French Colonies in North America. In two letters to a friend. London. 1755.
St. Clair's Narrative of his campaign. Philadelphia. 1812.
Smyth's Travels in America. 3 Vols. London. 1784. See p. 135 of this volume. [N. B.—Lyman C. Draper, of Baltimore, who has tested Dr. Smyth's work by original documents in his possession, pronounces it full of entire falsehoods; not mere exagerations, but shameless lies.—Manuscript letter to Cincinnati Historical Society.]
Secret Journals of Congress. 4 Vols. Boston. 1820.
Stipp's Miscellany. Xenia, Ohio. 1827.
State of the case relative to United States Bank in Ohio. Cincinnati. 1823.
Thatcher's Lives of the Indians. 2 vols. N. Y. 1832.
Transactions of American Antiquarian Society. Worcester, Mass. 1820.
Tonti's Account of La Salle's Discoveries. Paris. 1687. [Spurious.]
Todd & Drake's Life of Harrison. Cincinnati. 1840.
Travels in North America in 1795, '96 and '97, by Isaac Weld. 2 Vols. London. 1799.
Travels in Louisiana. By —— Bossu. Translated by J. R. Forster. London. 1771.
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View of the Title to Indiana, a tract of country on the river Ohio. Philadelphia. 1776. [N. B.—See page 107 of this volume. This contains the treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768.]
Voyages, &c. relative to the Discovery of America. Paris. 1841.
Whittlesey's Discourse on Lord Dunmore's Expedition. Cleveland. 1842.
" Life of Fitch. (In American Biography, New Series, vi.) Boston
Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare. Clarksburgh, Va. 1821.
Western Monthly Magazine. Cincinnati. 1832, &c. Periodical.
Washington's Journal. Published at Williamsburgh, Va. Republished London, 1754, with a map. [N. B.—On this map the Scioto is called "Sikoder," and lake Erie "Erri or Okswego." This last name is also given lake Erie on the map to Colden's history of the Iroquois. London, 1755. On the Cumberland is marked "Walker's Settlement, 1750." See page 111 and note of this volume.]
Wetmore's Missouri Gazetteer. St. Louis. 1837.
Wilkinson's Memoirs. 3 Vols. Philadelphia. 1816.
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Western Garland. Periodical. Cincinnati.

# SPANISH AND FRENCH DISCOVERIES.

In the year 1512, on Easter Sunday, the Spanish name for which is Pascua Florida;* Juan Ponce de Leon, an old comrade of Columbus, discovered the coast of the American continent, near St. Augustine; and, in honor of the day, as well as because of the blossoms which covered the trees along the shore, named the new-found country Florida. Juan had been led to undertake the discovery of strange lands, partly by the hope, common to all his countrymen at that time, of finding endless stores of gold, and partly by the wish to reach a fountain that was said to exist, deep within the forests of North America, which possessed the power of renovating the life of those who drank of, or bathed in, its waters. In return for his discovery he was made Governor of the region he had visited, but various circumstances prevented his return thither until 1521, and then he went only to meet with death at the hands of the Indians.

In the mean time, in 1516, a roving Spanish sea captain, Diego Miruelo, had visited the coast first reached by Ponce de Leon, and in his barters with the natives had received considerable quantities of gold, with which he returned home, and spread abroad new stories of the wealth hidden in the interior.

Ten years, however, passed before Pamphilo de Narvaez undertook to prosecute the examination of the lands north of the Gulf of Mexico; the shores of which, during the intervening years, had been visited and roughly surveyed. Narvaez was excited to action by the late astonishing success of the conqueror of Montezuma, but he found the gold for which he sought, fly constantly before him; each tribe of Indians referred him to those living still farther in the interior, and from tribe to tribe

* Pascua, the old English "Pasch" or Passover; "Pascua Florida" is the "Holy-day of Flowers."

he and his companions wandered, weary and disappointed, during six months; then, having reached the shore again, naked and famished, they tried to regain the Spanish colonies; but of three hundred only four or five at length reached Mexico. And still these disappointed wanderers persisted in their original fancy that Florida* was as wealthy as Mexico or Peru; and after all their wanderings and sufferings so told the world.†

Among those to whom this report came, was Ferdinand de Soto, who had been with Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, and who longed for an opportunity to make himself as rich and noted as the other great Captains of the day. He asked leave of the King of Spain to conquer Florida at his own cost. It was given in 1538; with a brilliant and noble band of followers, he left Europe; and in May 1539, after a stay in Cuba, anchored his vessels near the coast of the Peninsula of Florida, in the bay of Spiritu Santo, or Tampa bay.‡

De Soto entered upon his march into the interior with a determination to succeed. He had brought with him all things that it was supposed could be needful, and that none might be tempted to turn back, he sent away his vessels. From June till November, of 1539, the Spaniards toiled along until they reached the neighborhood of Appalachee bay, finding no gold, no fountain of youth. During the next season, 1540, they followed the course suggested by the Florida Indians, who wished them out of their country, and going to the north east, crossed the rivers and climbed the mountains of Georgia. De Soto was a stern, severe man, and none dared to murmur. Still finding no cities of boundless wealth, they turned westward, towards the waters

* By Florida the Spaniards of early times meant at least all of North America south of the Great Lakes.

† For facts in relation to Florida see Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. I.

‡ The original authorities in relation to De Soto, are an anonymous Portuguese writer, a gentleman of Elvas, who claims to have been an eye-witness of what he relates; and Luis Hernandez de Biedma, who was also with the expedition, and presented his account to the Spanish King in 1544. We have also a letter from De Soto, to the authorities of the city of Santiago, in Cuba, dated July 9, 1539. These authorities in the main agree, though the Portuguese account is much the fullest, and the Governor's letter of course relates but few events. The Portuguese narrative was published in 1557; Hakluyt gave it in English in 1609, and it was again published in London in 1686; a French translation appeared in Paris in 1685. Its credibility is questioned. See Sparks in Butler's Kentucky, 2d Ed. 498; also, Bancroft's U. S. I; 66. note. The account by Biedma and De Soto's letter are in a work published in Paris, called "*Voyages, Relations, et Memoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la decouverte de l'Amerique.*" One volume of this collection relates to Florida, and appeared in 1841. We have epitomised the account as given by Bancroft in his first volume.

of the Mobile, and following those waters, in October (1540,) came to the town of Mavilla on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombecbee. This town the Europeans wished to occupy, but the natives resisted them, and in a battle which ensued, the Indians were defeated.

Finding himself, notwithstanding his victory, exposed to constant attacks from the redmen at this point, De Soto resumed his march towards the Mississippi, and passed the winter, probably, near the Yazoo. In April 1541, once more the resolute Spaniard set forward, and upon the first of May reached the banks of the Great River of the West, not far from the 35th parallel of latitude. A month was spent in preparing barges to convey the horses, many of which still lived, across the rapid stream. Having successfully passed it, the explorers pursued their way northward, into the neighborhood of New Madrid; then turning westward again, marched more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi to the highlands of White river. And still no gold, no gems, no cities; only bare prairies, and tangled forests, and deep morasses. To the south again they toiled on, and passed their third winter of wandering upon the Washita. In the following spring (1542,) De Soto, weary with hope long deferred, descended the Washita to its junction with the Mississippi, wishing to learn the distance and direction of the sea. He heard, when he reached the mighty stream of the West, that its lower portion flowed through endless and uninhabitable swamps.—Determined to learn the truth, he sent forward horsemen; in eight days they advanced only thirty miles. The news sank deep into the stout heart of the disappointed warrior. His men and horses were wasting around him; the Indians near by challenged him, and he dared not meet them. His health yielded to the contests of his mind and the influence of the climate; he appointed a successor, and upon the 21st of May died. His body was sunk in the stream of the Mississippi.

Deprived of their energetic though ruthless leader, the Spaniards determined to try to reach Mexico by land. They turned West again therefore, and penetrated to the Red river, wandering up and down in the forests, the sport of inimical Indians. The Red river they could not cross, and jaded and heartless, again they went eastward, and reached in December 1542, the great Father of waters once more. Despairing of success in

the attempt to rescue themselves by land, they proceeded to prepare such vessels as they could to take them to the sea. From January to July 1543, the weak, sickly band of gold-seekers, labored at the doleful task; and in July reached, in the vessels thus wrought, the Gulf of Mexico, and by September, entered the river Panuco. One-half of the six hundred* who had disembarked with De Soto, so gay in steel and silk, left their bones among the mountains and in the morasses of the South, from Georgia to Arkansas.

Such was the first expedition by Europeans, into the great Western Valley of North America. They founded no settlements, left no traces, produced no effect unless to excite the hostility of the red against the white men, and to dishearten such as might otherwise have tried to follow up the career of discovery to better purpose. As it was, for more than a century after the expedition of De Soto, the West remained utterly unknown to the whites. In 1616, four years before the Pilgrims "moored their bark on the wild New England shore," Le Caron, a French Franciscan, had penetrated through the Iroquois and Wyandots† to the streams which run into Lake Huron; and in 1634, two Jesuits had founded the first mission among the rivers and marshes of the region east of that great inland sea; but it was 1641, just one hundred years after De Soto reached the Mississippi, that the first Canadian envoys met the savage nations of the Northwest, at the falls of St. Mary, below the outlet of lake Superior. This visit, however, led to no permanent result, and it was not till 1659 that even any of the adventurous fur-traders spent a winter on the frozen and inhospitable shores of the vast lake of the North, nor till 1660 that the unflinching devotion of the Missionaries caused the first station to rise upon its rocky and pine-clad borders. But Mesnard, who founded that station, perished in the woods in a few months afterward, and five more years slipped by before Father Claude Allouez, in 1665, built the earliest of the lasting habitations of white men among the kindly and hospitable Indians of the Northwest. Following in his steps, in 1668, Claude Dablon and James Marquette founded the mission at St. Mary's Falls; in 1670,

* De Biedma says there landed 620 men.

† The Wyandots are the same as the Hurons. Heckewelder's Narr. 336, note: see their traditionary history by J. Badger, a Missionary among them.—Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany I. 153.

Nicholas Perrot, as agent for Talon, the intendant of Canada, explored lake Michigan as far as Chicago; in 1671 formal possession was taken of the Northwest by French officers in the presence of Indians assembled from every part of the surrounding region, and in the same year Marquette gathered a little flock of listeners, at Point St. Ignatius, on the main land north of the island of Mackinac.* During the three years which this most excellent man had now spent in that country, the idea of exploring the lands yet farther towards the setting sun, had been growing more and more definite in his mind. He had heard, as all had, of the great river of the West, and fancied upon its fertile banks,—not mighty cities, mines of gold, or fountains of youth—but whole tribes of God's children to whom the sound of the Gospel had never come. Filled with the wish to go and preach to them he obeyed with joy the orders of Talon, the wise intendant of Canada, to lead a party into the unknown distance; and having received, as companions on behalf of the government, a Monsieur Joliet, of Quebec, together with five boatmen, in the spring of 1673, he prepared to go forth in search of the much talked of stream.†

Upon the 13th of May, 1673, this little band of seven left Michillimacinac in two bark canoes, with a small store of Indian corn and jerked meat, bound they knew not whither.

The first nation they visited, one with which our reverend Father had been long acquainted, being told of their venturous plan, begged them to desist. There were Indians, they said, on that great river, who would cut off their heads without the least cause; warriors who would seize them; monsters who would swallow them, canoes and all; even a demon, who shut the way, and buried in the waters that boiled about him, all who dared draw nigh; and, if these dangers were passed, there were heats there that would infallibly kill them. "I thanked them for their good advice," says Marquette, "but I told them that I could not follow it; since the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I should be overjoyed to give my life."

Passing through Green Bay, from the mud of which, says our voyager, rise "mischievous vapors, that cause the most grand

* This was the first town of Michillimacinac. The post and station north of the Strait were afterward destroyed, and others with the same name, St. Ignatius, built on the southern shore, at the extremity of the peninsula of Michigan—*Charlevoix's Journal.*

† For the above dates, &c., see Bancroft's U. S., Vol. III.

and perpetual thunders that I have ever heard," they entered Fox river, and toiling over stones which cut their feet, as they dragged their canoes through its strong rapids, reached a village where lived in union the Miamis, Mascoutens,‡ and "Kikabeux" (Kickapoos.) Here Allouez had preached, and behold! in the midst of the town, a cross, (*une belle croix*,) on which hung skins, and belts, and bows, and arrows, which "these good people had offered to the great Manitou, to thank him because he had taken pity on them during the winter, and had given them an abundant chase."

Beyond this point no Frenchman had gone; here was the bound of discovery; and much did the savages wonder at the hardihood of these seven men, who, alone, in two bark canoes, were thus fearlessly passing into unknown dangers.

On the 10th of June, they left this wondering and well-wishing crowd, and, with two guides to lead them through the lakes and marshes of that region, started for the river, which, as they heard, rose but about three leagues distant, and fell into the Mississippi. Without ill-luck these guides conducted them to the portage, and helped them carry their canoes across it; then, returning, left them "alone amid that unknown country, in the hand of God."

With prayers to the mother of Jesus they strengthened their souls, and committed themselves, in all hope, to the current of the westward-flowing river, the "Mescousin" (Wisconsin;) a sand-barred stream, hard to navigate, but full of islands covered with vines, and bordered by meadows, and groves, and pleasant slopes. Down this they floated until, upon the 17th of June, they entered the Mississippi, "with a joy," says Marquette, "that I cannot express."

Quietly floating down the great river, they remarked the deer, the buffaloes, the swans,—"wingless, for they lose their feathers in that country,"—the great fish, one of which had nearly knocked their canoe into atoms, and other creatures of air, earth, and water, but no men. At last, however, upon the 21st of June, they discovered, upon the western bank of the river, the foot-prints of some fellow mortals, and a little path leading into a pleasant meadow. Leaving the canoes in charge of their followers, Joliet and Father Marquette boldly advanced upon

‡ In Charlevoix's time these occupied the country from the Illinois to the Fox river, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi.—See his Map.

this path toward, as they supposed, an Indian village. Nor were they mistaken; for they soon came to a little town, to which, recommending themselves to God's care, they went so nigh as to hear the savages talking. Having made their presence known by a loud cry, they were graciously received by an embassy of four old men, who presented them the pipe of peace, and told them, that this was a village of the "Illinois." The voyagers were then conducted into the town, where all received them as friends, and treated them to a great smoking. After much complimenting and present-making, a grand feast was given to the Europeans, consisting of four courses. The first was of hominy, the second of fish, the third of a dog,* which the Frenchmen declined, and the whole concluded with roast buffalo. After the feast they were marched through the town with great ceremony and much speech-making; and, having spent the night, pleasantly and quietly, amid the Indians, they returned to their canoes with an escort of six hundred people. The Illinois, Marquette, like all the early travellers, describes as remarkably handsome, well-mannered, and kindly, even somewhat effeminate.

Leaving the Illinois, the adventurers passed the rocks upon which were painted those monsters of whose existence they had heard on Lake Michigan, and soon found themselves at the mouth of the Pekitanoni, or Missouri of our day; the character of which is well described; muddy, rushing, and noisy.—"Through this," says Marquette, "I hope to reach the Gulf of California, and thence the East Indies." This hope was based upon certain rumors among the natives, which represented the Pekitanoni as passing by a meadow, five or six days' journey from its mouth, on the opposite side of which meadow was a stream running westward, which led, beyond doubt, to the South Sea. "If God give me health," says our Jesuit, "I do not despair of one day making the discovery." Leaving the Missouri, they passed the demon, that had been portrayed to them, which was indeed a dangerous rock in the river,† and came to the Ouabouskigou, or Ohio, a stream which makes but

* A dog feast is still a feast of honor among the savages. See Fremont's Report of Expeditions of 1842, '43, and '44, printed at Washington, 1845; p. 42. Fremont says the meat is somewhat like mutton. See, also, Dr. Jarvis's discourse before the N. York Historical Society in 1819, note R.; Lewis and Clark's Journal, II. 165; Godman's Natural History, I. 254.

† The grand Tower.

a small figure in Father Marquette's map, being but a trifling water-course compared to the Illinois. From the Ohio, our voyagers passed with safety, except from the musquitoes, into the neighborhood of the "Akamscas," or Arkansas. Here they were attacked by a crowd of warriors, and had nearly lost their lives; but Marquette resolutely presented the peace-pipe, and some of the old men of the attacking party were softened, and saved them from harm. "God touched their hearts," says the pious narrator.

The next day the Frenchmen went on to "Akamsca," where they were received most kindly, and feasted on corn and dog till they could eat no more. These Indians cooked in and eat from earthen ware, and were amiable and unceremonious, each man helping himself from the dish and passing it to his neighbor.

From this point Joliet and our writer determined to return to the North, as dangers increased towards the sea, and no doubt could exist as to the point where the Mississippi emptied, to ascertain which point was the great object of their expedition. Accordingly, on the 17th of July, our voyagers left Akamsca; retraced their path with much labor, to the Illinois, through which they soon reached the Lake; and "nowhere," says Marquette, "did we see such grounds, meadows, woods, stags, buffaloes, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beavers," as on the Illinois river.

In September the party, without loss or injury, reached Green Bay, and reported their discovery; one of the most important of that age, but of which we have now no record left except the brief narrative of Marquette, Joliet, (as we learn from an abstract of his account, given in Hennepin's second volume, London, 1698,) having lost all his papers while returning to Quebec, by the upsetting of his canoe. Marquette's unpretending account, we have in a collection of voyages by Thevenot, printed in Paris in 1681.* Its general correctness is unquestionable; and, as no European had claimed to have made any such discovery at the time this volume was published, but the persons therein named, we may consider the account as genuine.

Afterwards Marquette returned to the Illinois, by their request,

* This work is now very rare, but Marquette's Journal has been republished by Mr. Sparks, at least in substance, in Butler's Kentucky, 2d Ed. 492; and in the American Biography, 1st series, Vol. X. A copy of the map by Marquette, is also given by Mr. Bancroft, Vol. III. We have followed the original in Thevenot, a copy of which is in Harvard Library.

and ministered to them until 1675. On the 18th of May, in that year, as he was passing with his boatmen up Lake Michigan, he proposed to land at the mouth of a stream running from the peninsula, and perform mass. Leaving his men with the canoe, he went a little way apart to pray, they waiting for him. As much time passed; and he did not return, they called to mind that he had said something of his death being at hand, and anxiously went to seek him. They found him dead; where he had been praying, he had died. The canoe-men dug a grave near the mouth of the stream, and buried him in the sand. Here his body was liable to be exposed by a rise of water; and would have been so, had not the river retired, and left the missionary's grave in peace. Charlevoix, who visited the spot some fifty years afterward, found that the waters had forced a passage at the most difficult point, had cut through a bluff, rather than cross the lowland where that grave was. The river is called Marquette.*

While the simple-hearted and true Marquette was pursuing his labors of love in the West, two men, differing widely from him, and each other, were preparing to follow in his footsteps, and perfect the discoveries so well begun by him and the Sieur Joliet. These were Robert de la Salle and Louis Hennepin.

La Salle was a native of Normandy, and was brought up, as we learn from Charlevoix,† among the Jesuits; but, having lost, by some unknown cause, his patrimony, and being of a stirring and energetic disposition, he left his home to seek fortune among the cold and dark regions of Canada. This was about the year 1670. Here he mused long upon the pet project of those ages, a short-cut to China and the East; and, gaining his daily bread, we know not how,—was busily planning an expedition up the great lakes, and so across the continent to the Pacific, when Marquette returned from the Mississippi. At once the hot mind of La Salle received from his and his companion's

* Charlevoix's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 96. *New France*, Vol. VI. p. 20. Marquette spells the name of the great western river, "Mississipy;" Hennepin made it "Meschasipi;" others have written "Meschasabe," &c. &c. There is great confusion in all the Indian oral names; we have "Kikabeaux," "Kikapous," "Quicapous;" "Outtoauets," "Outnovas;" "Miamis," "Oumamis;" and so of nearly all the nations. Our "Sioux," Charlevoix tells us, is the last syllable of "Nadouessioux," which is written, by Hennepin, "Nadoussion" and "Nadouessious," in his "*Louisiana*," and "Nadouessans," in his "*Nouvelle Decouverte*." The Shawanese are always called the "Chouanons."

† Charlevoix's *New France*, Paris edition of 1744, Vol. II. p. 263.

narrations, the idea, that, by following the Great River northward, or by turning up some of the streams which joined it from the westward, his aim might be certainly and easily gained. Instantly he went towards his object. He applied to Frontenac, then governor-general of Canada, laid before him an outline of his views, dim but gigantic, and, as a first step, proposed to rebuild of stone, and with improved fortifications, Fort Frontenac upon Lake Ontario, a post to which he knew the governor felt all the affection due to a namesake. Frontenac entered warmly into his views. He saw, that, in La Salle's suggestion, which was to connect Canada with the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of forts upon the vast navigable lakes and rivers which bind that country so wonderfully together, lay the germ of a plan, which might give unmeasured power to France, and unequalled glory to himself, under whose administration he fondly hoped all would be realized. He advised La Salle, therefore, to go to the King of France, to make known his project, and ask for the royal patronage and protection; and, to forward his suit, gave him letters to the great Colbert, minister of finance and marine.

With a breast full of hope and bright dreams, in 1675, the penniless adventurer sought his monarch; his plan was approved by the minister, to whom he presented Frontenac's letter; La Salle was made a Chevalier; was invested with the seignory of Fort Catarocouy or Frontenac, upon condition he would rebuild it; and received from all the first noblemen and princes, assurances of their good-will and aid. Returning to Canada he labored diligently at his fort till the close of 1677, when he again sailed for France with news of his progress. Colbert and his son, Seignelay, now minister of marine, once more received him with favor, and, at their instance, the King granted new letters patent with new privileges. His mission having sped so well, on the 14th of July, 1678, La Salle, with his lieutenant, Tonti, an Italian, and thirty men, sailed again from Rochelle for Quebec, where they arrived on the 15th of September; and, after a few days' stay, proceeded to Fort Frontenac.*

Here was quietly working, though in no quiet spirit, the rival and co-laborer of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, of the Recollet variety; a man full of ambition to be a great discoverer; daring, hardy, energetic, vain, and self-exaggerating,

* Charlevoix's *New France*, 1744, Vol. II. p. 264, 266. Sparks' life of La Salle. American Biography, new series, I. 10 to 15.

almost to madness; and, it is feared, more anxious to advance his own holy and unholy ends than the truth. He had in Europe lurked behind doors, he tells us, that he might hear sailors spin their yarns touching foreign lands; and he profited, it would seem, by their instructions. He came to Canada when La Salle returned from his first visit to the court, and had, to a certain extent, prepared himself, by journeying among the Iroquois, for bolder travels into the wilderness. Having been appointed by his religious superiors to accompany the expedition which was about to start for the extreme West, under La Salle, Hennepin was in readiness for him at Fort Frontenac, where he arrived, probably, some time in October, 1678.*

The Chevalier's first step was to send forward men to prepare the minds of the Indians along the lakes for his coming, and to soften their hearts by well-chosen gifts and words; and also, to pick up peltries, beaver skins, and other valuables; and, upon the 18th of November, 1678, he himself embarked in a little vessel of ten tons, to cross Lake Ontario. This, says one of his chroniclers, was the first ship that sailed upon that fresh water sea. The wind was strong and contrary, and four weeks nearly were passed in beating up the little distance between Kingston and Niagara. Having forced their brigantine as far towards the Falls as was possible, our travellers landed; built some magazines with difficulty, for at times the ground was frozen so hard that they could drive their stakes, or posts, into it only by first

*Hennepin's *New Discovery*, Utrecht edition of 1697, p. 70.—Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. pp. 266. We give the names of the lakes and rivers as they appear in the early travels.

Lake Ontario was also Lake Frontenac.

Lake Erie, was Erike, Erige, or Erie, from a nation of Eries destroyed by the Iroquois; they lived where the State of Ohio now is (Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. p. 62;) it was also Lake of Conti.

Lake Huron, was Karegnondi in early times (*Map of* 1656;) and also, Lake of Orleans.

Lake Michigan, was Lake of Puans (*Map of* 1656;) also, of the Illinois, or Illinese, or Illinouacks; also Lake Mischigonong, and Lake of the Dauphin.

Lake Superior was Lake *Superieur*, meaning the Upper, not the Larger Lake—also, Lake of Conde.

Green Bay, was Baie des Puans.

Illinois river, in Hennepin's *Louisiana*, and Joutel's *Journal*, is River Seignelay; and the Mississippi river, in those works is River Colbert; and was by La Salle, called River St. Louis.

Ohio river was Ouabouskigou, Ouabachi, Ouabache, Oyo, Ouye, Belle Riviere.

Missouri river, was Pekitanoni, Riviere des Osages et Massourites; and by Coxe is called Yellow River.

pouring upon it boiling water; and then made acquaintance with the Iroquois of the village of Niagara, upon Lake Erie. Not far from this village, La Salle founded a second fort, upon which he set his men to work; but, finding the Iroquois jealous, he gave it up for a time, and merely erected temporary fortifications for his magazines; and then, leaving orders for a new ship to be built, he returned to Fort Frontenac, to forward stores, cables, and anchors for his forthcoming vessel.

Through the hard and cold winter days, the frozen river lying before them "like a plain paved with fine polished marble," some of his men hewed and hammered upon the timbers of the *Griffin*, as the great bark was to be named, while others gathered furs and skins, or sued for the good-will of the bloody savages amid whom they were quartered; and all went merrily until the 20th of January, 1679. On that day, the Chevalier arrived from below; not with all his goods, however, for his misfortunes had commenced. The vessel in which his valuables had been embarked was wrecked through the bad management of the pilots; and, though the more important part of her freight was saved, much of her provision went to the bottom. During the winter, however, a very nice lot of furs was scraped together, with which, early in the spring of 1679, the commander returned to Fort Frontenac to get another outfit; while Tonti was sent forward to scour the lake coasts, muster together the men who had been sent before, collect skins, and see all that was to be seen. In thus coming and going, buying and trading, the summer of this year slipped away, and it was the 7th of August before the *Griffin* was ready to sail. Then, with *Te-Deums*, and the discharge of arquebuses, she began her voyage up Lake Erie.

Over Lake Erie, through the strait beyond, across St. Clair, and into Huron, the voyagers passed most happily. In Huron they were troubled by storms, dreadful as those upon the ocean, and were at last forced to take refuge in the road of Michillimackinac. This was upon the 27th of August. At this place, which is described as one "of prodigious fertility," La Salle remained until the middle of September, founded a fort there, and sent men therefrom in various directions to spy out the state of the land. He then went on to Green Bay, the "Baie des Puans," of the French; and, finding there a large quantity of skins and furs collected for him, he determined to load the *Griffin* therewith, and send her back to Niagara. This was

done with all promptness; and, upon the 18th of September, she was despatched under the charge of a pilot, supposed to be competent and trustworthy, while the Norman himself, with fourteen men, proceeded up Lake Michigan, paddling along its shores in the most leisurely manner; Tonti, meanwhile, having been sent to find stragglers, with whom he was to join the main body at the head of the lake.

From the 19th of September till the 1st of November, the time was consumed by La Salle in his voyage up the sea in question. On the day last named, he arrived at the mouth of the river of the Miamis, or St. Josephs, as it is now called.* Here he built a fort and remained for nearly a month, when hearing nothing from his *Griffin*, he determined to push on before it was too late.

On the 3d of December, therefore, having mustered all his men, thirty working men and three monks, he started again upon his "great voyage and glorious undertaking."†

By a short portage they passed to the Illinois, or Kankakee, and "falling down the said river by easy journeys, the better to observe that country," about the last of December, reached a village of the Illinois Indians, containing some five hundred cabins, but, at that moment, no inhabitants. The Sieur La Salle, being in great want of bread-stuffs, took advantage of this absence of the Indians to help himself to a sufficiency of maize, of which large quantities were found hidden in holes under the huts or wigwams. This village was, as near as we can judge, not far from the spot marked on our maps as Rock Fort, in La Salle county, Illinois. The corn being got aboard, the voyagers betook themselves to the stream again, and toward evening on the 4th of January, 1680, fell into a lake, which must have been the lake of Peoria. Here the natives were met with in large numbers, but they were gentle and kind, and having spent some time with them, La Salle determined in that neighborhood to build another fort, for he found that already some of the adjoining tribes were trying to disturb the good feeling which existed; and, moreover, some of his own men were disposed to complain. A spot upon rising ground, near the river, was accordingly

* See on this point, North American Review, January 1839, No. CII. p. 74.

† Charlevoix, *New France*, (Vol. II. p. 269,) tells us, that La Salle returned from the fort of the Miamis to Fort Frontenac; but Hennepin, and the journal published as Tonti's, agree that he went on, and tell a more consistent story than the historian. See, also, Sparks' life.

chosen about the middle of January, and the fort of *Crevecœur* (Broken Heart,) commenced; a name expressive of the very natural anxiety and sorrow, which the pretty certain loss of his *Griffin*, and his consequent impoverishment (for there were no insurance offices then,) the danger of hostility on the part of the Indians, and of mutiny on the part of his own men, might well cause him.

Nor were his fears by any means groundless. In the first place, his discontented followers, and afterwards emissaries from the Mascoutens, tried to persuade the Illinois that he was a friend of the Iroquois, their most deadly enemies; and that he was among them for the purpose of enslaving them. But La Salle was an honest and fearless man, and, as soon as coldness and jealousy appeared on the part of his hosts, he went to them boldly and asked the cause, and by his frank statements preserved their good feeling and good will. His disappointed enemies, then, or at some other time, for it is not very clear when,* tried poison; and, but for "a dose of good treacle," La Salle might have ended his days in his Fort Crevecœur.

Meanwhile the winter wore away, and the prairies were getting to look green again; but our discoverer heard no good news, received no reinforcement; his property was gone, his men were fast deserting him, and he had little left but his own strong heart. The second year of his hopes, and toils, and failures, was half gone, and he further from his object than ever; but still he had that strong heart, and it was more than men and money. He saw that he must go back to Canada, raise new means, and enlist new men; but he did not dream, therefore, of relinquishing his projects. On the contrary, he determined that, while he was on his return, a small party should go down to the Mississippi and explore that stream towards its sources; and that Tonti, with the few men that remained, should strengthen and extend his relations among the Indians.

For the leader of the Mississippi exploring party, he chose Father Lewis Hennepin; and, having furnished him with all the necessary articles, started him upon his voyage on the last day of February, 1680.

Having thus provided against the entire stagnation of discovery

* Charlevoix says it was at the close of 1679; Hennepin, that they did not reach the Illinois, till January 4th, 1680. We have no means of deciding, but follow Hennepin, who is particular as to dates, and was present.

during his forced absence, La Salle at once betook himself to his journey eastward: a journey scarce conceivable now, for it was to be made by land from Fort Crevecœur round to Fort Frontenac, a distance of at least twelve hundred miles, at the most trying season of the year, when the rivers of the lakes would be full of floating ice, and offer to the traveller neither the security of winter, nor the comfort of summer. But the chevalier was not to be daunted by any obstacles; his affairs were in so precarious a state that he felt he must make a desperate effort, or all his plans would be for ever broken up; so through snow, ice and water, he won his way along the southern borders of Lakes Michigan, Erie and Ontario, and at last reached his destination. He found, as he expected, every thing in confusion: his Griffin was lost; his agents had cheated him; his creditors had seized his goods. Had his spirit been one atom less elastic and energetic, he would have abandoned the whole undertaking; but La Salle knew neither fear nor despair, and by midsummer we behold him once more on his way to rejoin his little band of explorers on the Illinois. This pioneer body, meanwhile, had suffered greatly from the jealousy of the neighboring Indians, and the attacks of bands of Iroquois, who wandered all the way from their homes in New York, to annoy the less warlike savages of the prairies. Their sufferings, at length, in September, 1680, induced Tonti to abandon his position, and seek the Lakes again, a point which with much difficulty he effected. When, therefore, La Salle, who had heard nothing of all these troubles, reached the posts upon the Illinois in December 1680, or January 1681, he found them utterly deserted; his hopes again crushed, and all his dreams again disappointed. There was but one thing to be done, however, to turn back to Canada, enlist more men, and secure more means: this he did, and in June, 1681, had the pleasure to meet his comrade, Lieutenant Tonti, at Mackinac, to whom he spoke, as we learn from an eye-witness, with the same hope and courage which he had exhibited at the outset of his enterprise.

And here for a time we must leave La Salle and Tonti, and notice the adventures of Hennepin, who, it will be remembered, left Fort Crevecœur on the last of February, 1680. In seven days he reached the Mississippi, and, paddling up its icy stream as he best could, by the 11th of April had got no higher than the Wisconsin. Here he was taken prisoner by a band of northern Indians, who treated him and his comrades with considerable

kindness, and took them up the river until about the first of May, when they reached the Falls of St. Anthony, which were then so christened by Hennepin in honor of his patron saint. Here they took to the land, and travelling nearly two hundred miles toward the north-west, brought him to their villages: these Indians were the Sioux. Here Hennepin and his companions remained about three months, treated kindly and trusted by their captors: at the end of that time, he met with a band of Frenchmen, headed by one Sieur du Luth, who, in pursuit of trade and game, had penetrated thus far by the route of Lake Superior; and, with these fellow countrymen the Franciscian returned to the borders of civilized life, in November, 1680, just after La Salle had gone back to the wilderness as we have related. Hennepin soon after went to France, where, in 1684, he published a work narrating his adventures.*

To return again to the Chevalier himself, he met Tonti, as we have said, at Mackinac, in June, 1681; thence he went down the lakes to Fort Frontenac, to make the needful preparations for prosecuting his western discoveries; these being made, we find him, in August, 1681, on his way up the lakes again, and on the 3d of November at the St. Josephs, as full of confidence as ever. The middle of December had come, however, before all were ready to go forward, and then, with twenty-three Frenchmen, eighteen eastern Indians, ten Indian women to wait upon their lazy mates, and three children, he started, not as before by the way of the Kankakee, but by the Chicago river, travelling on foot and with the baggage on sledges. It was upon the 5th or 6th of January, 1682, that the band of explorers left the borders of Lake Michigan; they crossed the portage, passed down to Fort Crevecœur, which they found in good condition, and still

* This volume, called "A Description of Louisiana," he, thirteen years afterwards, enlarged and altered, and published with the title, "New Discovery of a Vast Country situated in America, between New Mexico and the Frozen Ocean." In this new publication, he claimed to have violated La Salle's instructions, and in the first place to have gone *down* the Mississippi to its mouth, before ascending it. His claim was very naturally doubted; and examination has proved it to be a complete fable, the materials having been taken from an account published by Le Clercq in 1691, of La Salle's successful voyage down the great river of the West, a voyage of which we have presently to speak. This account of Le Clercq's was drawn from the letters of Father Zenobe Membre, a priest who was with La Salle, and is the most valuable published work in relation to the final expedition from Canada, made by that much-tried and dauntless commander. The whole subject of Hennepin's credibility, is presented by Mr. Sparks, in his life of La Salle, with great fairness and precision, and to that we refer all curious readers.

going forward, on the 6th of February, were upon the banks of the Mississippi. On the thirteenth they commenced their downward passage, but nothing of interest occurred until, on the 26th of the month, at the Chickasaw Bluffs, a Frenchman, named Prudhomme, who had gone out with others to hunt, was lost, a circumstance which led to the erection of a fort upon the spot, named from the missing man, who was found, however, eight or nine days afterwards. Pursuing their course, they at length, upon the 6th of March, 1682, discovered the three passages by which the Mississippi discharges its waters into the Gulf; and here we shall let La Salle himself tell his story, as it is given in the "Proces-verbal" which Mr. Sparks has translated from the original in the French archives. It thus proceeds:

"We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth, On the 7th, M. de la Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonty likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large and deep. On the 8th, we reascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation of the North Pole was here about twenty-seven degrees. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column were affixed the arms of France, with this inscription;

LOUIS LE GRAND, ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGNE;
LE NEUVIEME AVRIL, 1682.

The whole party, under arms, chaunted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine salvum fac Regem;* and then, after a salute of firearms and cries of *Vive le Roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said, with a loud voice in French;—

"'In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth, of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries,

streams, and rivers, comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chukagona, and this with the consent of the Chaounons, Chichachaws, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance either by ourselves, or by others in our behalf;* as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance, which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert; hereby protesting against all those, who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law.'

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription.

LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REGNAT.

NONO APRILIS CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.

ROBERTVS CAVELIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRE, RECOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORVM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT, EJVSQVE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVVM, NONO APRILIS ANNI CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.

After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his Majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein,

* There is an obscurity in this enumeration of places and Indian nations, which may be ascribed to an ignorance of the geography of the country; but it seems to be the design of the Sieur de la Salle to take possession of the whole territory watered by the Mississippi from its mouth to its source, and by the streams flowing into it on both sides. *Sparks.*

and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine salvum fac Regem* were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of *Vive le Roi.*

"Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

"LA METAIRE, *Notary.*

| | |
|---|---|
| De la Salle. | Pierre You. |
| P. Zenobe, *Recollect, Missionary.* | Gilles Meucret. |
| Henry de Tonty, | Jean Michel, *Surgeon.* |
| Francois de Boisrondet, | Jean Mas. |
| Jean Bourdon. | Jean Dulignon. |
| Sieur d'Autray. | Nicholas de la Salle. |
| Jaques Cauchois." | |

Thus was the foundation fairly laid for the claim of France to the Mississippi Valley, according to the usages of European powers. But La Salle and his companions could not stay to examine the land they had entered, nor the coast they had reached. Provisions with them were exceedingly scarce, and they were forced at once to start upon their return for the north. This they did without serious trouble, although somewhat annoyed by the savages, until they reached Fort Prudhomme, where La Salle was taken violently sick. Finding himself unable to announce his success in person, the Chevalier sent forward Tonti to the lakes to communicate with the Count de Frontenac: he himself was unable to reach the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, until toward the last of September. From that post he sent with his despatches, Father Zenobe, to represent him in France, while he pursued the more lucrative business of attending to his fur trade in the north-west, and completing his long projected fort of St. Louis, upon the high and commanding bluff of the Illinois, now known as Rock Fort; a bluff two hundred and fifty feet high, and accessible only on one side. Having seen this completed, and the necessary steps taken to preserve a good understanding with the Indians, and also to keep up a good trade with them, in the autumn of 1683, the Chevalier sailed for his native land, which he reached, December 13th.

At one time he had thought probably of attempting to establish a colony on the Mississippi, by means of supplies and persons sent

from Canada; but farther reflection led him to believe his true course to be to go direct from France to the mouth of the Mississippi, with abundant means for settling and securing the country; and to obtain the necessary ships, stores, and emigrants, was the main purpose of his visit to Europe. But he found his fair fame in danger, in the court of his king. His success, his wide plans, and his overbearing character were all calculated to make him enemies; and among the foremost was La Barre, who had succeeded Frontenac as governor of Canada.

But La Salle had a most able advocate in France, so soon as he was there in person; and the whole nation being stirred by the story of the new discoveries, of which Hennepin had widely promulgated his first account some months before La Salle's return, our hero found ears open to drink in his words, and imaginations warmed to make the most of them. The minister, Seignelay, desired to see the adventurer, and he soon won his way to whatever heart that man had; for it could not have required much talk with La Salle to have been satisfied of his sincerity, enthusiasm, energy, and bravery. The tales of the new governor fell dead, therefore, and the king listened to the prayer of his subject, that a fleet might be sent to take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, and so that great country of which he told them be secured to France. The king listened; and soon the town of Rochelle was busy with the stir of artisans, ship-riggers, adventurers, soldiers, sailors, and all that varied crowd which in those days looked into the dim West for a land where wealth was to be had for the seeking.

On the 24th of July, 1684, twenty-four vessels sailed from Rochelle to America, four of which were for the discovery and settlement of the famed Louisiana. These four carried two hundred and eighty persons, including the crews; there were soldiers, artificers, and volunteers, and also "some young women." There is no doubt that this brave fleet started full of light hearts, and vast, vague hopes; but, alas! it had scarce started when discord began; for La Salle and the commander of the fleet, M. de Beaujeu, were well fitted to quarrel one with the other, but never to work together. In truth La Salle seems to have been nowise amiable, for he was overbearing, harsh, and probably selfish to the full extent to be looked for in a man of worldly ambition. However, in one of the causes of quarrel which arose during the passage, he acted, if not with policy, certainly with boldness and

humanity. It was when they came to the Tropic of Cancer, where, in those times, it was customary to baptize all green hands, as is still sometimes done under the Equator. On this occasion, the sailors of La Salle's little squadron promised themselves rare sport and much plunder, grog, and other good things, the forfeit paid by those who do not wish a seasoning; but all these expectations were stopped, and hope turned into hate, by the express and emphatic statement on the part of La Salle, that no man under his command should be ducked, whereupon the commander of the fleet was forced to forbid the ceremony.

With such beginnings of bickering and dissatisfaction the Atlantic was slowly crossed, and, upon the 20th of September, the island of St. Domingo was reached. Here certain arrangements were to be made with the colonial authorities; but, as they were away, it became necessary to stop there for a time. And a sad time it was. The fever seized the new-comers; the ships were crowded with sick; La Salle himself was brought to the verge of the grave; and, when he recovered, the first news that greeted him, was that of his four vessels, the one wherein he had embarked his stores and implements, had been taken by the Spaniards. The sick man had to bestir himself thereupon to procure new supplies; and while he was doing so, his enemies were also bestirring themselves to seduce his men from him, so that what with death and desertion, he was likely to have a small crew at the last. But energy did much; and, on the 25th of November, the first of the remaining vessels, she that was "to carry the light," sailed for the coast of America. In her went La Salle, and the historian of the voyage, Joutel.

For a whole month were the disconsolate sailors sailing, and sounding, and stopping to take in water and shoot alligators, and drifting in utter uncertainty, until, on the 28th of December, the mainland was fairly discovered. But "there being" as Joutel says, "no man among them who had any knowledge of that Bay," and there being also an impression that they must steer very much to the westward to avoid the currents, it was no wonder they missed the Mississippi, and wandered far beyond it, not knowing where they went; and so wore away the whole month of January, 1685. At last, La Salle, out of patience, determined to land some of his men, and go along the shore toward the point where he believed the mouth of the Mississippi to be, and Joutel was appointed one of the commanders of this exploring party. They

started on the 4th of February, and travelled eastward, (for it was clear that they had passed the river) during three days, when they came to a great stream which they could not cross, having no boats. Here they made fire signals, and, on the 13th, two of the vessels came in sight; the mouth of the river, or entrance of the bay, for such it proved to be, was forthwith sounded, and the barks sent in to be under shelter. But, sad to say, La Salle's old fortune was at work here again; for the vessel which bore his provisions and most valuable stores, was run upon a shoal by the grossest neglect, or, as Joutel thinks, with malice prepense; and, soon after, the wind coming in strong from the sea, she fell to pieces in the night, and the bay was full of casks and packages, which could not be saved, or were worthless when drawn from the salt water. From this untimely fate our poor adventurer rescued but a small half of his second stock of indispensables.

And here, for a moment, let us pause to look at the Chevalier's condition in the middle of March, 1685. Beaujeu, with his ship, is gone, leaving his comrades in the marshy wilderness, with not much of joy to look forward to. They had guns, and powder, and shot; eight cannon, too, "but not one bullet," that is, cannon-ball, the naval gentlemen having refused to give them any. And here are our lonely settlers, building a fort upon the shores of the Bay of St. Louis, as they called it, known to us as the Bay of St. Bernard, or Matagorda Bay, in Texas. They build from the wreck of their ship, we cannot think with light hearts; every plank and timber tells of past ill luck, and, as they look forward, there is vision of irritated savages (for there had been warring already,) of long search for the *Hidden River*,* of toils and dangers in its ascent when reached. No wonder, that "during that time several men deserted." So strong was the fever for desertion, that, of some who stole away and were retaken, it was found necessary to execute one.

And now La Salle prepares to issue from his nearly completed fort, to look round and see where he is. He has still a good force, some hundred and fifty people; and, by prompt and determined action, much may be done between this last of March and next autumn. In the first place, the river falling into the Bay of St. Louis is examined, and a new fort commenced in that neighborhood, where seed is planted also; for the men begin to tire of meat and fish, with spare allowance of bread, and no vegetables.

* So the Spaniards called the Mississippi.

But the old luck is at work still. The seed will not sprout; men desert; the fort goes forward miserably slow; and at last, three months and more gone to no purpose, Joutel and his men, who are still hewing timber at the first fort, are sent for, and told to bring their timber with them in a float. The float or raft was begun "with immense labor," says the wearied historian, but all to no purpose, for the weather was so adverse, that it had to be all taken apart again and buried in the sand. Empty-handed, therefore, Joutel sought his superior, the effects being left at a post by the way. And he came to a scene of desolation; men sick, and no houses to put them in; all the looked-for crop blasted; and not a ray of comfort from any quarter.

"Well," said La Salle, "we must now muster all hands, and build ourselves 'a large lodgment.'" But there was no timber within a league; and not a cart nor a bullock to be had, for the buffaloes, though abundant, were ill broken to such labor. If done, this dragging must be done by men; so, over the long grass and weeds of the prairie-plain, they dragged some sticks, with vast suffering. Afterwards the carriage of a gun was tried; but it would not do; "the ablest men were quite spent." Indeed, heaving and hauling over that damp plain, and under that July sun, might have tried the constitution of the best of Africans; and of the poor Frenchmen thirty died, worn out. The carpenter was lost; and, worse still, La Salle, wearied, worried, disappointed, lost his temper and insulted his men. So closed July; the Chevalier turned carpenter, marking out the tenons and mortises of what timber he could get, and growing daily more cross. In March he thought much might be done before autumn, and now autumn stands but one month removed from him, and not even a house built yet.

And August soon passed too, not without results, however; for the timber that had been buried below was got up, and a second house built, "all covered with planks and bullock's hides over them."

And now once more was La Salle ready to seek the Mississippi. First, he thought he would try with the last of the four barks with which he left France; the bark *La Belle*, "a little frigate carrying six guns," which the King had given our Chevalier to be his navy. But, after having put all his clothes and valuables on board of her, he determined to try with twenty men to reach his object by land. This was in December, 1685. From this

expedition he did not return until March, 1686, when he came to his fort again, ragged, hatless, and worn down, with six or seven followers at his heels, his travels having been all in vain. It was not very encouraging; but, says Joutel, "we thought only of making ourselves as merry as we could." The next day came the rest of the party, who had been sent to find the little frigate, which should have been in the bay. They came mournfully, for the little frigate could not be found, and she had all La Salle's best effects on board.

The bark was gone; but our hero's heart was still beating in his bosom, a little cracked and shaken, but strong and iron-bound still. So, borrowing some changes of linen from Joutel, toward the latter end of April, he again set forth, he and twenty men, each with his pack, "to look for his river," as our writer aptly terms it. Some days after his departure, the bark *La Belle* came to light again; for she was not lost, but only ashore. Deserted by her forlorn and diminished crew, however, she seems to have been suffered to break up and go to pieces in her own way, for we hear no more of the little frigate.

And now, for a time, things went on pretty smoothly. There was even a marriage at the fort; and "Monsieur le Marquis la Sabloniere" wished to act as groom in a second, but Joutel absolutely refused. By and by, however, the men, seeing that La Salle did not return, "began to mutter." There were even proposals afloat to make away with Joutel, and start upon a new enterprise; the leader in which half-formed plan was one Sieur Duhaut, an unsafe man, and inimical to La Salle, who had, probably, maltreated him somewhat. Joutel, however, learned the state of matters, and put a stop to all such proceedings. Knowing idleness to be a root of countless evils, he made his men work and dance as long as there was vigor enough in them to keep their limbs in motion; and in such manner the summer passed away, until in August La Salle returned. He had been as far as the sources of the Sabine, probably, but had suffered greatly; of the twenty men he had taken with him, only eight came back, some having fallen sick, some having died, and others deserted to the Indians. He had not found "his river," though he had been so far in that direction; but he came back full of spirits, "which," says our writer, "revived the lowest ebb of hope." He was all ready, too, to start again at once, to seek the Mississippi, and go onward to Canada, and thence to France, to get new

recruits and supplies; but, "it was determined to let the great heats pass before that enterprise was taken in hand." And the heats passed, but with them our hero's health, so that the proposed journey was delayed from time to time until the 12th of January, 1687.

On that day started the last company of La Salle's adventurers. Among them went Joutel, and also the discontented Duhaut; and all took their "leaves with so much tenderness and sorrow as if they had all presaged that they should never see each other more." They went northwest along the bank of the river on which their fort stood, until they came to where the streams running toward the coast were fordable, and then turned eastward. From the 12th of January until the 15th of March did they thus journey across that southern country, crossing "curious meadows," through which ran "several little brooks, of very clear and good water," which, with the tall trees, all of a size, and planted as if by a line, "afforded a most delightful landskip." They met many Indians too, with whom La Salle established relations of peace and friendship. Game was abundant, "plenty of fowl and particularly of turkeys," was there, which was "an ease to their sufferings"; and so they still toiled on in shoes of green bullocks' hide, which, dried by the sun, pinched cruelly, until, following the tracks of the buffaloes, who choose by instinct the best ways, they had come to a pleasanter country than they had yet passed through, and were well on toward the long-sought Father of Waters.

On the 15th of March, La Salle, recognising the spot where they then were as one through which he had passed in his former journey, and near which he had hidden some beans and Indian wheat, ordered the Sieurs Duhaut, Hiens, Liotot the Surgeon, and some others, to go and seek them. This they did, but found that the food was all spoiled, so they turned toward the camp again. While coming campward they chanced upon two bullocks, which were killed by one of La Salle's hunters, who was with them. So they sent the commander word that they had killed some meat, and that, if he would have the flesh dried, he might send horses to carry it to the place where he lay; and, meanwhile, they cut up the bullocks, and took out the marrow-bones, and laid them aside for their own choice eating, as was usual to do. When La Salle heard of the meat that had been taken, he sent his nephew and chief confidant, M. Moranget, with one De Male and his own footman, giving them orders to send all that was fit to the camp at

once. M. Moranget, when he came to where Duhaut and the rest were, and found that they had laid by for themselves the marrow-bones, became angry, took from them their choice pieces, threatened them, and spoke harsh words. This treatment touched these men, already not well pleased, to the quick; and, when it was night, they took counsel together how they might best have their revenge. The end of such counselling, where anger is foremost, and the wilderness is all about one, needs scarce to be told; "we will have their blood, all that are of that party shall die," said these malcontents. So, when M. Moranget and the rest had supped and fallen asleep, Liotot the surgeon took an axe, and with few strokes killed them all; all that were of La Salle's party, even his poor Indian hunter, because he was faithful; and, lest De Male might not be with them (for him they did not kill,) they forced him to stab M. Moranget, who had not died by the first blow of Liotot's axe, and then threw them out for the carrion-birds to feast on.

This murder was done upon the 17th of March. And at once the murderers would have killed La Salle, but he and his men were on the other side of a river, and the water for two days was so high that they could not cross.

La Salle, meantime, was growing anxious also; his nephew so long absent, what meant it? and he went about asking if Duhaut had not been a malcontent; but none said, Yes. Doubtless there was something in La Salle's heart, which told him his followers had cause to be his foes. It was now the 20th of the month, and he could not forbear setting out to seek his lost relative. Leaving Joutel in command, therefore, he started with a Franciscan monk and one Indian. Coming near the hut which the murderers had put up, though still on the opposite side of the river, he saw carrion-birds hovering near, and to call attention if any were there, fired a shot. There were keen and watching ears and eyes there; the gun told them to be quick, for their prey was in the net; so, at once, Duhaut and another crossed the river, and, while the first hid himself among the tall weeds, the latter showed himself to La Salle at a good distance off. Going instantly to meet him, the fated man passed near to the spot where Duhaut was hid. The traitor lay still till he came opposite; then, raising his piece, shot his commander through the head; after lingering an hour, he died.

Thus fell La Salle, on the threshold of success. No man had

more strongly all the elements that would have borne him safe through, if we except that element which insures affection. "He had a capacity and talent," says Joutel, one of his staunchest friends, "to make his enterprise successful; his constancy, and courage, and extraordinary knowledge in arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for any thing, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertaking, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behavior, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidness toward those that were under his command, which at last drew on him an implacable hatred, and was the occasion of his death."

La Salle died, as far as can be judged, upon a branch of the Brazos.*

And now, the leader being killed, his followers toiled on mournfully, and in fear, each of the others,—Duhaut assuming the command,—until May. Then there arose a difference among them as to their future course; and, by and by, things coming to extremities, some of La Salle's murderers turned upon the others, and Duhaut and Liotot were killed by their comrades. This done, the now dominant party determined to remain among the Indians, with whom they then were, and where they found some who had been with La Salle in his former expedition, and had deserted. These were living among the savages, painted, and shaved, and naked, with great store of squaws and scalps. But Joutel was not of this way of thinking; he and some others still wished to find the Great River and get to Canada. At last, all consenting, he did, with six others, leave the main body, and take up his march for the Illinois, where he hoped to find Tonti, who should have been all this while at Fort St. Louis. This was in May, 1687.

With great labor this little band forced their heavy-laden horses over the fat soil, in which they often stuck fast; and, daring countless dangers, at length, upon the 24th of July, reached the Arkansas, where they found a post containing a few Frenchmen who had been placed there by Tonti. Here they stayed a little while, and then went forward again, and on the 14th of September, reached Fort St. Louis, upon the Illinois. At this post, Joutel remained until the following March,—that of 1688,—

* Sparks, 158.

when he set off for Quebec, which city he reached on the last of July, just four years having passed since he sailed from Rochelle.

Thus ended La Salle's third and last voyage, producing no permanent settlement; for the Spaniards came, dismantled the fort upon the Bay of St. Louis, and carried away its garrison, and the Frenchmen who had been left elsewhere in the southwest intermingled with the Indians, until all trace of them was lost.

And so closed his endeavors, in defeat. Yet he had not worked and suffered in vain. He had thrown open to France and the world an immense and most valuable country; had established several permanent forts, and laid the foundation of more than one settlement there. Peoria, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, to this day, are monuments of La Salle's labors; for, though he founded neither of them, (unless Peoria, which was built nearly upon the site of Fort Crevecœur,) it was by those whom he led into the West, that these places were peopled and civilized. He was, if not the discoverer, the first settler of the Mississippi Valley, and as such deserves to be known and honored.*

Tonti, left by La Salle when he sailed for France after reaching the Gulf Mexico in 1682, remained as commander of that Rock Fort of St. Louis, which he had begun in 1680. Here he stayed, swaying absolutely the Indian tribes, and acting as viceroy over the unknown and uncounted Frenchmen who were beginning to wander through that beautiful country, making discoveries of which we have no records left. In 1686, looking to meet La Salle, he went down to the mouth of the Mississippi; but discovering no signs of his old comrade, turned northward again, and reaching his fort on the Illinois, found work to do; for the Iroquois, long threatening, were now in the battle-field, backed by the English, and Tonti, with his western wild allies, was forced to march and fight. Engaged in this business, he appears to us at intervals in the pages of Charlevoix; in the fall of 1687 we have him with Joutel, at Fort St. Louis; in April, 1689, he suddenly appears to us at Crevecœur, revealed by the Baron La Hontan; and again, early in 1700, D'Iberville is visited by him at the mouth of the Mississippi. After that we see him no more, and the *Biographie Universelle* tells us, that, though he remained

* The authorities in relation to La Salle are Hennepin; a narrative published in the name of Tonti in 1697, but disclaimed by him; (Charlevoix iii. 365.—*Lettres edifiantes* letter of Marest, xi. 308, original edition. Introduction to Sparks' Life of La Salle:) the work of Le Clercq, already mentioned; Joutel's Journal; and Sparks' Life: the last is especially valuable.

many years in Louisiana, he finally was not there; but of his death, or departure thence, no one knows.

Next in sequence, we have a glimpse of the above-named Baron La Hontan, discoverer of the Long River, and, as that discovery seems to prove, drawer of a somewhat long bow. By his volumes, published *a la Haye*, in 1706, we learn, that he too warred against the Iroquois in 1687 and 1688; and, having gone so far westward as the Lake of the Illinois, thought he would contribute his mite to the discoveries of those times. So, with a sufficient escort, he crossed, by Marquette's old route Fox River and the Wisconsin, to the Mississippi; and, turning up that stream, sailed thereon till he came to the mouth of a river, called *Long River*, coming from the West. This river emptied itself (as appears by his map) nearly where the St. Peter's does in our day. Upon this stream, one of immense size, our Baron sailed for eighty and odd days, meeting the most extensive and civilized Indian nations of which we have any account in those regions; and, after his eighty and odd days' sailing, he got less than half-way to the head of this great river, which was, indeed, not less than two thousand miles long, and, as he learned from the red men, who drew him a map of its course above his stopping-point, led to a lake, whence another river led to the South Sea; so that at last the great problem of those days was solved, and the wealth of China and the East thrown open by the Baron de la Hontan.* All this was of course false; and, even in his own day, though a man of some station, he was thought to be a mere romancer; and yet it may be that the Baron entered the St. Peter's when filled with the back waters of the Mississippi, and heard from the Indians of the connection by it and the Red River with Lake Winnipeg, and the communication between that lake and Hudson's Bay, by Nelson River, and, looking westward all the while, turned Hudson's Bay into the South Sea.†

After La Hontan's alleged discoveries we have few events worth recording in the annals of the north-west previous to 1750. "La Salle's death," says Charlevoix, in one place, "dispersed the French who had gathered upon the Illinois;" but in another, he speaks of Tonti and twenty Canadians, as established among the

* *Voyages de La Hontan*, vol. i. p. 194.

†See map in Long's *Second Expedition up the St. Peter's*, and La Hontan's maps. Also, Nicollet's Report to Congress, in 1843. Nicollet thinks the Cannon River, which he calls "River La Hontan," was the one entered by the Baron.

Illinois three years after the Chevalier's fate was known there.* This, however, is clear, that before 1693, the reverend Father Gravier began a mission among the Illinois, and became the founder of Kaskaskia, though in what year we know not; but for some time it was merely a missionary station, and the inhabitants of the village consisted entirely of natives, it being one of three such villages, the other two being Cahokia and Peoria. This we learn from a letter written by Father Gabriel Marest, dated "Aux Cascaskias, autrement dit de l'Immaculee Conception de la Sainte vierge, le 9 Novembre 1712." In this letter the writer after telling us that Gravier must be regarded as the founder of the Illinois Missions, he having been the first to reduce the principles of the language of those Indians to grammatical order, and so to make preaching to them of avail,—goes on near the close of his epistle to say, "These advantages (rivers, &c.) favor the design which some French have of establishing themselves in our village. * * If the French who may come among us will edify our Neophytes by their piety and good conduct, nothing would please us better than their coming; but if immoral, and perhaps irreligious, as there is reason to fear, they would do more harm than we can do good."†

Soon after the founding of Kaskaskia, though in this case also we are ignorant of the year, the missionary Pinet gathered a flock at Cahokia;‡ while Peoria arose near the remains of Fort Crevecœur.‖ An unsuccessful attempt was also made to found a colony on the Ohio,§ it failed in consequence of sickness. In the north De la Motte Cadillac, in June, 1701, laid the foundation of Fort Pontchartrain on the Strait, (le Detroit:)¶ while in

* *New France*, vol. iii. pp. 395, 383.

† Bancroft, iii. 195. Lettres Edifiantes, (Paris 1781,) 328, 339, 375. Hall and others speak of the Kaskaskia records as containing deeds dated 1712; these may have been to the French referred to by Marest, or perhaps to converted Indians.

‡ Bancroft, iii 196.

‖ There was an Old Peoria on the northwest shore of the lake of that name, a mile and a half above the outlet. From 1778 to 1796 the inhabitants left this for New Peoria, (Fort Clark,) at the outlet. American State Papers, xviii. 476.

§ Judge Law, in his Address of February, 1839, before the Vincennes Historical Society, contends that this post was on the Wabash, and at Vincennes, (p. 14, 15, and note B.) Charlevoix, (ii. 266, edition 1744,) says it was "*a l'entree de la Riviere Ouabache, qui se decharge dans le Micissipi, &c.*"—"At the entrance (or mouth) of the River Ouabache which discharges itself into the Mississippi." The name Ouabache was applied to the Ohio below the mouth of what we now call the Wabash. See all the more ancient maps, &c.

¶ Charlevoix, ii. 284.—Le Detroit was the whole Strait from Erie to Huron. (Charlevoix, ii. 269, note: see also his Journal.) The first grants of land at Detroit, i. e. Fort

the southwest efforts were making to realize the dreams of La Salle. The leader in the last named enterprise was Lemoine d'Iberville, a Canadian officer, who, from 1694 to 1697, distinguished himself not a little by battles and conquests among the icebergs of the "Baye d'Udson" or Hudson's Bay.* He having, in the year last named, returned to France, proposed to the minister to try, what had been given up since La Salle's sad fate, the discovery and settlement of Louisiana by sea. The Count of Pontchartrain, who was then at the head of marine affairs, was led to take an interest in the proposition; and, upon the 17th of October, 1698, D'Iberville took his leave of France, handsomely equipped for the expedition, and with two good ships to forward him in his attempt.†

Of this D'Iberville we have no very clear notion, except that he was a man of judgment, self-possession, and prompt action. Gabriel Marest presents him to us in the "Baye d'Udson," his ships crowded and almost crushed by the ice, and his brother, a young, bright boy of nineteen, his favorite brother, just killed by a chance shot from the English fort which they were besieging;—and there the commander stands on the icy deck, the cold October wind singing in the shrouds, and his dead brother waiting till their lives are secured before he can receive Christian burial,—there he stands, "moved exceedingly," says the missionary,—but giving his orders with a calm face, full tone, and clear mind. "He put his trust on God," says Father Gabriel, "and God consoled him from that day; the same tide brought both his vessels out of danger, and bore them to the spot where they were wanted."‡

Such was the man who, upon the 31st of January, 1699, let go his anchor in the Bay of Mobile. Having looked about him at this spot, he went thence to seek the great river called by the savages, says Charlevoix, "Malbouchia," and by the Spaniards, "la Palissade," from the great number of trees about its mouth. Searching carefully, upon the 2d of March, our commander found and entered the Hidden River, whose mouth had been so long and unsuccessfully sought. As soon as this was done, one of the vessels returned to France to carry thither the news of D'Iberville's success, while he turned his prow up the Father of Waters.

Pontchartrain, were made in 1707.—(See American State Papers, xvi. 263 to 284. Lanman's History of Michigan, 336.)

* *New France*, vol. iii. pp. 215, 299.—*Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. x. p. 280.

† *New France*, vol. iii. p. 377.

‡ *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. x. p. 300.

Slowly ascending the vast stream, he found himself puzzled by the little resemblance which it bore to that described by Tonti and by Hennepin. So great were the discrepancies, that he had begun to doubt if he were not upon the wrong stream, when an Indian chief sent to him Tonti's letter to La Salle, on which, through thirteen years, those wild men had been looking with wonder and awe. Assured by this that he had indeed reached the desired spot, and wearied probably by his tedious sail thus far, he returned to the Bay of Biloxi, between the Mississippi and the Mobile waters, built a fort in that neighborhood, and, having manned it in a suitable manner, returned to France himself.*

While he was gone, in the month of September, 1699, the lieutenant of his fort, M. De Bienville, went round to explore the mouths of the Mississippi, and take soundings. Engaged in this business, he had rowed up the main entrance some twenty-five leagues, when, unexpectedly, and to his no little chagrin, a British corvette came in sight, a vessel carrying twelve cannon, slowly creeping up the swift current. M. Bienville, nothing daunted, though he had but his leads and lines to do battle with, spoke up, and said, that, if this vessel did not leave the river without delay, he had force enough at hand to make her repent it. All which had its effect; the Britons about ship and stood to sea again, growling as they went, and saying, that they had discovered that country fifty years before, that they had a better right to it than the French, and would soon make them know it. The bend in the river, where this took place, is still called "English Turn." This was the first meeting of those rival nations in the Mississippi Valley, which, from that day, was a bone of contention between them till the conclusion of the French war of 1756. Nor did the matter rest long with this visit from the corvette. Englishmen began to creep over the mountains from Carolina, and, trading with the Chicachas, or Chickasaws of our day, stirred them up to acts of enmity against the French.

When D'Iberville came back from France, in January, 1700, and heard of these things, he determined to take possession of the country anew, and to build a fort upon the banks of the Mississippi itself. So, with due form, the vast valley of the West was again sworn in to Louis, as the whole continent through to the South Sea had been previously sworn in by the English to the Charleses and Jameses; and, what was more effectual, a little fort

* *New France* vol. iii. p. 280, *et. seq.*

was built, and four pieces of cannon placed thereon. But even this was not much to the purpose; for it soon disappeared, and the marshes about the mouth of the Great River were again, as they had ever been, and long must be, uninhabited by men.

D'Iberville, in the next place, having been visited and guided up the river by Tonti in 1700, proposed to found a city among the Natchez,—a city to be named, in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain, *Rosalie.* Indeed, he did pretend to lay the corner-stone of such a place, though it was not till 1714 that the fort called *Rosalie* was founded, where the city of Natchez is standing at this day.

Having thus built a fort at the mouth of the Great River, and designated a choice spot above for a settlement, D'Iberville once more sought Europe, having, before he left, ordered M. Le Sueur to go up the Mississippi in search of a copper mine, which that personage had previously got a clue to, upon a branch of the St. Peter's river;* which order was fulfilled, and much metal obtained, though at the cost of great suffering. Mining was always a Jack-a-lantern with the first settlers of America, and our French friends were no wiser than their neighbors. The products of the soil were, indeed, scarce thought valuable on a large scale, it being supposed that the wealth of Louisiana consisted in its pearl-fishery, its mines, and the wool of its wild cattle.† In 1701 the commander came again, and began a new establishment upon the river Mobile, one which superseded that at Biloxi, which thus far had been the chief fort in that southern colony. After this things went on but slowly until 1708; D'Iberville died on one of his voyages between the mother country and and her sickly daughter, and after his death little was done. In 1708, however, M. D'Artagnette came from France as commissary of Louisiana, and, being a man of spirit and energy, did more for it than had been done before. But it still lingered; and, under the impression that a private man of property might manage it better than the government could, the king, upon the 14th of September, 1712, granted to Crozat, a man of great wealth, the monopoly of Louisiana for fifteen years, and the absolute ownership of whatever mines he might cause to be opened.‡

* Charlevoix, vol. iv. pp. 162, 164. In Long's *Second Expedition*, p. 318, may be seen a detailed account of Le Sueur's proceedings, taken from a manuscript statement of them.

† Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 389.

‡ The grant may be found Land Laws 944.

Crozat, with whom was associated Cadillac, the founder of Detroit and governor of Louisiana, relied mainly upon two things for success in his speculation; the one, the discovery of mines; the other, a lucrative trade with New Mexico. In regard to the first, after many years' labor, he was entirely disappointed; and met with no better success in his attempt to open a trade with the Spaniards, although he sent to them both by sea and land.

Crozat, therefore, being disappointed in his mines and his trade, and having, withal, managed so badly as to diminish the colony, at last, in 1717, resigned his privileges to the king again, leaving in Louisiana not more than seven hundred souls.

Then followed the enterprises of the far-famed Mississippi Company or Company of the West, established to aid the immense banking and stock-jobbing speculations of John Law, a gambling, wandering Scotchman, who seems to have been possessed with the idea that wealth could be indefinitely increased by increasing the circulating medium in the form of notes of credit. The public debt of France was selling at 60 to 70 per cent. discount; Law was authorized to establish a bank of circulation, the shares in which might be paid for in public stock at par, and to induce the public to subscribe for the bank shares, and to confide in them, the Company of the West was established in connection with the Bank, having the exclusive right of trading in the Mississippi country for twenty-five years, and with the monopoly of the Canada beaver trade. This was in September, 1717; in 1718 the monopoly of tobacco was also granted to this favored creature of the State; in 1719, the exclusive right of trading in Asia, and the East Indies; and soon after the farming of the public revenue, together with an extension of all these privileges to the year 1770; and as if all this had been insufficient, the exclusive right of coining, for nine years, was next added to the immense grants already made to the Company of the West.* Under this hotbed system, the stock of the Company rose to 500, 600, 800, 1000, 1500, and at last 2050 per cent.; this was in April, 1720. At that time the notes of the bank in circulation exceeded two hundred millions of dollars, and this abundance of money raised the price of every thing to twice its true value. Then the bubble burst; decree after decree was made to uphold the tottering fabric of false credit, but in vain; in January, 1720, Law had been

* After 1719, called the Company of the Indies.

made minister of finance, and as such he proceeded first, to forbid all persons to have on hand more than about one hundred dollars in specie, any amount beyond that must be exchanged for paper, and all payments for more than twenty dollars were to be made in paper; and this proving insufficient, in March, all payments over two dollars were ordered to be in paper, and he who dared attempt to exchange a bill for specie forfeited both. Human folly could go no farther; in April the stock began to fall, in May the Company was regarded as bankrupt, the notes of the bank fell to ten cents on the dollar, and though a decree made it an offence to refuse them at par they were soon worth little more than waste paper.

Under the direction of a Company thus organized and controlled, and closely connected with a bank so soon ruined, but little could be hoped for a colony which depended on good management to develop its real resources for trade and agriculture.* In 1718, colonists were sent from Europe, and New Orleans laid out with much ceremony and many hopes; but in January, 1722, Charlevoix writing thence, says, "if the eight hundred fine houses and the five parishes that were two years since represented by the journals, as existing here, shrink now to a hundred huts, built without order,—a large wooden magazine,—two or three houses that would do but little credit to a French village,—and half of an old store-house, which was to have been occupied as a chapel, but from which the priests soon retreated to a tent as preferable,—if all this is so, still how pleasant to think of what this city will one day be, and instead of weeping over its decay and ruin to look forward to its growth to opulence and power."† And again, "The best idea you can form of New Orleans, is to imagine two hundred persons, sent to build a city, but who have encamped on the river-bank, just sheltered from the weather, and waiting for houses.—They have a beautiful and regular plan for this metropolis, but it will prove harder to execute than to draw."‡ Such, not in words precisely but in substance, were the representations and hopes of the wise historian of New France, respecting the capital of the colony of Law's great corporation; and we may be sure that with the chief place in such a condition, not much had been

* A set of regulations for governing the Company, passed in 1721, may be found in Dillon's Indiana, 41 to 44.

† Charlevoix, iii. 430—ed. 1744.

‡ Charlevoix, iii. 441—ed. 1744.

done for the permanent improvement of the country about it. The truth was, the same prodigality and folly which prevailed in France during the government of John Law, over credit and commerce, found their way to his western possessions; and though the colony then planted, survived, and the city then founded became in time what had been hoped,—it was long before the influence of the gambling mania of 1718, 19 and 20, passed away. Indeed the returns from Louisiana never repaid the cost and trouble of protecting it, and, in 1732, the Company asked leave to surrender their privileges to the crown, a favor which was granted them.

But though the Company of the West did little for the enduring welfare of the Mississippi valley, it did something; the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, rice and silk, was introduced, the lead mines of Missouri were opened, though at vast expense and in hope of finding silver; and, in Illinois, the culture of wheat began to assume some degree of stability, and of importance. In the neighborhood of the River Kaskaskias, Charlevoix found three villages, and about Fort Chartres, the head quarters of the Company in that region, the French were rapidly settling.

All the time, however, during which the great monopoly lasted, was, in Louisiana, a time of contest and trouble. The English, who, from an early period, had opened commercial relations with the Chickasaws, through them constantly interfered with the trade of the Mississippi. Along the coast, from Pensacola to the Rio del Norte, Spain disputed the claims of her northern neighbor: and at length the war of the Natchez struck terror into the hearts of both white and red men. Amid that nation, as we have said, D'Iberville had marked out Fort Rosalie, in 1700, and fourteen years later its erection had been commenced. The French, placed in the midst of the natives, and deeming them worthy only of contempt, increased their demands and injuries until they required even the abandonment of the chief town of the Natchez, that the intruders might use its site for a plantation. The inimical Chickasaws heard the murmurs of their wronged brethren, and breathed into their ears counsels of vengeance; the sufferers determined on the extermination of their tyrants. On the 28th of November, 1729, every Frenchman in that colony died by the hands of the natives, with the exception of two mechanics: the women and children were spared. It was a fearful revenge, and fearfully did the avengers suffer for their murders. Two months passed by,

and the French and Chocktaws in one day took sixty of their scalps; in three months they were driven from their country and scattered among the neighboring tribes; and within two years the remnants of the nation, chiefs and people, were sent to St. Domingo and sold into slavery. So perished this ancient and peculiar race, in the same year in which the Company of the West yielded its grants into the royal hands.

When Louisiana came again into the charge of the government of France, it was determined, as a first step, to strike terror into the Chickasaws, who, devoted to the English, constantly interfered with the trade of the Mississippi. For this purpose the forces of New France, from New Orleans to Detroit, were ordered to meet in the country of the inimical Indians, upon the 10th of May, 1736, to strike a blow which should be final. D'Artaguette, governor of Illinois, with the young and gallant Vincennes, leading a small body of French and more than a thousand northern Indians, on the day appointed, was at the spot appointed; but Bienville, who had returned as the king's lieutenant to that southern land which he had aided to explore, was not where the commanders from above expected to meet him. During ten days they waited, and still saw nothing, heard nothing of the forces from the south. Fearful of exhausting the scant patience of his red allies, at length D'Artaguette ordered the onset; a first and a second of the Chickasaw stations were carried successfully, but in attacking a third the French leader fell; when the Illinois saw their commander wounded, they turned and fled, leaving him and de Vincennes, who would not desert him, in the hands of the Chickasaws. Five days afterwards, Bienville and his followers, among whom were great numbers of Choctaws, bribed to bear arms against their kinsmen, came creeping up the stream of the Tombecbee; but the savages were on their guard, English traders had aided them to fortify their position, and the French in vain attacked their log fort. On the 20th of May, D'Artaguette had fallen; on the 27th, Bienville had failed in his assault; on the 31st, throwing his cannon into the river, he and his white companions turned their prows to the south again. Then came the hour of barbarian triumph, and the successful Chickasaws danced round the flames in which were crackling the sinews of D'Artaguette, Vincennes, and the Jesuit Senat, who stayed and died of his own free will, because duty bade him.

Three years more passed away, and again a French army of

nearly four thousand white, red and black men was gathered upon the banks of the Mississippi, to chastise the Chickasaws. From the summer of 1739 to the spring of 1740, this body of men sickened and wasted at Fort Assumption, upon the site of Memphis. In March of the last named year, without a blow struck, peace was concluded, and the province of Louisiana once more sunk into inactivity.*

Of the ten years which followed, we know but little that is interesting in relation to the West; and of its condition in 1750, we can give no better idea than may be gathered from the following extracts of letters written by Vivier, a missionary among the Illinois.

Writing "Aux Illinois," six leagues from Fort Chartres, June 8th, 1750, Vivier says: "We have here Whites, Negroes and Indians, to say nothing of cross-breeds. There are five French villages, and three villages of the natives, within a space of twenty-one leagues, situated between the Mississippi and another river called the Karkadiad (Kaskaskias.) In the five French villages are, perhaps, eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some sixty red slaves or savages. The three Illinois towns do not contain more than eight hundred souls, all told.† Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs and horses, and live like princes. Three times as much is produced as can be consumed; and great quantities of grain and flour are sent to New Orleans." In this letter, also, Vivier says that which shows Father Marest's fears of French influence over the Indian neophytes to have been well founded. Of the three Illinois towns, he tells us, one was given up by the missionaries as beyond hope, and in a second but a poor harvest rewarded their labors; and all was owing to the bad example of the French, and the introduction by them of ardent spirits.‡

Again, in an epistle dated November 17, 1750, Vivier says:

* In reference to Crozat, Law, and events in Louisiana, we refer to Bancroft iii.; Penny Cyclopedia, articles "Law," "Mississippi Company;" Charlevoix, vol. ii.; Du Pratz's Louisiana; Niles's Register, ii. 161, 189; and the collection of documents (mostly official) relative to the Company of the West, published at Amsterdam, in 1720, in the work called "Relations de la Louisiane, et du Fleuve Mississippi," 2 vols.

† There was a fourth, (Peoria probably,) eighty leagues distant, nearly as large as the three referred to; this is stated in another part of the same letter.

‡ Criminals, vagabonds and strumpets, were largely exported to Louisiana, when the first settlements were made.—Father Poisson in Lettres Edifiantes, (Paris, 1781,) vi. 393, &c.

Le Missouri R.
Chat. Ruines.
Kaskasquias.
Fort de Chartres
R. des Kaskasquias.
Bourgade Françoise.
Ce pais est pleine de mines.
Fleuve Mississippi.
Caverne dans le Roc.
L'Oyo R.
R. des Cheraquis.
Sault ou Chute d'eau.
L'Oyo ou la Belle Riviere.
R. Cachiqueto.
R. des Anciens Chouanons.
PAYS DES CHOUANONS.
R. Polesipi selon les Anglois.
R. Hogohegee selon les Anglois.
Chestone.
Amoyee.
Forte et Poste Anglois.
Cheraquis.
Ohio R.
Kaskaskias.
Mississippi.
Cabokia.
Prairie de Roche.
Fort Chartres.
Ind. Town.
Cape Gerardeau.
Grand Towers.
Grand Chain of Rocks.
Salina Cr.
New Bourbon
St. Genevieve.
Plaine Cr.
Merrimack.
Carondelet.
ST. LOUIS
Missouri
Mine la Mott.
LOUISIANA.
CORRECTIONS.
We give this Map as it is in the Volume from which we take it.—Carondelet, however, should be on the bank of the river; and Kaskaskia river should enter the Mississippi further south.
From
CHARLEVOIX'S
"NEW FRANCE."
38
37

95
94
93
92
91
90
89
87
85
L. Pepin.
R. St. Croix.
PAYS DES
RENARDS.
B. des Isles.
des Pou-teoua-tamis.
L. du Castor.
Fort et Mission St. Ignace.
L. HURON.
LAC MICHIGAN.
B. des Puans.
B. de Saguenam.
R. Ouisconsin.
Portages.
R. a la Mines.
R. aux Renards
Mine de Plomb.
Les Sakis Mission
St. Fr. Xavier
La Grande Riviere.
R. au Raisin.
PAYS DES
Mississippi.
Asenisipi ou R. a la Roche.
MASCOUTENS.
Checagou.
R. Noire.
Ville des Miamis.
R. S. Joseph.
Les Octotatas
Fleuve
PAYS DES MIAMIS.
PAYS DES
R. des Illinois.
R. du Teakiki.
Fort des Miamis
V. d'Illinois.
Le Rocher.
R. des Iroquois.
Michicaco.
Jerome.

"For fifteen leagues above the mouth of the Mississippi, one sees no dwellings, the ground being too low to be habitable. Thence to New Orleans the lands are only partially occupied. New Orleans, contains, black, white and red, not more, I think, than twelve hundred persons. To this point come all kinds of lumber, bricks, salt-beef, tallow, tar, skins and bear's grease; and above all, pork and flour from the Illinois. These things create some commerce, forty vessels and more have come hither this year. Above New Orleans, plantations are again met with; the most considerable is a colony of Germans, some ten leagues up the river. At Point Coupee, thirty-five leagues above the German settlement, is a fort. Along here, within five or six leagues, are not less than sixty 'habitations.' Fifty leagues farther up is the Natchez post, where we have a garrison who are kept prisoners by their fear of the Chickasaws and other savages. Here and at Point Coupee, they raise excellent tobacco. Another hundred leagues bring us to the Arkansas, where we have also a fort and garrison, for the benefit of the river traders. There were some inhabitants about here formerly, but in 1748, the Chickasaws attacked the post, slew many, took thirteen prisoners, and drove the rest into the fort. From the Arkansas to the Illinois, near five hundred leagues, there is not a settlement. There should, however, be a good fort on the Oubache, (Ohio,) the only path by which the English can reach the Mississippi. In the Illinois are numberless mines, but no one to work them as they deserve. Some individuals dig lead near the surface, and supply the Indians and Canada. Two Spaniards now here, who claim to be adepts, say that our mines are like those of Mexico, and that if we would dig deeper, we should find silver under the lead; at any rate the lead is excellent. There are also in this country copper mines beyond doubt, as from time to time large pieces are found in the streams."*

* Lettres Edifiantes, (Paris, 1781,) vii. 79 to 106.

# ENGLISH DISCOVERIES AND CLAIMS.

We have now sketched the progress of French discovery in the valley of the Mississippi. The first travellers reached that river in 1673, and when the new year of 1750 broke upon the great wilderness of the West, all was still wild except those little spots upon the prairies of Illinois, and among the marshes of Louisiana, which we have already named. Perhaps we ought also to except Vincennes, or St. Vincent's, on the Wabash*, as there is cause to believe that place was settled as early as 1735, at least. But the evidence in relation to this matter is of a kind which we think worth stating, not from the importance of the matter itself, but to illustrate the difficulty which besets an inquirer into certain points of our early western history. Volney, by conjecture, fixes the settlement of Vincennes about 1735:† Bishop Brute of Indiana, speaks of a missionary station there in 1700, and adds, "The friendly tribes and traders called to Canada for protection, and then M. de Vincennes came with a detachment, I think, of Carignan, and was killed in 1735;"‡ Mr. Bancroft says a military establishment was formed there in 1716, and in 1742, a settlement of herdsmen took place.‖ Judge Law regards the post as dating back to 1710 or 1711, supposing it to be the same with the Ohio settlement noticed on page 30, and quotes also an Act of Sale, existing at Kaskaskia, (if we understand him aright,) which, in in January, 1735, speaks of M. de Vinsenne, as "Commandant au Poste de Ouabache.§" Again, in a petition of the old inhabitants at Vincennes, dated in November, 1793, we find the settlement spoken of as having been made before 1742;¶ and such is the general voice of tradition. On the other hand, Charlevoix, who records the death of Vincennes, which took place among the

* Also called Post St. Vincent's and Au Poste or O'Post.

† Volney's View, p. 336.

‡ Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, xix., note.

‖ History United States, iii. 346.

§ Law's Address, 1839, p. 21.

¶ American State Papers, xvi. 32.

Chickasaws, (see ante p. 37,) in 1736, makes no mention of any post on the Wabash, or any missionary station there; neither does he mark any upon his map, although he gives even the British forts upon the Tennessee and elsewhere. Vivier, a part of whose letters we have already quoted, says in 1750 nothing of any mission on the Wabash, although writing in respect to western missions, and speaks of the *necessity* of a fort upon the "Ouabache;" by this, it is true, he meant doubtless the Ohio, but how natural to refer to the post at Vincennes, if one existed. In a volume of "Memoires" on Louisiana, compiled from the minutes of M. Dumont and published in Paris, in 1753, but probably prepared in 1749,* though we have an account of the Wabash or St. Jerome, its rise and course, and the use made of it by the traders, not a word is found touching any fort, settlement or station on it. Vaudreuil, when Governor of Louisiana, in 1751 mentions even then no post on the Wabash, although he speaks of the need of a post on the Ohio, near to where Fort Massac† or Massacre was built afterwards, and names Fort Miami, on the Maumee.‡ The records of Vincennes, Judge Law says, show no mission earlier than 1749.‖ Still farther, in "The Present State of North America," a pamphlet published in London, in 1755, with which is a map of the French posts in the West, we have it stated that in 1750 a fort was founded at Vincennes, and that in 1754, three hundred families were sent to settle about it.§

* Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane, &c.

† Thirty-five or forty miles from the Mississippi. It received its name, as the common tale goes, from the slaughter of its garrison by the Indians, who decoyed the French soldiers to the river side, by covering themselves with bear skins. The story may be found in Hall's Sketches of the West, i. 181. Nicolet, however, in his Report to Congress, (p. 79,) says it was not named Massac or Massacre, but Marsiac: while the writer of Bouquet's Expedition in 1764, calls it Massiac or Assumption, built in 1757. (Appendix ii. p. 64.) This last is probably the best authority.

‡ Quoted by Pownall, in his Memorial on Service in North America, drawn up in 1756. It forms an appendix to his "Administration of the Colonies," 4th edition, London, 1768. There is also an English map published in 1747, by Kitchen, purposely to show the French settlements, which does not name Vincennes. See also Sparks' *Franklin*, iii. 285.

‖ Address, p. 17.

§ p. 65. The French forts mentioned in this work, (Present State, &c.) as north of the Ohio, were,

Two on French Creek, (Riviere des Bœufs.)
Du Quesne.
Sandusky.
Miamis on Maumee.
St. Joseph's on the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan.
Pontchartrain at Detroit.

(over)

Such is the state of proof relative to Vincennes: one thing, however, seems certain, which is, that the Wabash was very early frequented. Hennepin, in 1663-4, had heard of the "Hohio"; the route from the lakes to the Mississippi, by the Wabash, was explored in 1676;* and in Hennepin's volume of 1698, is a journal, said to be that sent by La Salle to Count Frontenac, in 1682 or 3, which mentions the route by the Maumee† and Wabash, as the most direct to the great western river.

In 1749, therefore, when the English first began to move seriously about sending men into the West, there were only the Illinois and the lower country settlements, and perhaps Vincennes; the present States of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, being still substantially in the possession of the Indians. From this, however, it must not be inferred that the English colonists were ignorant of, or indifferent to, the capacities of the West, or that the movements of the French were unobserved up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Governor Spotswood of Virginia, as early as 1710, had commenced movements, the object of which was to secure the country beyond the Alleghenies to the English crown. He caused the mountain passes to be examined, and with much pomp and a great retinue, undertook the discovery of the regions on their western side. Then it was that he founded "The Tramontine Order," giving to each of those who accompanied him a golden horse-shoe, in commemoration of their toilsome mountain march, upon which they were forced to use horse-shoes, which were seldom needed in the soft soil of the eastern vallies. In Pennsylvania, also, Governor Keith and James Logan, Secretary of the Province, from 1719 to 1731 represented to the powers in Eng-

Massillimacanac.
Fox River of Green Bay.
Crevecœur.
Rock Fort, or Fort St. Louis, } on the Illinois.
Vincennes.
Mouth of the Wabash.
Cahokia.
Kaskaskia.
Mouth of the Ohio.
Mouth of the Missouri.

At the mouth of the Scioto, (called in the work just named, the "Sikoder") the French had a post during the war of 1756; see Rogers's *Journal*, London, 1765; Post's *Journal* in Proud's *Pennsylvania*, vol. ii. App. p. 117. See also Holmes' Annals, ii. 71, 72.

* Histoire General des Voyages, xiv. 758.

† Until this century, usually called the Miami, and sometimes the Tawa or Ottawa River.

land, the necessity of taking steps to secure the western lands.* Nothing, however, was done by the government of the mother country, except to take certain diplomatic steps to secure the claim of Britain to those distant and unexplored wildernesses.

England, from the outset, claimed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, on the ground that the discovery and possession of the seacoast was a discovery and possession of the country; and, as is well known, her grants to Virginia, Connecticut, and other colonies were through to the South Sea. It was not upon this, however, that Great Britain relied in her contest with France; she had other grounds, namely, actual discovery, and purchase or title of some kind from the Indian owners.

Her claim on the score of actual discovery was poorly supported however, and little insisted on.

"King Charles the First, in the fifth year of his reign (1630,) granted unto Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, a patent of all that part of America," which lies between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees north latitude, from sea to sea. Eight years afterwards, Sir Robert conveyed this very handsome property to Lord Maltravers, who was soon, by his father's death, Earl of Arundel. From him, by we know not what course of conveyance, this grant, which formed the Province of Carolana (not Carolina,) came into the hands of Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was, in the opinion of the attorney-general of England, true owner of that Province in the year of D'Iberville's discovery, 1699.†

In support of the English claim, thus originating, we are told by Dr. Coxe, that, from the year 1654 to the year 1664, one "Colonel Wood in Virginia, inhabiting at the Falls of James river, above a hundred miles west of Chesapeake Bay, discovered at several times, several branches of the great rivers, Ohio and Meschasebe." Nay, the Doctor affirms, that he had himself possessed, in past days, the Journal of a Mr. Needham, who was in the Colonel's employ, which Journal, he adds, "is now in the hands of," &c. The Doctor also states, that about the year 1676, he had in his keeping a Journal, written by some one who had gone from the mouth of the Mississippi, up as far as the Yellow or Muddy river, otherwise called Missouri; and he says, this

* Bancroft, iii. 354; Jones's Present State of Virginia, (1724,) 14; Universal History, xl. 192.

† *A Description of the English Province of Carolana*, &c., by Daniel Coxe, Esquire. London 1722. pp. 113 *et seq.*

Journal, in almost every particular, was confirmed by the late travels. And still further, Dr. Coxe assures us, that, in 1678, "a considerable number of persons went from New England upon discovery, and proceeded so far as New Mexico, one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the river Meschasebe, and, at their return, rendered an account to the government at Boston;" for the truth of all which he calls Governor Dudley, who was still living, as witness. Nor had he been idle himself; "apprehending that the planting of this country would be highly beneficial," he tried to reach it first from Carolina, then from "Pensilvania, by the Susquehannah river," and "many of his people travelled to New Mexico." He had also made discoveries through the great river Ochequiton, or, as we call it, Alabama; and "more to the northwest, beyond the river Meschasebe," had found "a very great sea of fresh water, several thousand miles in circumference," whence a river ran into the South Sea, about the latitude of forty-four degrees, and "through this," he adds, "we are assured the English have since entered that great lake."

These various statements are, it must be owned, somewhat startling; but, leaving them undisturbed for the present, we can see clearly the bearing of what follows, namely, that the Doctor, in 1698, fitted out two vessels, well armed and manned, one of which (when, we hear not) entered the Mississippi and ascended it above one hundred miles, and then returned,—wherefore, is not specially stated. This was, doubtless, the corvette which M. Bienville turned out of what he considered French domains; as Charlevoix tells us, that the vessel which Bienville met, was one of two which left England in 1698, armed with thirty-six guns, the same number which Daniel Coxe, the Doctor's son, tells us, were borne by his father's vessels. The English, having thus found their way to the Meschasebe, wished to prosecute the matter, and it was proposed to make there a settlement of the French Huguenots, who had fled to Carolina; but the death of Lord Lonsdale, the chief forwarder of the scheme, put an end to that plan, and we do not learn from Coxe, whose work appeared in 1722, that any further attempts were made by England, whose wars and woes nearer home kept her fully employed.

And now, what are we to say to those bold statements by Coxe; statements contained in his memorial to the King in 1699, and such as could hardly, one would think, be tales *a la Hontan*? Colonel Wood's adventures are recorded by no other writer, so

far as we have read; for, though Hutchins, who was geographer to the United States when the western lands were first surveyed, refers to Wood, and also to one Captain Bolt, who crossed the Alleghanies in 1670, his remarks are very vague, and he gives us no one to look to, as knowing the circumstances. Of the Boston expedition we know still less; the story is repeated from Coxe by various pamphlet writers of those days, when Law's scheme had waked up England to a very decided interest in the West; but all examinations of contemporary writers, and the town records, have as yet failed to lend a single fact in support of this part of the Doctor's tale. While, therefore, there is no doubt that the English, at an early day, had visited the South West, and even had stations on the Tennessee and among the Chickasaws, (see Charlevoix's map,) we cannot, on the other hand, regard the statements made by Coxe as authenticated.—Then we have it also from tradition, that in 1742, John Howard crossed the mountains from Virginia, sailed in a canoe made of a buffalo skin down the Ohio, and was taken by the French on the Mississippi;* and this tradition is confirmed by a note, contained in a London edition of Du Pratz, printed in 1774, in which the same facts as to Howard are substantially given as being taken from the official report of the Governor of Virginia, at the time of his expedition. But this expedition by Howard, could give England no claim to the West, for he made no settlement, and the whole Ohio valley had doubtless long before been explored by the French † if not the English traders. It is, however, worthy of remembrance, as the earliest visit by an Englishman to the West, which can be considered as distinctly authenticated. Soon after that time, traders undoubtedly began to flock thither from Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1748, Conrad Weiser, an interpreter, was sent from Philadelphia with presents to the Indians at Logstown, an Indian town upon the Ohio, between Pittsburgh and the Big Beaver creek, and we find the residence of English traders in that neighborhood referred to as of some standing, even then.‡

* Kercheval's *Valley of Virginia*. p. 67.

† Trees have been found in Ohio bearing marks of the axe, which, if we may judge by the rings, were made as far back as 1660.—Whittlesey's Discourse 1840, p. 8.

‡ Butler's *History of Kentucky*, vol. i. second edition, (Introduction xx.) gives the adventures of one Salling in the West, as early as 1730, but his authority is a late work, (*Chronicles of Border Warfare*,) and the account is merely traditional, we presume; Salling is named in the note to Du Pratz, as having been with Howard in 1742. There are various vague accounts of English in the West, before Howard's voyage. Keating,

But the great ground whereon the English claimed dominion beyond the Alleghanies, was that the Six Nations* owned the Ohio valley, and had placed it, with their other lands, under the protection of England. As early as 1684, Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, held a treaty with the Six Nations, at Albany, when, at the request of Colonel Dungan, the Governor of New York, they placed themselves under the protection of the mother country.† This was again done in 1701; and, upon the 14th of September, 1726, a formal deed was drawn up, and signed by the chiefs, by which their lands were conveyed to England, in trust, "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs."‡ If, then, the Six Nations had a good claim to the western country, there could be little doubt that England was justified in defending that country against the French, as France, by the treaty of Utrecht, had agreed not to invade the lands of Britain's Indian allies. But this claim of the New York savages has been disputed. Among others General William H. Harrison has attempted to disprove it, and show, that the Miami confederacy of Illinois and Ohio could not have been conquered by the Iroquois.‖ We shall not enter into the controversy; but will only say, that to us the evidence is very strong, that, before 1680, the Six Nations had overrun the western lands, and were dreaded from Lakes Erie and Michigan to the Ohio,

in Long's *Expedition*, speaks of a Colonel Wood, who had been there, beside the one mentioned by Coxe. In a work called "The Contest in America between England and France. By an Impartial Hand. London 1757," we find it stated, that the Indians at Albany, in 1754, acknowledged that the English had been on the Ohio for *thirty* years. And in a memorial by the British ministry, in 1755, they speak of the West as having been cultivated by England for "*above twenty years*." (Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 330.) Clearer proof still is found in the fact that the Government of Pennsylvania recalled its traders from the Ohio as early as 1732, in consequence of apprehending trouble with the French and Indians. (Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, iii. 476.

* When we first hear of the great northern confederacy, there were five tribes in it; namely, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Afterwards the Tuscaroras were conquered and taken into the confederacy, and it became *the Six Nations*. Still later, the Nanticokes, and Tuteloes, came into the union, which was, however, still called *the Six Nations*, though sometimes *the Eight United Nations*. This confederacy was by the French called the "Iroquois," by the Dutch "Maquas," by the other Indians "Mengive," and, thence, by the English, "Mingoes." These varied names have produced countless errors, and endless confusion. By many writers we are told of the *Iroquois or Mohawks;* and the Mingoes of the Ohio are almost always spoken of as a tribe. We have used the terms "Six Nations," and "Iroquois," and now and then "Mingoes," always meaning the whole confederacy.

† *Plain Facts*, &c. Philadelphia, 1781. pp. 22, 23.

‡ This may be found at length in Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, fourth edition, London, 1768, p. 269.

‖ See Harrison's *Historical Address*, 1837.

and west to the Mississippi. In 1673, Allouez and Dablon found the Miamis upon Lake Michigan, fearing a visit from the Iroquois,* and from this time forward we hear of them in that far land from all writers, genuine and spurious, as may be easily gathered from what we have said already of Tonti and his wars.† We cannot doubt, therefore, that they did overrun the lands claimed by them, and even planted colonies in what is now Ohio; but that they had any claim, which a Christian nation should have recognized, to most of the territory in question, we cannot for a moment think, as for half a century at least it had been under the rule of other tribes, and, when the differences between France and England began, was, with the exception of the lands just above the head of the Ohio, the place of residence and the hunting-ground of other tribes.‡

But some of the western lands were also claimed by the British, as having been actually purchased. This purchase was said to have been made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, when a treaty was held between the colonists and the Six Nations relative to some alleged settlements that had been made upon the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland; and to this treaty, of which we have a very good and graphic account, written by Witham Marshe, who went as secretary with the commissioners for Maryland, we now turn, dwelling upon it somewhat, as a specimen of the mode in which the Indians were treated with. The Maryland, commissioners reached Lancaster upon the 21st of June, before either the governor of Pennsylvania, the Virginia commissioners, or the Indians, had arrived; though all but the natives came that evening.

The next forenoon wore wearily away, and all were glad to sit down, at one o'clock, to a dinner in the court-house, which the Virginians gave their friends, and from which not many were drawn, even by the coming of the Indians, who came, to the

* George Croghan, the Indian agent, took an oath that the Iroquois claimed no farther on the north side of the Ohio than the Great Miami or Stony river; (called also Rocky river, Great Mineami; and Assereniet. Hutchin's Geographical Descriptions, 25. The purport of this oath has been misunderstood, it says nothing of what the Iroquois transferred to England in 1768. See Butler's Kentucky,— 5. 6.— Hall's Statistics of the West, Preface, viii. Butler's Chronology, 9.—The oath is given American State Papers, xvii. 110.

† See Charlevoix, La Hontan, Hennepin, Tonti, &c.

‡ "In 1744, when the Lancaster treaty was held with the Six Nations, some of their number were making war upon the Catawbas."—*Marsh's Journal*, Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. vii. pp. 190, 191.

number of two hundred and fifty-two, with squaws and little children on horseback, and with their fire-arms, and bows, and arrows, and tomahawks, and, as they passed the coust-house, invited the white men with a song to renew their former treaties. On the outskirts of the town, vacant lots had been chosen for the savages to build their wigwams upon, and thither they marched on with Conrad Weiser, their friend and interpreter,* while the Virginians "drank the loyal healths," and finished their entertainment. After dinner they went out to look at their dark allies, who had few shirts among them, and those black from wear, and who were very ragged and shabby; at all which the well-clad and high-fed colonists bit their lips, but feared to laugh. That afternoon the chiefs and commissioners met at the court-house, "shaked hands," smoked a pipe, *and drank "a good quantity of wine and punch."* The next day, being Saturday, the English went "to the Dunkers' nunnery," and the Indians drank, and danced, and shrieked. Monday, the speaking began, to the satisfaction of all parties, and ended merrily with dancing, and music, and a great supper. On Tuesday and Wednesday, also, speeches were made, varied by dances, in which appeared some very disagreeable women, who "danced wilder time than any Indians." On Thursday the goods were opened, wherewith the Maryland people wished to buy the Indian claim to the lands on which settlements had been made. These goods were narrowly scanned by the red men, but at last taken for £220 Pennsylvania money, after which *they drank punch.* Friday, the Six Nations agreed to the grant desired by the Marylanders, and *punch was drunk* again; and, on Saturday, a dinner was given to the chiefs, "at which," says Marshe, "*they fed lustily, drank heartily*, and were very greasy before they finished." At this dinner, the Indians bestowed on the governor of Maryland the name of Tocaryhogon, meaning "Living in the honorable place." *After this came much drinking*, and when that had gone forward some time, the Indians were called on to sign the deed which had been drawn up, and the English again "*put about the glass, pretty briskly.*" Next, the commissioners from Virginia, *supported by a due quantity of wine and bumbo*,† held their conference with the Indians, and received from them "a deed releasing their claim to a large quantity of

* For some idea of Weiser, see Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, vol. ii., p. 316, where a long letter by him is given. Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 134.

† Rum and water.

land lying in that colony;" the Indians being persuaded to "recognise the king's right to all lands that are, *or by his majesty's appointment shall be*, within the colony of Virginia." For this they received £200 in gold, and a like sum in goods, *with a promise that, as settlements increased, more should be paid*, which promise was signed and sealed. We need make no comment upon this deed, nor speculate upon the probable amount of bumbo which produced it. The commissioners from Virginia, at this treaty of Lancaster, were Colonel Thomas Lee and Colonel William Beverly.*

On the 5th of July, every thing having been settled satisfactorily, the commissioners left "the filthy town" of Lancaster, and took their homeward way, having suffered much from the vermin and the water, though when they used the latter would be a curious enquiry.

Such was the treaty of Lancaster, upon which, as a corner-stone, the claim of the colonists to the west, by purchase, rested; and upon this, and the grant from the Six Nations, Great Britain relied in all subsequent steps.

As settlements extended, and the Indians murmured, the promise of further pay was called to mind, and Weiser was sent across the Alleghanies to Logstown, in 1748,† with presents, to keep the Indians in good humor; and also to sound them, probably, as to their feeling with regard to large settlements in the west, which some Virginians, with Colonel Thomas Lee, the Lancaster commissioner, at their head, were then contemplating.‡ The object of these proposed settlements was not the cultivation of the soil, but the monopoly of the Indian trade which, with all its profits, had till that time been in the hands of unprincipled men, half civilized, half savage, who, through the Iroquois, had from the earliest period penetrated to the lakes of Canada and com-

* *Plain Facts, being an Examination, &c., and a Vindication of the Grant from the Six United Nations of Indians to the Proprietors of Indiana* vs. *the Decision of the Legislature of Virginia.* Pp. 29-39. Philadelphia: R. Aitken. 1781. Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 480. Marshe's *Journal*. The whole proceedings may be found in Colden's History of the Iroquois, given with proper formal solemnity.

† *Plain Facts*, pp. 40, 119, 120.

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 478. Scarce any thing was known of the old Ohio Company, until Mr. Sparks' inquiries led to the note referred to; and even now so little is known, that we cannot but hope some Historical Society will prevail on Charles Fenton Mercer, formerly of Virginia, who holds the papers of that Company, to allow their publication. No full history of the West can be written, until the facts relative to the great land companies are better known.

peted everywhere with the French for skins and furs.* It was now proposed in Virginia to turn these fellows out of their good berth beyond the mountains, by means of a great company, which should hold lands and build trading-houses, import European goods regularly, and export the furs of the west in return to London. Accordingly, after Weiser's conference with the Indians at Logstown, which was favorable to their views, Thomas Lee, with twelve other Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington, and also Mr. Hanbury of London, formed an association which they called the "Ohio Company," and in 1748, petitioned the king for a grant beyond the mountains. This petition was approved by the monarch, and the government of Virginia was ordered to grant to the petitioners half a million of acres within the bounds of that colony, beyond the Alleghanies, two hundred thousand of which were to be located at once. This portion was to be held for ten years free of quitrent, provided the company would put there one hundred families within seven years, and build a fort sufficient to protect the settlement; all which the company proposed, and prepared to do at once, and sent to London for a cargo suited to the Indian trade, which was to come out so as to arrive in November, 1749.

Other companies were also formed about this time in Virginia, to colonize the west. Upon the 12th of June, 1749, a grant of 800,000 acres, from the line of Canada, north and west, was made to the Loyal Company; and, upon the 29th of October, '57, another, of 100,000 acres to the Greenbriar Company.†

But the French were not blind all this while. They saw, that, if the British once obtained a strong-hold upon the Ohio, they might not only prevent their settlements upon it, but must at last come upon their lower posts, and so the battle be fought sooner or later. To the danger of the English possessions in the west, Vaudreuil, the French governor, had been long alive. Upon the 10th of May, 1744, he wrote home representing the consequences that must come from allowing the British to build a trading-house among the Creeks;‡ and, in November, 1748, he anticipated their

* See Charlevoix, first and second vol. in many places; especially i. 502, 515, ii. 133, 269, 373. The English were at Mackinac as early as 1686.

† Revised Statutes of Virginia, by B. W. Leigh, ii. 347.

‡ Pownall's *Memorial on Service in America*, as before quoted. Vaudreuil came out as Governor of Canada in 1755.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. vii., p. 105. See also Holmes' *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 23.

seizure of Fort Prudhomme, which was upon the Mississippi below the Ohio.* Nor was it for mere sickly missionary stations that the governor feared; for, in the year last-named, the Illinois settlements, few as they were, sent flour and corn, the hams of hogs and bears, pickled pork and beef, myrtle wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, iron, copper, some little buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, and coarse furs, to the New Orleans market. Even in 1746, from five to six hundred barrels of flour, according to one authority, and two thousand according to another, went thither from Illinois, convoys annually going down in December with the produce.† Having these fears, and seeing the danger of the late movements of the British, Gallisoniere, then governor of Canada, determined to place, along the Ohio, evidences of the French claim to, and possession of, the country; and for that purpose, in the summer of 1749, sent Louis Celeron, with a party of soldiers, to place plates of lead, on which were written out the claims of France, in the mounds, and at the mouths of the rivers.‡ Of this act, William Trent, who was sent out in 1752, by Virginia, to conciliate the Indians, heard while upon the Ohio, and mentioned it in his Journal; and, within a few years, one of the plates, with the inscription partly defaced, has been found near the mouth of the Muskingum. Of this plate, the date upon which is August 16th, 1749, a particular account was sent, by De Witt Clinton, to the American Antiquarian Society, in whose second volume (p. 535–541) the inscription may be found at length. By this step, the French, perhaps, hoped to quiet the title to the river, "Oyo"; but it produced not the least result. In that very year, we are told, a trading-house was built by the English, upon the Great Miami, at the spot since called Loramie's Store;‖ while, from another source we learn, that two

* Pownall's *Memorial.*

† Ibid. Representations to Earl of Hillsborough, 1770, quoted in Filson's Kentucky, 1784: also, in Hutchins' Geographical Description, p. 15.

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 430.—Atwater's *History of Ohio*, first edition, p. 109. —*Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii. pp. 535-541. De Witt Clinton received the plate mentioned in the text from Mr. Atwater, who says it was found at the mouth of the Muskingum, though marked as having been placed at the mouth of the Venango (Yenangue) River, (French Creek, we presume.) Celeron wrote from an old Shawanee town on the Ohio, to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, respecting the intrusion of traders from that colony into the French dominions.—Minutes of the Council of Pennsylvania, quoted in Dillon's History of Indiana, i. 66.

‖ *Contest in America, by an Impartial Hand.* Once this writes speaks of this post as upon the Wabash, but he doubtless meant that on the Miami.

traders were, in 1749, seized by the French upon the Maumee. At any rate, the storm was gathering; the English company was determined to carry out its plan, and the French were determined to oppose them.

During 1750, we hear of no step, by either party; but in February, 1751, we find Christopher Gist, the agent who had been appointed by the Ohio Company to examine the western lands, upon a visit to the Twigtwees or Tuigtuis, who lived upon the Miami River, one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth.* In speaking of this tribe, Mr. Gist says nothing of a trading-house among them, (at least in the passage from his Journal quoted by Mr. Sparks,) but he tells us, they left the Wabash for the sake of trading with the English; and we have no doubt, that the spot which he visited was at the mouth of Loraime's Creek, where, as we have said, a trading-house was built about or before this time. Gist says, the Twigtwees were a very numerous people, much superior to the Six Nations, and that they were formerly in the French interest. Wynne speaks of them as the same with the Ottowas; but Gist undoubtedly meant the great Miamis confederacy; for he says that they are not one tribe, but "many different tribes, under the same form of government,"† Upon this journey Gist went as far down the Ohio as the Falls, and was gone seven months, though the particulars of his tour are yet unknown to us; his Journal, with the exception of one or two passages published by Mr. Sparks, and some given in the notes to Imlay and Pownall's account of the West, still resting in manuscript.‡

Having thus generally examined the land upon the Ohio, in November Gist commenced a thorough survey of the tract south

* Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 37.

† See Harrison's *Discourse*, already quoted.—Franklin, following a Twigtwee chief present at Carlisle, in 1753, (Minutes of that Council, p. 7. Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 71,) speaks of the Piankeshaws, a tribe of the Twigtwees; and again, of the Miamis or Twigtwees (ibid. vol. iii. p. 72.) The name is spelt in the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Twechtwese, and they are described as those Indians, called by the French, Miamis, (iii. 470 ) On Evans' map, of 1755, they are called Tawixtwi, and are mentioned among the confederated nations, of the west.—See also General Harrison's letter of March 22, 1814, in McAfee, p. 43.

‡ Pownall's typography is in Imlay, edition of 1797, London, from p. 82 to 129. From Evans' map, first published in 1755, and republished in 1776, we learn that Gist crossed the mountains near the heads of the Cumberland, went down the Kentucky River some distance, thence crossed to the mouth of the Scioto, which stream he followed up, and afterwards turning east, went across the Muskingum to Fort Pitt: the year in which he did this is not given, nor do we know whether the route is laid down in Evans' first edition of 1755.

of the Ohio and east of the Kanawha, which was that on which the Ohio Company proposed to make their first settlement. He spent the winter in that labor. In 1751 also, General Andrew Lewis, commenced some surveys in the Greenbriar country, on behalf of the company already mentioned, to which one hundred thousand acres of land had been granted in that region;* but his proceedings, as well as Gist's, were soon interrupted. Meanwhile no treaty of a definite character had yet been held with the western Indians; and, as the influence both of the French and of the independent English traders, was against the company, it was thought necessary to do something, and the Virginia government was desired to invite the chiefs to a conference at Logstown, which was done.

All this time the French had not been idle. They not only stirred up the savages, but took measures to fortify certain points on the upper waters of the Ohio, from which all lower posts might be easily attacked, and, beginning at Persqu'Ile, or Erie, on the lake, prepared a line of communication with the Alleghany. This was done by opening a wagon-road from Erie to a little lake lying at the head of French Creek, where a second fort was built, about fifteen miles from that at Erie. When this second fort was fortified we do not clearly learn; but some time in 1752, we believe.† But lest, while these little castles were quietly rising amid the forest, the British also might strengthen themselves too securely to be dislodged, a party of soldiers was sent to keep the Ohio clear; and this party, early in 1752, having heard of the trading-house upon the Miami, and, very likely, of the visit to it by Gist, came to the Twigtwees and demanded the traders, as unauthorized intruders upon French lands. The Twigtwees, however, were neither cowards nor traitors, and refused to deliver up their friends.‡ The French, assisted by the Ottawas and Chippewas, then attacked the trading-house, which was probably a

* Stuart's Memoir of Indian War. Border Warfare, 48.

† Washington's *Journal*, of 1753.—Mante, in his *History of the War*, says, early in 1753, but there was a post at Erie when the traders were taken, before June, 1752.

‡ Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 71.—vol. iii. p. 230. *Plain Facts*, p. 42.—*Contest in North America*, &c. p. 36.—*Western Monthly Magazine*, 1833.—This fort was always referred to in the early treaties of the United States with the Indians; see *Land Laws* and treaties, *post*.—Several other captures beside this are referred to by Franklin and others. The attack on Logstown, spoken of by Smollett and Russell, was doubtless this attack on the Miami post. Smollett; *George II.* chap. ix. See also Burk's *Virginia*, vol. iii. p. 170.

block-house, and after a severe battle, in which fourteen of the natives were killed,* and others wounded, took and destroyed it, carrying the traders away to Canada as prisoners, or, as one account says, burning some of them alive. This fort, or trading-house, was called by the English writers Pickawillany.†

Such was the fate of the first British settlement in the Ohio valley, of which we have any record. It was destroyed early in 1752, as we know by the fact, that its destruction was referred to by the Indians at the Logstown treaty in June. What traders they were who were taken, we do not know with certainty. Some have thought them agents of the Ohio Company; but Gist's proceedings about the Kenhawa do not favor the idea, neither do the subsequent steps of the company; and in the "History of Pennsylvania," ascribed to Franklin, we find a gift of condolence made by that Province to the Twigtwees for those slain in defence of the traders among them, in 1752, which leads us to believe that they were independent merchants from that colony.‡

Blood had now been shed, and both parties became more deeply interested in the progress of events in the west. The English, on their part, determined to purchase from the Indians a title to the lands they wished to occupy, by fair means or foul; and, in the spring of 1752, Messrs. Fry,‖ Lomax, and Patton, were sent from Virginia to hold a conference with the natives at Logstown, to learn what they objected to in the treaty of Lancaster, of which it was said they complained, and to settle all difficulties.§ On the 9th of June, the commissioners met the red men at Logstown: this was a little village, seventeen miles

* Among them a king of the Piankeshaws. (Minutes of the Council of Carlisle, 1753.) From those Minutes we learn also that the Ottawas and Chippewas aided the French.

† Washington's Journal (London, 1754) has a map on which the name is printed "Pikkawalinna."—A memorial of the king's ministers, in 1755, refers to it as "Pickawillanes, in the centre of the territory between the Ohio and the Wabash." (Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 330.) The name is probably some variation of Piqua or Pickaway in 1773: written by Rev. David Jones "Pickaweke." (Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 265.)

‡ The Twigtwees met the Pennsylvanians at Lancaster, in July, 1748, and made a treaty with them. (Dillon's Indiana, i. 63.) Croghan also (Butler's Kentucky, 471,) speaks of them as connected with Pennsylvania. The Shawnese, from the west, went to Philadelphia to make treaties, in 1732. (Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, iii. 491.)

‖ Afterwards Commander in Chief over Washington, at the commencement of the French war of 1755—63; he died at Will's Creek, (Cumberland) May 31, 1754. (Sparks' Washington, ii. 27. note.)

§ *Plain Facts*, p. 40.—Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 480.

and a half below Pittsburgh, upon the north side of the Ohio.* It had long been a trading-point, but had been abandoned by the Indians in 1750.† Here the Lancaster treaty was produced, and the sale of the western lands insisted upon; but the chiefs said, "No; they had not heard of any sale west of the warrior's road,‡ which ran at the foot of the Alleghany ridge." The commissioners then offered goods for a ratification of the Lancaster treaty; spoke of the proposed settlement by the Ohio Company; and used all their persuasions to secure the land wanted. Upon the 11th of June, the Indians replied. They recognised the treaty of Lancaster, and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, but denied that they had any knowledge of the western lands being conveyed to the English by said deed; and declined, upon the whole, having any thing to do with the treaty of 1744. "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twigtwees, we shall be pleased to have your assistance and protection, and wish you would build a fort at once at the Fork of the Ohio."‖ But this permission was not what the Virginians wanted; so they took aside Montour, the interpreter, who was a son of the famous Catherine Montour,§ and a chief among the Six Nations, being three-fourths of Indian blood, and persuaded him, by valid arguments, (of the kind which an Indian most appreciates doubtless,) to use his influence with his fellows. This he did; and, upon the 13th of June, they all united in signing a deed, confirming the Lancaster treaty *in its full extent*, consenting to a settlement southeast of the Ohio, and guarantying that it should not be disturbed by them.¶

* Croghan, in his *Journal* says, that Logstown was *south* of the Ohio. (Butler's *Kentucky*, App.) The river is itself nearly north and south at the spot in question; but we always call the Canada side the north side, having reference to the general direction of the stream.

† Bouquet's *Expedition*. London, 1766. p. 10.—Logstown is given on the map accompanying the volume.

‡ Washington (Sparks' ii. 526,) speaks of a warrior's path coming out upon the Ohio about thirty miles above the Great Kenhawa;—Filson and Hutchins (see map) make the one referred to by them terminate below the Scioto.—One may have been a branch used by the Muskingum and Hocking tribes, the other by those of the Scioto Valley.

‖ *Plain Facts*, p. 42.

§ For a sketch of this woman, see *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, First Series, vol. vii p. 189, or Stone's *Life of Brant*, vol. i. p. 339. She had two sons, Andrew and Henry. The latter was a captain among the Iroquois, the former a common interpreter, apparently. Andrew was taken by the French in 1749. Which of them was at Logstown we are not told; but, from his influence with the Indians, it was probably Henry.

¶ *Plain Facts*, pp 38—44. The Virginia commissioners were men of high character, but treated with the Indians according to the ideas of their day.

By such means was obtained the first treaty with the Indians in the Ohio valley.

All this time the two powers beyond the Atlantic were in a professed state "of profound peace;" and commissioners were at Paris trying to out-manœuvre one another with regard to the disputed lands in America,* though in the West all looked like war. We have seen how the English outwitted the Indians, and secured themselves, as they thought, by their politic conduct. But the French, in this as in all cases, proved that they knew best how to manage the natives; and, though they had to contend with the old hatred felt toward them by the Six Nations, and though they by no means refrained from strong acts, marching through the midst of the Iroquois country, attacking the Twigtwees, and seizing the English traders, nevertheless they did succeed, as the British never did, in attaching the Indians to their cause. As an old chief of the Six Nations said at Easton, in 1758; "The Indians on the Ohio left you because of your own fault. When we heard the French were coming, we asked you for help and arms, but we did not get them. The French came, they treated us kindly, and gained our affections. The Governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit, and, when we wanted help, forsook us.†"

So stood matters at the close of 1752. The English had secured (as they thought) a title to the Indian lands south-east of the Ohio, and Gist was at work laying out a town and fort there on Shurtees (Chartier's) Creek, about two miles below the Fork.‡ Eleven families also were crossing the mountains to settle at the point where Gist had fixed his own residence, west of Laurel Hill, and not far from the Youghiogany. Goods too had come from England for the Ohio Company, which, however, they could not well, and dared not, carry beyond Will's Creek, the point where Cumberland now stands, whence they were taken by the traders and Indians; and there was even some prospect of a road across the mountains to the Monongahela.

On the other hand, the French were gathering cannon and stores upon Lake Erie, and, without treaties or deeds for land, were gaining the good will of even inimical tribes, and preparing, when all was ready, to strike the blow. Some of the savages, it

* See Smollett; *George II.*, chapters viii. and ix.

† *Plain Facts*, p. 55.—Pownall's *Memoir on Service in North America.*

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. pp. 433, 482, and map, p. 78.

is true, remonstrated. They said they did not understand this dispute between the Europeans, as to which of them the western lands belonged to, for they did not belong to either. But the French bullied when it served their turn, and flattered when it served their turn, and all the while went on with their preparations, which were in an advanced state early in 1753.*

In May of that year, the governor of Pennsylvania informed the Assembly of the French movements, a knowledge of which was derived, in part at least, from Montour, who had been present at a conference between the French and Indians relative to the invasion of the West.† The assembly thereupon voted six hundred pounds for distribution among the tribes, besides two hundred for the present of condolence to the Twigtwees, already mentioned. This money was not sent, but Conrad Weiser was despatched in August to learn how things stood among the Ohio savages.‡ Virginia was moving also. In June, or earlier, a commissioner was sent westward to meet the French, and ask how they dared invade his Majesty's province. The messenger went to Logstown, but was afraid to go up the Alleghany, as instructed.‖ Trent was also sent off with guns, powder, shot and clothing for the friendly Indians; and then it was, that he learned the fact already stated, as to the claim of the French, and their burial of medals in proof of it. While these measures were taken, another treaty with the wild men of the debatable land was also in contemplation; and in September, 1753, William Fairfax met their deputies at Winchester, Virginia, where he concluded a treaty, with the particulars of which we are unacquainted, but on which, we are told, was an indorsement, stating that such was their feeling, that *he had not dared to mention to them either the Lancaster or the Logstown treaty;*§ a most sad comment upon the modes taken to obtain those grants. In the month following, however, a more satisfactory interview took place at Carlisle, between the representatives of the Iroquois, Delawares, Shawanese, Twigtwees and Owendeats, and the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin. At this meeting the attack on the

* See in Washington's *Journal*, the Speech of Half-king to the French commander and his answer.—Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 484.

† Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. p. 219.

‖ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 230.

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 420.

§ *Plain Facts*, p. 44.

Twigtwees was talked over, the plans of the French discussed, and a treaty concluded. The Indians had sent three messages to the French, warning them away; the reply was, that they were coming to build forts at "Wenengo," (Venango,) Mohongialo forks, (Pittsburgh,) Logtown, and Beaver Creek. The red men complained of the traders as too scattered, and as killing them with rum; they wished only three trading stations, viz. mouth of "Mohongely," (Pittsburgh,) Logtown, and mouth of "Canawa."*

Soon after this, no satisfaction being obtained from the Ohio, either as to the force, position, or purposes of the French, Robert Dinwiddie, then Governor of Virginia, determined to send to them another messenger, and selected a young surveyor, who, at the age of nineteen, had received the rank of major, and whose previous life had inured him to hardship and woodland ways, while his courage, cool judgment, and firm will, all fitted him for such a mission. This young man, as all know, was George Washington, who was twenty-one years and eight months old, at the time of the appointment.† With Gist as his guide, Washington left Will's Creek, where Cumberland now is, on the 15th of November, and, on the 22d, reached the Monongahela about ten miles above the Fork. Thence he went to Logstown, where he had long conferences with the chiefs of the Six Nations living in that neighbourhood.‡ Here he learned the position of the French upon the

* Minutes of Treaty at Carlisle in Oct. 1753, pp. 5 to 8.

† Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. pp. 328-447.

‡ A passage of Washington's Diary is worth extracting as showing the condition of the French, in the Far West at that time.

"25th.—Came to town four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskus, which lies at the mouth of this river. I got the following account from them:—They were sent from New Orleans with a hundred men and eight canoe-loads of provisions to this place, where they expected to have met the same number of men, from the forts on this side of Lake Erie, to convoy them and the stores up, who were not arrived when they ran off.

"I inquired into the situation of the French on the Mississippi, their numbers and what forts they had built. They informed me, that there were four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, garrisoned with about thirty or forty men, and a few small pieces in each. That at New Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi, there are thirty-five companies of forty men each, with a pretty strong fort mounting eight carriage-guns; and at the Black Islands there are several companies and a fort with six guns. The Black Islands are about a hundred and thirty leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about three hundred and fifty above New Orleans. They also acquainted me, that there was a small palisadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Obaish, about sixty leagues from the Mississippi. The Obaish heads near the west end of Lake Erie, and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the lakes. These deserters came up from the lower Shannoahtown with one Brown, an Indian trader, and were going to Philadelphia."

*Riviere aux Bœufs*, and the condition of their forts. He heard also that they had determined not to come down the river till the following spring, but had warned all the Indians, that, if they did not keep still, the whole French force would be turned upon them; and that, if they and the English were equally strong, they would divide the land between them, and cut off all the natives. These threats, and the mingled kindness and severity of the French, had produced the desired effect. Shingiss, king of the Delawares, feared to meet Washington, and the Shannoah (Shawanee) chiefs would not come either.*

The truth was, these Indians were in a very awkward position. They could not resist the Europeans, and knew not which to side with; so that a non-committal policy was much the safest, and they were wise not to return by Washington (as he desired they should) the wampum received from the French, as that would have been equivalent to breaking with them.

Finding that nothing could be done with these people, Washington left Logstown on the 30th of November, and, travelling amid cold and rain, reached Venango,‡ an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek, on the 4th of the next month. Here he found the French; and here, through the rum, and the flattery, and the persuasions of his enemies, he very nearly lost all his Indians, even his old friend, the Half-king. Patience and good faith conquered, however, and, after another pull through mires and creeks, snow, rain, and cold, upon the 11th he reached the fort at the head of French Creek. Here he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter, took his observations, received his answer, aud upon the 16th set out upon his return journey, having had to combat every art and trick, "which the most fruitful brain could suggest," in order to get his Indians away with him. Flattery, and liquor, and guns, and provision were showered upon the Half-king and his comrades, while Washington himself received bows, and smirks, and compliments, and a plentiful store of creature-comforts also.

From Venango, Washington and Gist went on foot, leaving their Indian friends to the tender mercies of the French. Of their hardships and dangers on this journey out and back we need only

* Shingiss, or Shingask, was the great Delaware warrior of that day, and did the British much mischief.—See Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 64.

† A corruption of Innungah; (Day's Hist. Collections of Pa. 636, note.) The French fort there was called Fort Machault. (Memoires sur la Derniere Guerre, iii. 181.)

to say that, three out of five men who went with them were too badly frost-bitten to continue the journey.* In spite of all, however, they reached Will's Creek, on the 6th of January, well and sound.† During the absence of the young messenger, steps had been taken to fortify and settle the point formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany; and, while upon his return, he met "seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio," and, soon after, "some families going out to settle." These steps were taken by the Ohio Company; but, as soon as Washington returned with the letter of St. Pierre, the commander on French Creek, and it was perfectly clear that neither he nor his superiors meant to yield the West without a struggle, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Board of Trade, stating that the French were building another fort at Venango, and that in March twelve or fifteen hundred men would be ready to descend the river with their Indian allies, for which purpose three hundred canoes had been collected; and that Logstown was then to be made head-quarters, while forts were built in various other positions, and the whole country occupied. He also sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York, calling upon them for assistance; and, with the advice of his council, proceeded to enlist two companies, one of which was to be raised by Washington, the other by Trent, who was a frontier man. This last was to be raised upon the frontiers, and to proceed at once to the Fork of the Ohio, there to complete in the best manner, and as soon as possible, the fort begun by the Ohio Company; and in case of attack, or any attempt to resist the settlements, or obstruct the works, those resisting were to be taken, or if need were, killed.‡

While Virginia was taking these strong measures, which were fully authorized by the letter of the Earl of Holdernesse, Secretary of State,‖ written in the previous August, and which directed the Governors of the various provinces, after representing to those who were invading his Majesty's dominions the injustice of the act, to call out the armed force of the province, and repel force

* Sparks' Washington, ii. 55.

† Gist's Journal of this Expedition may be found in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, third series, vol. v. (1836,) 101 to 108.

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. pp. 1, 431, 446.—Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. p. 254.

‖ Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. p. 251, where the letter is given.

by force; while Virginia was thus acting, Pennsylvania was discussing the question, whether the French were *really* invading his Majesty's dominions,—the Governor being on one side, and the Assembly on the other,*—and New York was preparing to hold a conference with the Six Nations, in obedience to orders from the Board of Trade, written in September, 1753.† These orders had been sent out in consequence of the report in England, that the natives would side with the French, because dissatisfied with the occupancy of their lands by the English; and simultaneous orders were sent to the other provinces, directing the Governors to recommend their Assemblies to send Commissioners to Albany to attend this grand treaty, which was to heal all wounds. New York, however, was more generous when called on by Virginia, than her neighbor on the south, and voted, for the assistance of the resisting colony, five thousand pounds currency.‡

It was now April, 1754. The fort at Venango was finished, and all along the line of French Creek troops were gathering; and the wilderness echoed the strange sounds of a European camp,—the watchword, the command, the clang of muskets, the uproar of soldiers, the cry of the sutler; and with these were mingled the shrieks of drunken Indians, won over from their old friendship by rum and soft words. Scouts were abroad, and little groups formed about the tents or huts of the officers, to learn the movements of the British. Canoes were gathering, and cannon were painfully hauled here and there. All was movement and activity among the old forests, and on hill-sides, covered already with young wild flowers, from Lake Erie to the Alleghany. In Philadelphia, meanwhile, Governor Hamilton, in no amiable mood, had summoned the Assembly, and asked them if they meant to help the King in the defence of his dominions; and had desired them, above all things, to do whatever they meant to do, quickly. The Assembly debated, and resolved to aid the King with a little money, and then debated again and voted not to aid him with any money at all, for some would not give less than ten thousand pounds, and others would not give more than five thousand pounds; and so, nothing being practicable, they adjourned upon the 10th of April until the 13th of May.‖

* Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. pp. 254, 263.

† *Plain Facts*, pp. 45, 46.—Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. p 253.

‡ *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, first series, vol. vii. p. 73.

‖ Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. pp. 264, 265.

In New York, a little, and only a little better spirit, was at work; nor was this strange, as her direct interest was much less than that of Pennsylvania. Five thousand pounds indeed was, as we have said, voted to Virginia; but the Assembly questioned the invasion of his Majesty's dominions by the French, and it was not till June that the money voted was sent forward.*

The Old Dominion, however, was all alive. As, under the provincial law, the militia could not be called forth to march more than five miles beyond the bounds of the colony, and as it was doubtful if the French were within Virginia, it was determined to rely upon volunteers. Ten thousand pounds had been voted by the Assembly; so the two companies were now increased to six, and Washington was raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and made second in command under Joshua Fry. Ten cannon, lately from England, were forwarded from Alexandria; wagons were got ready to carry westward provisions and stores through the heavy spring roads; and everywhere along the Potomac men were enlisting under the Governor's proclamation, which promised to those that should serve in that war, two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio,—or, already enlisted, were gathering into grave knots, or marching forward to the field of action, or helping on the thirty cannon and eighty barrels of gunpowder, which the King had sent out for the western forts. Along the Potomac they were gathering, as far as to Will's creek; and far beyond Will's creek, whither Trent had come for assistance, his little band of forty-one men was working away, in hunger and want, to fortify that point at the Fork of the Ohio, to which both parties were looking with deep interest. The first birds of spring filled the forests with their song; the redbud and dogwood were here and there putting forth their flowers on the steep Alleghany hill-sides, and the swift river below swept by, swollen by the melting snows and April showers; a few Indian scouts were seen, but no enemy seemed near at hand; and all was so quiet, that Frazier, an old Indian trader, who had been left by Trent in command of the new fort, ventured to his home at the mouth of Turtle creek, ten miles up the Monongahela. But, though all was so quiet in that wilderness, keen eyes had seen the low entrenchment that was rising at the Fork, and swift feet had borne the news of it up the valley; and, upon the 17th of April, Ensign Ward, who then had charge of it, saw upon the Alleghany a sight that made his heart

* *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, first series, vol. vii. pp. 72, 73, and note.

sink, — sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, filled with men, and laden deep with cannon and stores. The fort was called on to surrender; by the advice of the Half-king, Ward tried to evade the act, but it would not do; Contrecœur, with a thousand men about him, said "Evacuate," and the ensign dared not refuse. That evening he supped with his captor, and the next day was bowed off by the Frenchman, and, with his men and tools, marched up the Monongahela. From that day began the war.*

* Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. The number of French troops was probably overstated, but to the captives there seemed a round thousand. Burk, in his history of Virginia, speaks of the taking of Logstown by the French; but Logstown was never a post of the Ohio Company as he represents it, as is plain from all contemporary letters and accounts. Burk's ignorance of Western matters is clear in this, that he says the French *dropped down* from Fort Du Quesne to Presqu'ile and Venango; they, or part of them, did drop down the Ohio, but surely not to posts, one of which was on Lake Erie, and the other far up the Alleghany! In a letter from Captain Stobo, written in July, 1754, at fort Du Quesne, where he was then confined as hostage under the capitulation of Great Meadows, he says there were but two hundred men in and about the fort at that time.—(American Pioneer, i. 236.—For plan of Forts Du Quesne and Pitt, see article in Pioneer; also, Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 77.)

# WAR OF 1754 TO 1763.

Washington was at Will's Creek, (Cumberland,) when the news of the surrender of the Fork reached him. He was on his way across the mountains, preparing roads for the King's cannon, and aiming for the mouth of Red Stone Creek, (Brownsville,) where a store-house had been already built by the Ohio Company; by the 9th of May, he had reached Little Meadows, on the head waters of a branch of the Youghiogany, toiling slowly, painfully forward, four, three, sometimes only two miles a day!—All the while from traders and others he heard of forces coming up the Ohio to reinforce the French at the Fork, and of spies out examining the valley of the Monongahela, flattering and bribing the Indians. On the 27th of May he was at Great Meadows, west of the Youghiogany, near the Fort of Laurel Hill, close by the spot now known as Braddock's Grave. He had heard of a body of French somewhere in the neighborhood, and on the 27th, his former guide, Gist, came from his residence beyond Laurel Hill, near the head of Red Stone Creek, and gave information of a body of French who had been at his plantation the day before. That evening from his old friend the Half-king, he heard again of enemies in the vicinity. Fearing a surprise Washington at once started, and early the next morning attacked the party referred to by the Chief of the Iroquois. In the contest ten of the French were killed, including M. de Jumonville their Commander; of the Americans but one was lost. This skirmish France saw fit to regard as the commencement of the war, and in consequence of a report made by M. de Contrecœur, to the Marquis Du Quesne, founded upon the tales told by certain of Jumonville's men who had run away at the first onset, it has been usual with French writers to represent the attack by Washington as unauthorized, and the party assailed by him as a party sent with peaceable intentions; and this impression was confirmed by the term "assassination of M. de Jumonville," used in the capitulation of Great Meadows in the following July;—this having been accepted by

Washington *(to whom the term was falsely translated,)* it was naturally regarded as an acknowledgment by him of the improper character of the attack of May 28th. Mr. Sparks, in his appendix to Washington's papers, vol. ii. pp. 447, 459, has discussed this matter at length, and fully answered the aspersions of the European writers; to his work we refer our readers.

From the last of May until the 1st of July, preparations were made to meet the French who were understood to be gathering their forces in the West. On the 28th of June, Washington was at Gist's house, and new reports coming in that the enemy was approaching in force, a council of war was held, and it was thought best, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, to retreat to Great Meadows, and even farther if possible. When, however, the retiring body of Provincials reached that post, it was deemed impossible to go farther in the exhausted state of the troops, who had been eight days without bread. Measures were therefore taken to strengthen the fort, which, from the circumstances, was named Fort Necessity. On the 1st of July, the Americans reached their position; on the 3d the alarm was given of an approaching enemy; at eleven o'clock, A. M., nine hundred in number, they commenced the attack in the midst of a hard rain; and from that time till eight in the evening, the assailants ceased not to pour their fire upon the little fortress. About eight the French requested some officer to be sent to treat with them; Captain Vanbraam, the only person who pretended to understand the language of the enemy, was ordered to go to the camp of the attacking party, whence he returned bringing terms of capitulation, which, by a flickering candle, in the dripping quarters of his commander, he translated to Washington, and as it proved, from intention or ignorance, mistranslated. By this capitulation the garrison of Fort Necessity were to have leave to retire with everything but their artillery; the prisoners taken May 28th were to be returned; and the party yielding were to labor on no works west of the Mountains for one year: for the observance of these conditions Captain Vanbraam, the negotiator, and Captain Stobo, were to be retained by the French as sureties.* The above provisions having been agreed to, Washington and his men, hard pressed by famine, hastened to the nearest depot which was at Will's Creek. At this point, immediately afterwards, Fort

* This fact would seem to show that Vanbraam's mistranslation must have been from ignorance or accident.

Cumberland was erected under the charge of Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, who, since the death of Colonel Fry, had been Commander-in-Chief. At that time there were in service, 1st, the Virginia militia; 2d, the Independent Companies of Virginia, South Carolina, and New York, all of whom were paid by the King; 3d, troops raised in North Carolina and paid by the Colony; and, 4th, recruits from Maryland; of these the Virginia and South Carolina troops alone had been beyond the mountains.

From August to October little appears to have been done, but in the latter month the Governor of Virginia, (Dinwiddie,) so changed the military organization of the Colony, as to leave no one in the army with a rank above that of Captain; this was done in order to avoid all contests as to precedence among the American officers, it being clear that troops from various Provinces would have to be called into the field, and that the different Commissions from the Crown, and the Colonies, would give large openings for rivalry and conflict; but among the results of the measure was the resignation of Washington, who for a time, retired to Mount Vernon.*

It was now the fall of 1754. In Pennsylvania, Morris, who had succeeded Hamilton, was busily occupied with making speeches to the Assembly and listening to their stubborn replies;† while in the north the Kennebec was fortified, and a plan talked over for attacking Crown Point on Lake Champlain the next spring;‡ and in the south things went on much as if there were no war coming. All the colonies united in one thing, however, in calling loudly on the mother country for help. During this same autumn the pleasant Frenchmen were securing the West, step by step; settling the valley of the Wabash, gallanting with the Delawares, and coquetting with the Iroquois, who still balanced between them and the English. The forests of the Ohio shed their leaves, and the prairies filled the sky with the smoke of their burning; and along the great rivers, and on the lakes, and amid the pathless woods of the West, no European was seen, whose tongue spoke other language than that of France. So closed 1754.

The next year opened with professions, on both sides, of the most peaceful intentions, and preparations on both sides to push

* Sparks' Washington, ii. 64, 67, and generally, the whole volume, as to this war.

† Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. p. 282.

‡ *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. vii. p. 88.

the war vigorously. France, in January, proposed to restore every thing to the state it was in before the last war, and to refer all claims to commissioners at Paris; to which Britain, upon the 22d, replied that, the west of North America must be left as it was at the treaty of Utrecht. On the 6th of February, France made answer, that the old English claims in America were untenable; and offered a new ground of compromise, namely, that the English should retire east of the Alleghanies, and the French west of the Ohio. This offer was long considered, and at length *was agreed to by England* on the 7th of March, *provided* the French would destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches; to which, after twenty days had passed, France said, "No."* While all this negotiation was going on, other things also had been in motion. General Braddock, with his gallant troops, had crossed the Atlantic, and, upon the 20th of February, had landed in Virginia, commander-in-chief of all the land forces in America; and in the north all this while there was whispering of, and enlisting for, the proposed attack on Crown Point; and even Niagara, far off by the Falls, was to be taken, in case nothing prevented. In France, too, other work had been done than negotiation; for at Brest and Rochelle ships were fitting out, and troops gathering, and stores crowding in. Even old England herself had not been all asleep, and Boscawen had been busy at Plymouth, hurrying on the slow workmen, and gathering the unready sailors.† In March the two European neighbors were smiling and doing their best to quiet all troubles; in April they still smiled, but the fleets of both were crowding sail across the Atlantic; and, in Alexandria, Braddock, Shirley, and their fellow officers were taking counsel as to the summer's campaign.

In America four points were to be attacked; Fort Du Quesne, Crown Point, Niagara, and the French posts in Nova Scotia. On the 20th of April, Braddock left Alexandria to march upon Du Quesne, whither he was expressly ordered, though the officers in America looked upon it as a mistaken movement, as they thought New York should be the main point for regular operations. The expedition for Nova Scotia, consisting of three thousand Massachusetts men, left Boston on the 20th of May; while the troops which General Shirley was to lead against Niagara, and the

* *Plain Facts*, pp. 51, 52.—*Secret Journals*, vol. iv. p. 74.

† Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 68.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. vii. p. 89.—Smollett. *George II.* chapter x.

provincials which William Johnson was to head in the attack upon Crown Point, slowly collected at Albany.

May and June passed away, and mid-summer drew nigh. The fearful and desponding colonists waited anxiously for news; and, when the news came that Nova Scotia had been conquered, and that Boscawen had taken two of the French men of war, and lay before Lewisburg, hope and joy spread everywhere. July passed away, too, and men heard how slowly and painfully Braddock made progress through the wilderness, how his contractors deceived him, and the colonies gave little help, and neither horses nor wagons could be had, and only one Benjamin Franklin sent any aid;* and then reports came that he had been forced to leave many of his troops, and much of his baggage and artillery, behind him; and then, about the middle of the month, through Virginia there went a whisper, that the great general had been defeated and wholly cut off; and, as man after man rode down the Potomac confirming it, the planters hastily mounted, and were off to consult with their neighbors; the country turned out; companies were formed to march to the frontiers; sermons were preached, and every heart and every mouth was full. In Pennsylvania the Assembly were called together to hear the "shocking news;" and in New York it struck terror into those who were there gathered to attack the northern posts. Soldiers deserted; the bateaux-men dispersed; and when at length Shirley, since Braddock's death the commander-in-chief, managed with infinite labor to reach Oswego on Lake Ontario, it was too late and stormy, and his force too feeble, to allow him to more than garrison that point, and march back to Albany again.† Johnson did better; for he met and defeated Baron Dieskau upon the banks of Lake George, though Crown Point was not taken, nor even attacked.

But we must turn back for a moment to describe particularly the events of Braddock's famous defeat, connected as it is with the history of the West; and we cannot do it more perfectly than in the words of Mr. Sparks in his appendix to the writings of Washington.

The defeat of General Braddock, on the banks of the Monongahela, is one of the most remarkable events in American history. Great preparations had been made for the expedition, under that experienced

* Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 77, &c.—Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. vii. p. 94, &c.

† For a full account of Shirley's Expedition, see the paper in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. vii.

officer, and there was the most sanguine anticipation, both in England and America, of its entire success. Such was the confidence in the prowess of Braddock's army, according to Dr. Franklin, that, while he was on his march to Fort Duquesne, a subscription paper was handed about in Philadelphia, to raise money to celebrate his victory by bonfires and illuminations, as soon as the intelligence should arrive.

General Braddock landed in Virginia on the 20th of February, 1755, with two regiments of the British army from Ireland, the forty-fourth and forty-eighth, each consisting of five hundred men, one of them commanded by Sir Peter Halket, and the other by Colonel Dunbar. To these were joined a suitable train of artillery, with military supplies and provisions. The General's first head-quarters were at Alexandria, and the troops were stationed in that place and its vicinity, till they marched for Will's Creek, where they arrived about the middle of May. It took four weeks to effect that march. In letters written at Will's Creek, General Braddock, with much severity of censure, complained of the lukewarmness of the colonial governments and tardiness of the people, in facilitating his enterprise, the dishonesty of agents and the faithlessness of contractors. The forces which he brought together at Will's Creek, however, amounted to somewhat more than two thousand effective men, of whom about one thousand belonged to the royal regiments, and the remainder were furnished by the colonies. In this number were embraced the fragments of two independent companies from New York, one of which was commanded by Captain Gates, afterwards a Major-General in the Revolutionary war. Thirty sailors had also been granted for the expedition by Admiral Keppel, who commanded the squadron that brought over the two regiments.

At this post the army was detained three weeks, nor could it then have moved, had it not been for the energetic personal services of Franklin, among the Pennsylvania farmers, in procuring horses and wagons to transport the artillery, provisions and baggage.

The details of the march are well described in Colonel Washington's letters. The army was separated into two divisions. The advanced division, under General Braddock, consisted of twelve hundred men besides officers. The other, under Colonel Dunbar, was left in the rear, to proceed by slower marches. On the 8th of July, the General arrived with his division, all in excellent health and spirits, at the junction of the Youghiogany and Monongahela rivers. At this place Colonel Washington joined the advanced division, being but partially recovered from a severe attack of fever, which had been the cause of his remaining behind, The officers and soldiers were now in the highest spirits, and firm in the conviction, that they should within a few hours victoriously enter the walls of Fort Du Quesne.

The steep and rugged grounds, on the north side of the Monongahela

prevented the army from marching in that direction, and it was necessary in approaching the fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and march part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th, all things were in readiness, and the whole train passed through the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogany, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela.

Washington was often heard to say during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspired with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.

In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when they arrived at the second crossing-place, ten miles from Fort Du Quesne. They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated but a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent at an angle of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording place to Fort Du Quesne, led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with woods.

By the order of march, a body of three hundred men, under Colonel Gage, afterward General Gage of Boston memory, made the advanced party, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the General with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock the whole had passed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advanced parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had got forward about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front, which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy, and this was suddenly followed by another on their right flank. They were filled with great consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in their turn, however, but quite at random, and obviously without effect, as the enemy kept up a discharge in quick, continued succession.

The General advanced speedily to the relief of these detachments; but before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army.

causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterwards be restored. The General and the officers behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the General, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvring on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had crossed the river in so proud an array, only three hours before, were killed or wounded; the General himself had received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers had fallen by his side.

In describing the action a few days afterwards, Colonel Orme wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania:—"The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortations of the General and the officers, that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition, and then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provision and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till they had got as far as Gist's plantation, nor there only in part, many of them proceeding as far as Colonel Dunbar's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their good behavior, advancing sometimes in bodies, sometimes separately, hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died the 13th instant. Secretary Shirley was shot through the head; Captain Morris, wounded, Colonel Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot. Colonel Burton and Sir John St. Clair were wounded." In addition to these the other field officers wounded were Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, (afterwards so well known as the commander of the British forces in Boston, at the beginning of the Revolution,) Colonel Orme, Major Sparks, and Brigade Major Halket. Ten captains were killed, and twenty-two wounded; the whole number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-

seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. Of these at least one half were supposed to be killed. Their bodies left on the field of action, were stripped and scalped by the Indians. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage, every thing in the train of the army, fell into the enemy's hands, and were given up to be pillaged by the savages. General Braddock's papers were also taken, among which were his instructions and correspondence with the ministry after his arrival in Virginia. The same fate befell the papers of Colonel Washington, including a private journal and his official correspondence, during his campaign of the preceding year.

No circumstantial account of this affair has ever been published by the French, nor has it hitherto been known from any authentic source, what numbers were engaged on their side. Washington conjectured, as stated in his letters, that there were no more than three hundred, and Dr. Franklin, in an account of the battle, considers them at most as not exceeding four hundred. The truth is, there was no accurate information on the subject, and writers have been obliged to rely on conjecture. In the archives of the *War Department*, at Paris, I found three separate narratives of this event written at the time, all brief and imperfect, but one of them apparently drawn up by a person on the spot. From these I have collected the following particulars:

M. de Contrecœur, the commandant of Fort Du Quesne, received early intelligence of the arrival of General Braddock and the British regiments in Virginia. After his removal from Will's Creek, French and Indian scouts were constantly abroad, who watched his motions, reported the progress of his march, and the route he was pursuing. His army was represented to consist of three thousand men. M. de Contrecœur was hesitating what measures to take, believing his small force wholly inadequate to encounter so formidable an enemy, when M. de Beaujeu, a Captain in the French service, proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians, and meet the enemy in their march. The consent of the Indians was first obtained. A large body of them was then encamped in the vicinity of the Fort, and M. de Beaujeu opened to them his plan, and requested their aid. This they at first declined, giving as a reason the superior force of the enemy, and the impossibility of success. But at the pressing solicitation of M. de Beaujeu, they agreed to hold a council on the subject, and talk with him again the next morning. They still adhered to their first decision, and when M. de Beaujeu went out among them to inquire the result of their deliberation, they told him a second time they could not go. This was a severe disappointment to M. de Beaujeu, who had set his heart upon the enterprise, and was resolved to prosecute it. Being a man of great good nature, affability, and ardor, and much beloved by the

savages, he said to them, "I am determined to go out and meet the enemy. What! will you suffer your father to go out alone? I am sure we shall conquer." With this spirited harangue, delivered in a manner that pleased the Indians, and won upon their confidence, he subdued their unwillingness, and they agreed to accompany him.

It was now the 7th of July, and news came that the English were within six leagues of the Fort. This day and the next were spent in making preparations, and reconnoitering the ground for attack. Two other Captains, Dumas and Liquery were joined with M. de Beaujeu, and also four Lieutenants, six Ensigns and two Cadets. On the morning of the 9th they were all in readiness, and began their march at an early hour. It seems to have been their first intention to make a stand at the ford, and annoy the English while crossing the river, and then retreat to the ambuscade on the side of the hill where the contest actually commenced. The trees on the bank of the river afforded a good opportunity to effect this measure, in the Indian mode of warfare, since the artillery could be of little avail against an enemy, where every man was protected by a tree, and at the same time the English would be exposed to a point blank musket shot in fording the river. As it happened, however, M. de Beaujeu and his party did not arrive in time to execute this part of the plan.

The English were preparing to cross the river, when the French and Indians reached the defiles on the rising ground, where they posted themselves, and waited until Braddock's advanced columns came up. This was the signal for the attack, which was made at first in front, and repelled by so heavy a discharge from the British, that the Indians believed it proceeded from artillery, and showed symptoms of wavering and retreat. At this moment M. de Beaujeu was killed, and the command devolving on M. Dumas, he showed great presence of mind in rallying the Indians, and ordered his officers to lead them to the wings and attack the enemy in the flank, while he with the French troops would maintain the position in front. This order was promptly obeyed, and the attack became general. The action was warm and severely contested for a short time; but the English fought in the European method, firing at random, which had little effect in the woods. while the Indians fired from concealed places, took aim, and almost every shot brought down a man. The English columns soon got into confusion; the yell of the savages, with which the woods resounded, struck terror into the hearts of the soldiers, till at length they took to flight, and resisted all the endeavors of their officers to restore any degree of order in their escape. The rout was complete, and the field of battle was left covered with the dead and wounded, and all the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage of the English army. The

Indians gave themselves up to pillage, which prevented them from pursuing the English in their flight.

Such is the substance of the accounts written at the time by the French officers and sent home to their Government. In regard to the numbers engaged, there are some slight variations in the three statements. The largest number reported is two hundred and fifty French and Canadians, and six hundred Indians. If we take a medium, it will make the whole number, led out by M. de Beaujeu, at least eight hundred and fifty. In an imperfect return, three officers were stated to be killed, and four wounded; about thirty soldiers and Indians killed, and as many wounded. When these facts are taken into view, the result of the action will appear much less wonderful, than has generally been supposed. And this wonder will still be diminished, when another circumstance is recurred to, worthy of particular consideration, and that is, the shape of the ground upon which the battle was fought. This part of the description, so essential to the understanding of military operations, and above all in the present instance, has never been touched upon it is believed, by any writer. We have seen that Braddock's advanced columns, after crossing the valley extending nearly half a mile from the margin of the river, began to move up a hill, so uniform in its ascent, that it was little else than an inclined plane of a somewhat crowning form. Down this inclined surface extended two ravines, beginning near together, at about one hundred and fifty yards from the bottom of the hill, and proceeding in different directions till they terminated in the valley below. In these ravines the French and Indians were concealed and protected. At this day they are from eight to ten feet deep, and sufficient in extent to contain at least ten thousand men. At the time of the battle, the ground was covered with trees and long grass, so that the ravines were entirely hidden from view, till they were approached within a few feet. Indeed, at the present day, although the place is cleared from trees, and converted into pasture, they are perceptible only at a very short distance. By this knowledge of the local peculiarities of the battle ground, the mystery, that the British conceived themselves to be contending with an invisible foe, is solved. Such was literally the fact. They were so paraded between the ravines, that their whole front and right flank were exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy, who discharged their muskets over the edge of the ravines, concealed during that operation by the grass and bushes, and protected by an invisible barrier below the surface of the earth. William Butler, a veteran soldier still living (1832,) who was in this action, and afterwards at the plains of Abraham, said to me, "We could only tell where the enemy were by the smoke of their muskets." A few scattering Indians were behind trees, and some were

killed venturing out to take scalps, but much the larger portion fought wholly in the ravines.

It is not probable, that either General Braddock or any one of his officers suspected the actual situation of the enemy, during the whole bloody contest. It was a fault with the General, for which no apology can be offered, that he did not keep scouts and guards in advance and on the wings of the army, who would have made all proper discoveries before the whole had been brought into a snare. This neglect was the primary cause of his defeat; which might have been avoided. Had he charged with the bayonet, the ravine would have been cleared instantly; or had he brought his artillery to the points where the ravines terminated in the valley, and scoured them with grape-shot, the same consequence would have followed.

But the total insubordination of his troops would have prevented both these movements, even if he had become acquainted with the ground in the early part of the action. The disasters of this day, and the fate of the commander, brave and resolute as he undoubtedly was, are to be ascribed to his contempt of Indian warfare, his overweening confidence in the prowess of veteran troops, his obstinate self-complacency, his disregard of prudent council, and his negligence in leaving his army exposed to a surprise on their march. He freely consulted Colonel Washington, whose experience and judgment, notwithstanding his youth, claimed the highest respect for his opinions; but the General gave little heed to his advice. While on his march, George Croghan, the Indian interpreter, joined him with one hundred friendly Indians, who offered their services. These were accepted in so cold a manner, and the Indians themselves treated with so much neglect, that they deserted him one after another. Washington pressed upon the importance of these men, and the necessity of conciliating and retaining them, but without effect.

A report had long been current in Pennsylvania, that Braddock was shot by one of his own men, founded on the declaration of a provincial soldier, who was in the action. There is another tradition also, worthy of notice, which rests on the authority of Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington from his boyhood to his death, and who was with him at the battle of the Monongahela. Fifteen years after that event, they travelled together on an expedition to the Western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers, a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged and venerable chief. This personage made known to them by the interpreter, that, hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long way to visit him, adding, that during the battle of the Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous

object, fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded, that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man, who was a particular favorite of Heaven, and who could never die in battle. Mr. Custis, of Arlington, to whom these incidents were related by Dr. Craik, has dramatized them in a piece called *The Indian Prophecy.*

When the battle was over, and the remnant of Braddock's army had gained, in their flight, the opposite bank of the river, Colonel Washington was dispatched by the General to meet Colonel Dunbar, and order forward wagons for the wounded with all possible speed. But it was not till the 11th, after they had reached Gist's plantation with great difficulty and much suffering from hunger, that any arrived. The General was at first brought off in a tumbril; he was next put on horse-back, but being unable to ride, was obliged to be carried by the soldiers. They all reached Dunbar's camp, to which the panic had already extended, and a day was passed there in great confusion. The artillery was destroyed, and the public stores and heavy baggage were burnt, by whose order was never known. They moved forward on the 13th, and that night General Braddock died, and was buried in the road, for the purpose of concealing his body from the Indians. The spot is still pointed out, within a few yards of the present national road, and about a mile west of the site of Fort Necessity at the Great Meadows. Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Forces, had taken particular charge of him from the time he was wounded till his death. On the 17th, the sick and wounded arrived at Fort Cumberland, and were soon after joined by Colonel Dunbar with the remaining fragments of the army.

The French sent out a party as far as Dunbar's camp, and destroyed every thing that was left. Colonel Washington being in very feeble health, proceeded in a few days to Mount Vernon.

To this we add a few paragraphs from the memoirs of James Smith who was a prisoner at Fort Du Quesne, at the time of this celebrated action.*

I asked him what news from Braddock's army. He said the Indians spied them every day, and he showed me, by maing marks on the ground with a stick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very close

* See also as to Braddock's defeat, Sherman Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, published at Philadelphia and New Haven, p. 72 to 75; and for proof of the fact that Braddock was intentionally shot by one of his own men, p. 335. Also pamphlets named in the Preface to this volume.

order, and that the Indians would surround them, take trees, and (as he expressed it) *shoot um down all one pigeon.*

Shortly after this, on the 9th day of July, 1755, in the morning, I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door, which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall, and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate, where were barrels of powder, bullets, flints, &c., and every one taking what suited. I saw the Indians also march off in rank entire; likewise the French Canadians, and some regulars. After viewing the Indians and French in different positions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I was then in high hopes that I would soon see them fly before the British troops, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue me.

I remained anxious to know the event of this day; and, in the afternoon, I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch, I went to one of them, and asked him what was the news. He told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man left alive before sundown. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, &c. with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose.

About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of Alleghany river, opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these

men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with fire-brands, red-hot irons, &c., and he screamed in a most doleful manner; the Indians, in the mean time, yelling like infernal spirits.

As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry.

When I came into my lodgings I saw Russel's Seven Sermons, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present to me. From the best information I could receive, there were only seven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred British lay dead in the field, besides what were killed in the river on their retreat.

The morning after the battle I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort; the same day I also saw several Indians in British officers' dress, with sash, half-moon, laced hats, &c., which the British then wore.*

Although the doings of 1755, recorded above, could not well be looked on as of a very amicable character, war was not declared by either France or England, until May of the following year; and even then France was the last to proclaim the contest which she had been so long carrying on, though more than three hundred of her merchant vessels had been taken by British privateers. The causes of this proceeding are not very clear to us. France thought, beyond doubt, that George would fear to declare war, because Hanover was so exposed to attack; but why the British movements, upon the sea particularly, did not lead to the declaration on the part of France is not easily to be guessed. Early in 1756, however, both kingdoms formed alliances in Europe; France with Austria, Russia, and Sweden; England with the Great Frederic. And then commenced forthwith the Seven Years' War, wherein most of Europe, North America, and the East and West Indies partook and suffered.

Into the details of that war we cannot enter; not even into those of the contest in North America. In Virginia many things worthy of notice took place, but most of them took place east of the mountains — among western events we find only the following: —Immediately after Braddock's defeat, the Indians began to push their excursions across the mountains, so that in April 1756, Washington writes from Winchester; "The Blue Ridge is now our frontier, no men being left in this county (Frederick) except a few who keep close with a number of women and children in

* Colonel Smith's Captivity, in Drake's Indian Captivities, p. 183.

forts." Under these, or similar circumstances, it was deemed advisable to send an expedition against the Indian towns upon the Ohio; Major Lewis, in January 1756, was appointed to command the troops to be used in the proposed irruption, and the point aimed at was apparently the upper Shawanese town,* situated on the Ohio three miles above the mouth of the Great Kenhawa.† The attempt proved a failure, in consequence, it is said, of the swollen state of the streams, and the treachery of the guides, and Major Lewis and his party suffered greatly.‡ Of this expedition, however, we have no details unless it be, as we suspect, the same with the "Sandy Creek voyage" described by Withers, in his Border warfare, as occurring in 1757, during which year Washington's letters make no reference to any thing of the kind. Withers moreover says, the return of the party was owing to orders from Governor Fauquier; but Dinwiddie did not leave until January, 1758;‖ and the French town of Galliopolis, which, the Border Warfare says, was to have been destroyed by the Virginians did not exist till nearly forty years later. If there were two expeditions, in both the troops underwent the same kind of suffering; in both were forced to kill and eat their horses; and in both were unsuccessful.

Upon a larger scale it was proposed during 1756, to attack Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Du Quesne, but neither was attacked; for Montcalm took the forts at Oswego, which he destroyed to quiet the jealousy of the Iroquois, within whose territory they were built, and this stroke seemed to paralyze all arms. One bold blow was made by Armstrong at Kittaning, on the Alleghany, in September,§ and the frontiers of Pennsylvania for a time were made safe; but otherwise the year in America wore out with little result.

During the next year, 1757, nothing took place, but the capture of Fort William Henry, by Montcalm, and the massacre of its

* The lower Shawanese town was just below the mouth of the Scioto. See Croghan's Journal — Butler's Kentucky, second edition, 462.

† Sparks' Washington, ii. 527.

‡ Sparks' Washington, ii. 125, 135, 136.

‖ Sparks' Washington, ii. 270. Had the return been owing to the Governor's orders, would Lieutenant M'Nutt, as Withers states, have presented his journal blaming Lewis for returning, to the very Governor whose commands he obeyed? Border Warfare, 65.

§ Holmes' *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 73.—Burk's *Virginia*, vol. iii. p. 221.—Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 96. Holmes, (referring to New York Historical Collections, iii. 399,) says the Ohio Indians had already killed one thousand persons on the frontier: Armstrong did not, however, destroy more than forty savages.

garrison by his Indians; a scene of which the readers of Cooper's Last of the Mohicans need scarce be reminded. This, and the near destruction of the British fleet by a gale off Louisburg, were the leading events of this dark season; and no wonder that fear and despair sank deep into the hearts of the colonists. Nor was it in America alone, that Britain suffered during that summer. On the continent Frederic was borne down; in the Mediterranean the navy of England had been defeated, and all was dark in the east; and, to add to the weight of these misfortunes, many of them came upon Pitt, the popular minister.*

But the year 1758 opened under a new star. On sea and land, in Asia, Europe, and America, Britain regained what had been lost. The Austrians, Russians, and Swedes, all gave way before the great Captain of Prussia, and Pitt sent his own strong, and hopeful, and energetic spirit into his subalterns. In North America Louisburg yielded to Boscawen; Fort Frontenac was taken by Bradstreet; and Du Quesne was abandoned upon the approach of Forbes through Pennsylvania. From that time, the post at the Fork of the Ohio was Fort Pitt.

In this last capture, as more particularly connected with the West, we are now chiefly interested. The details of the gathering and the march may be seen in the letters of Washington, who, in opposition to Colonel Bouquet, was in favor of crossing the mountains by Braddock's road, whereas, Bouquet wished to cut a new one through Pennsylvania. In this division, Bouquet was listened to by the General; and late in the season a new route was undertaken, by which such delays and troubles were produced, that the whole expedition came near proving a failure. Braddock's road had, in early times, been selected by the most experienced Indians and frontier men as the most favorable whereby to cross the mountains, being nearly the route by which the national road has been since carried over them. In 1753, it was opened by the Ohio Company. It was afterward improved by the Provincial troops under Washington, and was finished by Braddock's engineers;† and this route was now to be given up, and a wholly new one opened, probably, as Washington suggested, through Pennsylvania influence, that her frontiers might thereby be protected, and a way opened for her traders. The

* He returned to office, June 29th, 1757.

† Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 302.

hardships and dangers of the march from Raystown to Fort Du Quesne, where the British van arrived upon the 25th of November, may be seen slightly pictured by the letters of Washington and the second journal of Post,* and may be more vividly conceived by those who have passed through the valley of the upper Juniata.†

But, turning from this march, let us look at the position of things in the West, during the autumn of 1758. We have said, that in the outset the French did their utmost to alienate the Six Nations and Delawares from their old connexion with the British; and so politic were their movements, so accurate their knowledge of Indian character, that they fully succeeded. The English, as we have seen, had made some foolish and iniquitous attempts to get a claim to the western lands, and by rum and bumbo had even obtained grants of those lands; but when the rum had evaporated, the wild men saw how they had been deceived, and listened not unwillingly to the French professions of friendship, backed as they were by presents and politeness, and accompanied by no attempts to buy or wheedle land from them.‡ Early, therefore, many of the old allies of England joined her enemies; and the treaties of Albany, Johnson Hall, and Easton‖ did little or nothing towards stopping the desolation of the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Quakers always believed, that this state of enmity between the Delawares and themselves, or their rulers,

* Proud's Pennsylvania, vol. ii. Appendix.

† While upon this march General Forbes was so sick that he was carried in a close litter, and to this the officers went to receive their orders. An anecdote was afterwards told of some inimical Indian chiefs, who came to the army on an embassy, and who, observing that from this close litter came all commands, asked the reason. The British officers, thinking the savages would despise their General, if told he was sick, were at first puzzled what answer to make; but in a moment one of them spoke out, and said, that in that litter was their General, who was so fierce and strong that he felt it necessary to bind himself, hand and foot, and lie still until he came to the enemy's country, lest he should do the ambassadors, or even his own men, a mischief. The red men gave their usual grunt, and placed some miles of forest between themselves and this fierce chieftain as soon as possible. General Forbes died in Philadelphia a few weeks after the capture of Fort Du Quesne.

‡ See Post's *Journals*; Pownall's *Memoir, on Service in North America.*

‖ Many treaties were made between 1753 and 1758, which amounted to little or nothing. See *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. vii. p. 97.—Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iii. pp. 436, 450, 471.—Proud's *Pennsylvania*, vol. ii. app.; Friendly Association's *Address*, and Post's *Journals*. There were two Easton treaties; one with the Pennsylvania Delawares, in 1756, the other with all the Indians in 1758.—See also in Proud's *Pennsylvania*, vol. ii. p. 331, an inquiry into the causes of quarrel with the Indians, and extracts from treaties, &c.

might be prevented by a little friendly communion; but the persuasions of the French, the renegade English traders, and others who had gone to the West, were great obstacles to any friendly conversation on the one side, and the common feeling among the whites was an equal difficulty on the other. In the autumn of 1756, a treaty was held at Easton with the Pennsylvania Delawares,* and peace agreed to. But this did not bind the Ohio Indians even of the same nation, much less the Shawanese and Mingoes; and though the Sachem of the Pennsylvania savages, Teedyuscung, promised to call to his western relatives with a loud voice, they did not, or would not hear him; the tomahawk and brand still shone among the rocky mountain fastnesses of the interior. Nor can any heart but pity the red men. They knew not whom to believe, nor where to look for a true friend. The French said they came to defend them from the English; the English said they came to defend them from the French; and between the two powers they were wasting away, and their homes disappearing before them. "The kings of France and England," said Teedyuscung, "have settled this land so as to coop us up as if in a pen. This very ground that is under me was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud." Such being the feeling of the natives, and success being of late nearly balanced between the two European powers, no wonder that they hung doubting, and knew not which way to turn. The French wished the Eastern Delawares to move west, so as to bring them within their influence;† and the British tried to persuade them to prevail on their western brethren to leave their new allies and be at peace.

In 1758, the condition of affairs being as stated, and Forbes' army on the eve of starting for Fort Du Quesne, and the French being also disheartened by the British success elsewhere, and their force at Du Quesne weak,—it was determined to make an effort to draw the western Indians over, and thereby still further to weaken the force that would oppose General Forbes. It was no easy matter, however, to find a true and trustworthy man, whose courage, skill, ability, knowledge, and physical power, would fit him for such a mission. He was to pass through a wilderness filled with doubtful friends, into a country filled with open enemies. The whole French interest would be against him, and the Indians of the Ohio were little to be trusted. Every stream on his

* Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. vii. p. 125.

† Heckewelder's Narrative p. 53.

way had been dyed with blood, every hill-side had rung with the death-yell, and grown red in the light of burning huts. The man who was at last chosen was a Moravian, who had lived among the savages seventeen years, and married among them; his name Christian Frederic Post. Of his journey, sufferings, and doings, we have his own journal, though Heckewelder tells us, that those parts which redound most to his own credit, he omitted when printing it. He left Philadelphia upon the 15th of July, 1758; and, against the protestations of Teedyuscung, who said he would surely lose his life, proceeded up the Susquehannah,—passing "many plantations deserted and laid waste." Upon the 7th of August, he came to the Alleghany, opposite French Creek, and was forced to pass under the very eyes of the garrison of Fort Venango, but was not molested. From Venango he went to "Kuskushkee," which was on or near Big Beaver Creek. This place, he says, contained ninety houses and two hundred able warriors. At this place Post had much talk with the chiefs, who seemed well disposed, but somewhat afraid of the French. The great conference, however, it was determined should be held opposite Fort Du Quesne, where there were Indians of eight nations. The messenger was at first unwilling to go thither, fearing the French would seize him; but the savages said, "they would carry him in their bosom, he need fear nothing," and they well redeemed this promise. On the 24th of August, Post, with his Indian friends, reached the point opposite the Fort; and there immediately followed a series of speeches, explanations and agreements, for which we must refer to his Journal. At first he was was received rather hardly by an old and deaf Onondago, who claimed the land whereon they stood as belonging to the Six Nations; but a Delaware rebuked him in no very polite terms. "That man speaks not as a man," he said; "he endeavors to frighten us by saying this ground is his; he dreams; he and his father (the French) have certainly drunk too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to sleep till they are sober. You do not know what your own nation does at home, how much they have to say to the English. You are quite rotten. You stink. You do nothing but smoke your pipe here. Go to sleep with your father, and when you are sober we will speak to you."

It was clear that the Delawares, and indeed all the western Indians, were wavering in their affection for the French; and, though some opposition was made to a union with the colonists,

the general feeling, produced by the prospect of a quick approach by Forbes' army, and by the truth and kindness of Post himself, was in favor of England. The Indians, however, complained bitterly of the disposition which the whites showed in claiming and seizing their lands. "Why did you not fight your battles at home, or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them?" they asked, again and again; and were mournful when they thought of the future. "*Your* heart is good," they said to Post, "*you* speak sincerely: but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich; they have enough; look! we do not want to be rich, and take away what others have." "The white people think we have no brains in our heads; that they are big, and we a little handful; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake you cannot find it, and perhaps it will bite you before you see it." When the war of Pontiac came, this saying might have been justly remembered.

At length, having concluded a pretty definite peace, Post turned toward Philadelphia, setting out upon the 9th of September; and, after the greatest sufferings and perils from French scouts and Indians, reached the settlements uninjured.

While Post was engaged upon his dangerous mission, the van of Forbes' army was pressing slowly forward under the heats of August from Raystown, (Bedford,)* toward Loyalhanna, hewing their way as they went. Early in September, the General reached Raystown, whither he also ordered Washington, who had till then been kept inactive among his sick troops at Fort Cumberland. Meantime two officers of the first Virginia regiment had gone separately, each with his party, to reconnoitre Fort Du Quesne, and had brought accounts of its condition up to the 13th of August.† It being deemed desirable, however, to have fuller statements than they were able to give, a party of eight hundred men under Major Grant, with whom went Major Andrew Lewis of Virginia, was pushed forward to gain the desired information. Grant appears to have exceeded his orders, which were merely to obtain all the knowledge relative to the French which he could; and after having unwisely divided his force, with equal want of sagacity brought on an engagement; having before him, perhaps, the vain hope that he should take the fort he was sent to examine. In the skirmish thus needlessly entered into, Grant's troops were thrown

* Sparks' Washington, ii. 312.

† See map in Sparks' Washington, ii.; also plate and account in Am. Pioneer, ii. 147.

into confusion by their Indian foes. Lewis, who had been left two miles behind, hastening forward when he heard the sound of fire-arms, to relieve his comrades, was unable to check the rout which had commenced, and together with his commandlng officer was taken prisoner. Indeed, the whole detachment would have shared their fate, had not Capt. Bullitt, with his fifty Virginians, rescued them. Ordering his men to lower their arms, this able officer waited until the Indians, who thought the little band about to yield, were full in view, then giving the word, poured upon the enemy a deadly fire, which was instantly followed by a charge with the bayonet,—a proceeding so unlooked for and so fatal as to lead to the complete rout of the assailants. This conduct of the Virginians was much admired, and Washington received publicly the compliments of the Commander-in-Chief on account of it.*

October had now arrived, and Washington was engaged in opening the road toward the Fork of the Ohio. On the 5th of November, he was still at Loyalhanna, where at one time the General thought of spending the winter; on the 15th, he was on Chesnut ridge, advancing from four to eight miles a day; and in ten days more stood where Fort Du Quesne had been; the French having destroyed it, when they embarked for the lower posts on the Ohio the preceding day.

At Easton, meantime, had been gathered another great council, at which were present "the eight United Nations, (the Iroquois,) and their confederates;" with all of whom, during October, peace was concluded. The particulars of this treaty are given in the American pioneer i. 244, taken from the Annual Register for 1759, p. 191; and from a note in Burk's "History of Virginia,"† we find that the Iroquois were very angry at the prominence of Teedyuscung. With the messengers to the West, bearing news of this treaty, Post was sent back, within five weeks after his return. He followed after General Forbes, from whom he received messages to the various tribes, with which he once more sought their chiefs; and was again very instrumental in preventing any junction of the Indians with the French. Indeed, but for Post's mission, there would in all probability have been gathered a strong force of

* Sparks' Washington; ii. 313; note.—Butler's Kentucky, 2d edition, Introduction, xliv.—Marshall's Life of Washington, (Edition 1804, Philadelphia,) ii. 66. This defeat occurred, September 21. Washington commanded all the Virginia troops.

† Vol. iii. p. 239.

western savages to waylay Forbes and defend Fort Du Quesne; in which case, so adverse was the season and the way, so wearied the men, and so badly managed the whole business, that there would have been great danger of a second "Braddock's field;" so that our humble Moravian friend played no unimportant part in securing again to his British Majesty the key to western America.

With the fall of Fort Du Quesne, all direct contest between the French and British in the West ceased. From that time Canada was the only scene of operations, though garrisons for a while remained in the forts on French Creek. In 1759, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and at length Quebec itself yielded to the English; and, on the 8th of September, 1760, Montreal, Detroit, and all Canada were given up by Vaudreuil, the French governor.

But the French had not been the only dwellers in western America; and, when they were gone, the colonists still saw before them clouds of dark and jealous warriors. Indeed, no sooner were the Delawares quiet in the north, than the Cherokees, who had been assisting Virginia against her foes, were roused to war by the thoughtless and cruel conduct of the frontier men, who shot several of that tribe, because they took some horses which they found running at large in the woods. The ill-feeling bred by this act was eagerly fostered by the French in Louisiana; and, while Amherst and Wolfe were pushing the war into Canada, the frontiers of Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia, were writhing under the horrors of Indian invasion. This Cherokee war continued through 1760, and into 1761, but was terminated in the summer of the last-named year by Colonel Grant. We should be glad, did it come within our province, to enter somewhat at large into the events of it, as then came forward two of the most remarkable chiefs of that day, the Great Warrior and the Little Carpenter (Attakullakulla); but we must first refer our readers to the second volume of Thatcher's "Indian Biography."

Along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and northern Virginia, the old plantations had been, one by one, reoccupied since 1758, and settlers were slowly pushing further into the Indian country, and traders were once more bearing their burdens over the mountains, and finding a way into the wigwams of the natives, who rested, watching silently, but narrowly, the course of their English defenders and allies. For it was, professedly, in the character of defenders, that Braddock and Forbes had come into the

West;* and, while every British finger itched for the lands as well as the furs of the wild men, with mistaken hypocrisy they would have persuaded them that the treasure and the life of England had been given to preserve her old allies, the Six Nations, and their dependents, the Delawares and Shawanese, from French aggression. But the savages knew whom they had to deal with, and looked at every step of the cultivator with jealousy and hate.

In 1760, the Ohio Company once more prepared to pursue their old plan, and sent to England for such orders and instructions to the Virginia government as would enable them to do so.† During the summer of that year, also, General Monkton, by a treaty at Fort Pitt, obtained leave to build posts within the wild lands, each post having ground enough about it to raise corn and vegetables for the use of the garrison.‡ Nor, if we can credit one writer, were the settlements of the Ohio Company, and the forts, the only inroads upon the hunting grounds of the savages; for he says, that in 1757, by the books of the Secretary of Virginia, three millions of acres had been granted west of the mountains. Indeed, we know that in 1758 she tried by law to encourage settlements in the West; and the report of John Blair, Clerk of the Virginia Council, in 1768 or 1769, states, that most of the grants beyond the mountains were made before August, 1754.‖ At any rate, it is clear that the Indians early began to murmur; for, in 1762, Bouquet issued his proclamation from Fort Pitt, saying that the treaty of Easton, in 1758, secured to the red men all lands west of the mountains as hunting-grounds; wherefore he forbids all settlements, and orders the arrest of the traders and settlers who were spreading discontent and fear among the Ohio Indians.§

But if the Ohio Indians were early ill-disposed to the English, much more was this the case among those lake tribes, who had known only the French, and were strongly attached to them; the Ottaways, Wyandots, and Chippeways. The first visit which they received from the British was after the surrender of Vaudreuil, when Major Robert Rogers was sent to take charge of

* Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 328.—Post's Journals show how full of jealousy the Indians were; see there also Forbes' letter, sent by him.

† Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 482.—*Plain Facts*, p. 120, where a letter from the Company, dated September 9th, 1761, is given.

‡ Dated August 20th. *Plain Facts*, pp. 55, 56.

‖ *Contest in North America, by an Impartial Hand*, p. 36.—*Secret Journals*, vol. iii. p. 187.—*Plain Facts*. Appendix.

§ *Plain Facts*. p. 56.—See Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 64.

Detroit.* He left Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, and, on the 8th of October, reached Presqu'Ile, where Bouquet then commanded. Thence he went slowly up Lake Erie, to Detroit, which place he summoned to yield itself on the 19th of November. It was, if we mistake not, while waiting for an answer to this summons, that he was visited by the great Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, who demanded how the English dared enter his country; to which the answer was given, that they came, not to take the country, but to open a free way of trade, and to put out the French, who stopped their trade. This answer, together with other moderate and kindly words, spoken by Rogers, seemed to lull the rising fears of the savages, and Pontiac promised him his protection.

Beleter, meantime, who commanded at Detroit, had not yielded; nay, word was brought to Rogers on the 24th, that his messenger had been confined, and a flag-pole erected, with a wooden head upon it, to represent Britain, on which stood a crow picking the eyes out,—as emblematic of the success of France. In a few days, however, the commander heard of the fate of the lower posts, and, as his Indians did not stand by him, on the 29th he yielded. Rogers remained at Detroit until December 23d, under the personal protection of Pontiac, to whose presence he probably owed his safety. From Detroit the Major went to the Maumee, and thence across the present State of Ohio to Fort Pitt; and his Journal of this overland trip is the first we have of such an one in that region. His route was nearly that given by Hutchins,† in Bouquet's "Expedition," as the common one from Sandusky to the Fork of the Ohio. It went from Fort Sandusky, where Sandusky City now is, crossed the Huron river, then called Bald Eagle Creek, to "Mohickon John's Town," upon what we know as Mohicon Creek, the northern branch of White Woman's River, and thence crossed to Beaver's Town, a Delaware town on the west side of the "Maskongam Creek," opposite "a fine river" which, from Hutchins' map, we presume was Sandy Creek. At Beaver's Town were one hundred and eighty warriors, and not less than three thousand acres of cleared land. From there the track went up Sandy Creek and across to the Big Beaver, and up

* See his *Journal*, London, 1765. Also, his *Concise Account of North America*. London. 1765.

† Thomas Hutchins, afterwards Geographer of the United States, was, in 1764, assistant engineer on Bouquet's edition.

the Ohio, through Logstown, to Fort Pitt, which place Rogers reached January 23d, 1760, precisely one month having passed while he was upon the way.

In the spring of the year following Rogers' visit, (1761,) Alexander Henry, an English trader, went to Missillimacnac for purposes of business, and he found everywhere the strongest feeling against the English, who had done nothing by word or act to conciliate the Indians. Even then there were threats of reprisals and war. Having, by means of a Canadian dress, managed to reach Missilimacanac in safety, he was there discovered, and was waited on by an Indian chief, who was, in the opinion of Thatcher, Pontiac himself. This chief, after conveying to him the idea, that their French father would soon awake and utterly destroy his enemies, continued:

"Englishman! Although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves! These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us upon these broad lakes and in these mountains."

He then spoke of the fact that no treaty had been made with them, no presents sent them, and while he announced their intention to allow Henry to trade unmolested, and to regard him as a brother, he declared, that with his king the red men were still at war.*

Such were the feelings of the northwestern savages immediately after the English took possession of their lands; and these feelings were in all probability fostered and increased by the Canadians and French. Distrust of the British was general; and, as the war between France and England still went on in other lands, there was hope among the Canadians, perhaps, that the French power might be restored in America. However this may have been, it is clear that disaffection spread rapidly in the West, though of the details of the years from 1759 to 1763 we know hardly any thing.

Upon the 10th of February, 1763, the treaty of Paris was concluded, and peace between the European powers restored. Of

* Travels of Alexander Henry in Canada, from 1760 to 1776. New York, 1809.—Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. ii. pp. 75, *et seq.*

that treaty we give the essential provisions bearing upon our subject.

Art. 4 "His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guarantees the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King and the crown of France have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants; so that the most Christian King, cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned.

Art. 7. "In order to establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of his most Christian Majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most Christian King cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses or ought to possess on the left side of the river Mississippi, with the exception of the town of New Orleans, and of the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; it being well understood that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length from its source to the sea; and expressly, that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever."

[It is necessary to observe, that the preliminary articles, which so far

as relates to the two articles here inserted, are verbatim the same with those of the definitive treaty, were signed on the third day of November, 1762, on which same day, as will appear, France ceded Louisiana to Spain.]*

## FROM 1763 TO 1764.

And now once more men began to think seriously of the West. Pamphlets were published upon the advantages of settlements on the Ohio; Colonel Mercer was chosen to represent the old Company in England, and try to have their affairs made straight, for there were counter-claims by the soldiers who had enlisted, in 1754, under Dinwiddie's proclamation; and on all hands there were preparations for movement. But, even at that moment, there existed through the whole West a conspiracy or agreement among the Indians, from Lake Michigan to the frontiers of North Carolina, by which they were with one accord, with one spirit, to fall upon the whole line of British posts and strike every white man dead. Chippeways, Ottoways, Wyandots, Miamis, Shawanese, Delawares, and Mingoes, for the time, laid by their old hostile feelings, and united under Pontiac in this great enterprise. The voice of that sagacious and noble man was heard in the distant North, crying, "Why, says the Great Spirit, do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress, I will help you."

That voice was heard, but not by the whites. The unsuspecting traders journeyed from village to village; the soldiers in the forts shrunk from the sun of the early summer, and dozed away the day; the frontier settler, singing in fancied security, sowed his crop, or, watching the sunset through the girdled trees, mused upon one more peaceful harvest, and told his children of the hor-

* See Land Laws, p. 83.

rors of the ten years' war, now,—thank God! over. From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi the trees had leaved, and all was calm life and joy. But through that great country, even then, bands of sullen red men were journeying from the central valleys to the lakes and the Eastern hills. Bands of Chippeways gathered about Missilimacanac. Ottaways filled the woods near Detroit. The Maumee post, Presqu'Ile, Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier, and every English fort was hemmed in by mingled tribes, who felt that the great battle drew nigh which was to determine their fate and the possession of their noble lands.† At last the day came. The traders everywhere were seized, their goods taken from them, and more than one hundred of them put to death. Nine British forts yielded instantly, and the savages drank, "scooped up in the hollow of joined hands," the blood of many a Briton. The border streams of Pennsylvania and Virginia ran red again. "We hear," says a letter for Fort Pitt, "of scalping every hour." In Western Virginia, more than twenty thousand people were driven from their homes. Mackinac was taken by a stratagem, which Henry thus describes:

The next day, being the fourth of June, was the king's birth-day. The morning was sultry. A Chippeway came to tell me that his nation was going to play at *baggatiway*, with the Sacs or Saakies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would bet on the side of the Chippeways. In consequence of this information, I went to the commandant, and expostulated with him a little, representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but the commandant only smiled at my suspicions.

*Baggatiway*, called by the Canadians *le jeu de la crosse*, is played with a bat and ball. The bat is about four feet in length, curved, and terminating in a sort of racket. Two posts are planted in the ground, at a considerable distance from each other, as a mile or more, Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball at the beginning is placed in the middle of the course, and each party endeavors as well to throw the ball out of the direction of its own post, as into that of the adversary's.

I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because, there being a canoe prepared to depart, on the following day, for Montreal, I employed myself in writing letters to my friends; and even when a fellow-trader, Mr. Tracy happened to

† See Henry's *Narrative*.—Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. ii. p. 83.

call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Detroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach, to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained, to finish my letters; promising to follow Mr. Tracy in the course of a few minutes. Mr. Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from the door, when I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion.

Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians, within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. In particular, I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette. * * * *

The game of baggatiway, as from the description above will have been perceived, is necessarily attended with much violence and noise. In the ardor of contest, the ball, as has been suggested, if it cannot be thrown to the goal desired, is struck in any direction by which it can be diverted from that designed by the adversary. At such a moment, therefore, nothing could be less liable to excite premature alarm, than that the ball should be tossed over the pickets of the fort, nor that, having fallen there, it should be followed on the instant by all engaged in the game, as well the one party as the other, all eager, all struggling, all shouting, all in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude athletic exercise. Nothing could be less fitted to excite premature alarm; nothing, therefore, could be more happily devised, under the circumstances, than a stratagem like this; and this was, in fact, the strategem which the Indians had employed, by which they had obtained possession of the fort, and by which they had been enabled to slaughter and subdue its garrison, and such of its other inhabitants as they pleased. To be still more certain of success, they had prevailed upon as many as they could, by a pretext the least liable to suspicion, to come voluntary without the pickets; and particularly the commandant and garrison themselves.*

At Detroit, where Pontiac commanded, treachery prevented success; and here also we give the account of a cotemporary writer:†

"As every appearance of war was at an end, and the Indians seemed to be on a friendly footing, Pontiac approached Detroit without exciting any suspicions in the breast of the governor, or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little distance from it, and let the commandant know that he was come to trade; and being desirous of brightening the chain of peace between the English and his nation, desired that he and his chiefs might be admitted to hold a council with him. The governor,

* See Drake's *Captivities*, 289, 292.

† Captain Carver, who was in the north-west from 1766 to 1768. In 1767 he says Detroit contained more than one hundred houses, and that the river bank was settled for twenty miles, although poorly cultivated; the people were engaged in the Indian trade.

still unsuspicious, and not in the least doubting the sincerity of the Indians, granted their general's request, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

"On the evening of that day, an Indian woman who had been appointed by Major Gladwyn to make a pair of Indian shoes, out of a curious elkskin, brought them home. The major was so pleased with them, that, intending these as a present for a friend, he ordered her to take the remainder back, and make it into others for himself. He then directed his servant to pay her for those she had done, and dismissed her. The woman went to the door that led to the street, but no further; she there loitered about as if she had not finished the business on which she came. A servant at length observed her, and asked her why she staid there? She gave him, however, no answer.

"Some short time after, the governor himself saw her, and inquired of his servant what occasioned her stay. Not being able to get a satisfactory answer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When she came into his presence, he desired to know what was the reason of her loitering about, and not hastening home before the gates were shut, that she might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodness towards her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it; and yet had not been able to prevail upon herself to tell him so. He then asked her why she was more reluctant to do so now than she had been when she made the former pair. With increased reluctance she answered, that she should never be able to bring them back.

"His curiosity was now excited, he insisted on her disclosing the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice; and that if it appeared to be beneficial, she should be rewarded for it, she informed him, that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That for this purpose, all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council room had cut their guns short, so that they could conceal them under their blankets; with which, on a signal given by their general, on delivering the belt, they were all to rise up, and instantly to fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the sitting of the council under the pretence of trading, but privately armed in the same manner. Having gained from the woman every necessary particular relative to the plot,

and also the means by which she acquired a knowledge of them, he dismissed her with injunctions of secrecy, and a promise of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

"The intelligence the governor had just received gave him great uneasiness; and he immediately consulted the officer who was next him in command on the subject. But this gentleman, considering the information as a story invented for some artful purpose, advised him to pay no attention to it. This conclusion, however, had happily, no weight with him. He thought it prudent to conclude it to be true, till he was convinced that it was not so; and therefore, without revealing his suspicions to any other person, he took every needful precaution that the time would admit of. He walked around the fort for the whole night, and saw himself, that every sentinel was upon duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

"As he traversed the ramparts that lay nearest to the Indian camp, he heard them in high festivity, and little imagining that their plot was discovered, probably pleasing themselves with the anticipation of their success. As soon as the morning dawned, he ordered all the garrison under arms, and then imparting his apprehensions to a few of the principal officers, gave them such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he sent round to all the traders, to inform them, that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel any attempt of that kind.

"About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived, and were conducted to the council chamber, where the governor and his principal officers, each with pistols in his belt, awaited his arrival. As the Indians passed on, they could not help observing that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No sooner were they entered and seated on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the governor, on what occasion his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up and parading the streets? He received for answer that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exercise.

"The Indian chief warrior now began his speech, which contained the strongest professions of friendship and good will towards the English: and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman's information, was to be the signal for the chiefs to fire, the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half way out of their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same time made a clattering with their arms before the door, which had been purposely left open. Pontiac, though one of the bravest men, immediately turned pale and trembled; and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way

His chiefs who had impatiently expected the signal, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet waiting the result.

"The governor, in his turn, made a speech, but instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told him that the English, who knew every thing, were convinced of his treachery and villainous designs; and as a proof that they were acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped towards an Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and drawing aside the blanket, discovered the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

"He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they had desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he desired them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces.

"Pontiac endeavored to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him. The Indians immediately left the fort; but instead of being sensible of the governor's generous behavior, they threw off the mask, and the next day made a regular attack upon it."

Thus foiled, Pontiac laid formal siege to the fortress, and for many months that siege was continued in a manner, and with a perseverance, unexampled among the Indians. Even a regular commissariat department was organized, and bills of credit drawn out upon bark, were issued, and what is rarer, punctually paid. It was the 9th of May,* when Detroit was first attacked, and upon the 3d of the following December it was still in danger. As late as March of the next year, the inhabitants were "sleeping in their clothes, expecting an alarm every night."†

Fort Pitt was besieged also, and the garrison reduced to sad straits from want of food. This being known beyond the mountains, a quantity of provision was collected, and Colonel Boquet

* This date seems certain. See Thatcher's *Lives of the Indians*, ii. 93 to 103.—That of the attack on Mackinac is yet more certain: but how could the people at Mackinac remain ignorant of Pontiac's movements from May 9th to June 4th? A common canoe voyage, with all its stoppages, did not take more than fourteen days. See Schoolcraft's Travels of 1820, (Albany 1821,) p. 73 to 110. Presqu'Ile also was not attacked till June 4th, and yet no suspicions seem to have existed.—(Mr. Harvey, of Erie, quoted in Day's *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania*, 314.)

† See Henry's *Narrative*.—Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. ii. p. 83.

was appointed to convey it to the head of the Ohio, having assigned him for the service the poor remains of two regiments, which had but lately returned from the war in Cuba. He set out toward the middle of July, and upon the 25th reached Bedford. From that post, he went forward by Forbes's road, passed Fort Ligonier, and upon the 5th of August was near Bushy Run, one of the branches of Turtle Creek, which falls into the Monongahela ten miles above Fort Pitt. Here he was attacked by the Indians, who, hearing of his approach, had gathered their forces to defeat him, and during two days the contest continued. On the 6th, the Indians, having the worst of the battle, retreated; and Bouquet, with his three hundred and forty horses, loaded with flour, reached and relieved the post at the Fork.*

It was now nearly autumn, and the confederated tribes had failed to take the three most important fortresses in the West, Detroit, Pitt, and Niagara. Many of them became disheartened; others wished to return home for the winter; others had satisfied their longings for revenge. United merely by the hope of striking and immediate success, they fell from one another when that success did not come; jealousies and old enmities revived; the league was broken; and Pontiac was left alone or with few followers.

In October, also, a step was taken by the British government, in part, for the purpose of quieting the fears and suspicions of the red men, which did much, probably, toward destroying their alliance; a proclamation was issued containing the following paragraphs and prohibitions:

And whereas, it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds; we do, therefore, with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no Governor or Commander-in-chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as, also that

* Holmes' *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 121.—Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. Map, at p. 38.—Day's *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania*, 681.

no Governor or Commander-in-chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present, as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new Governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands from the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians, of any lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that, if at any time, any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose, by the Governor or Commander-in-chief of our colony, respectively, within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose: and we do, by the advice of our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever: *Provided*, That every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians, do

take out a a license, for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or Commander-in-chief of any of our colonies, respectively, where such person shall reside; and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall, at any time, think fit, by ourselves or commissaries, to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint, for the benefit of the said trade; and we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders-in-chief of all our colonies, respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.*

To assist the effect of this proclamation, it was determined to make two movements in the spring and summer of 1764; General Bradstreet being ordered into the country upon Lake Erie, and Bouquet into that upon the Ohio. The former moved to Niagara early in the summer, and there in June, accompanied by Sir William Johnson, held a grand council with twenty or more tribes, all of whom sued for peace; and, upon the 8th of August, reached Detroit, where, about the 21st of that month, a definite treaty was made with the Indians. Among the provisions of this treaty were the following:†

1. All prisoners in the hands of the Indians were to be given up.

2. All claims to the Posts and Forts of the English in the West were to be abandoned; and leave given to erect such other forts as might be needed to protect the traders, &c. Around each fort as much land was ceded as a "Cannon-shot" would fly over.

3. If any Indian killed an Englishman he was to be tried by English law, the Jury one-half Indians.

4. Six hostages were given by the Indians for the true fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty.‡

* See Land Laws, p. 86.

† Annual Register, 1764.—(State Papers, 181.)

‡ Henry's Narrative (New York edition, 1809,) pp. 185, 186.—Henry was with Bradstreet.—The Annual Register of 1764, (State Papers, p. 181,) says the treaty was made at Presqu'ile, (Erie.) Mr. Harvey, of Erie, (quoted by Day in Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 314, says the same. Others have named the Maumee, where a truce was agreed to, August 6th. (See Henry.) There may have been two treaties, one at Detroit with the Ottawas, &c., and one at Erie with the Ohio Indians.

Bouquet, meanwhile, collected troops at Fort Pitt, and in the autumn marched across from Big Beaver to the upper Muskingum, and thence to the point where the White Woman's river comes into the main stream. There, upon the 9th of November, he concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawanese, and received from them two hundred and six prisoners, eighty-one men and one hundred and twenty-five women and children. He also received, from the Shawanese, hostages for the delivery of some captives, who could not be brought to the Muskingum at that time. These hostages escaped, but the savages were of good faith, and upon the 9th of May, 1765, the remaining whites were given up to George Croghan, the deputy of Sir William Johnson, at Fort Pitt.* Many anecdotes are related in the account of the delivery of the captives to Bouquet, going to show that strong attachments had been formed between them and their captors; and West's pencil has illustrated the scene of their delivery. But we have little faith in the representations of either writer or painter. †

Pontiac, the leading spirit in the past struggle, finding his attempts to save his country and his race at that time hopeless, left his tribe and went into the West, and for some years after was living among the Illinois, and in St. Louis, attempting, but in vain, to bring about a new union and new war. He was in the end killed by a Kaskaskia Indian. So far as we can form a judgment of this chieftain, he was, in point of talent, nobleness of spirit, honor, and devotion, the superior of any red man of whom we have an account. His plan of extermination was most masterly; his execution of it equal to its conception. But for the treachery of one of his followers, he would have taken Detroit early in May. His whole force might then have been directed in one mass, first upon Niagara, and then upon Pitt, and in all probability both posts would have fallen.‡ Even disappointed as he was at Detroit, had the Six Nations, with their dependent allies,

* See however, American Archives, fourth series, i. 1015, where the good faith of the Shawanese is disputed.

† "An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esquire, &c. Published from Authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country. London, 1766. This volume was first printed in Philadelphia.

‡ Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. ii. Our knowledge of Pontiac and his war is very limited. We hope something more may come to light yet. Nicollet in his Report, (p. 81,) gives some particulars from one who knew Pontiac. His death was revenged by the Northern nations, who nearly exterminated the Illinois.

the Delawares and Shawanese, been true to him, the British might have been long kept beyond the mountains; but the Iroquois,—close upon the colonies, old allies of England, very greatly under the influence of Sir William Johnson and disposed, as they ever proved themselves, to claim and sell, but not to defend the West,—were for peace after the King's proclamation. Indeed, the Mohawks and leading tribes were from the first with the British; so that, after the success of Bradstreet and Bouquet, there was no difficulty in concluding a treaty with all the Western Indians; and late in April, 1765, Sir William Johnson, at the German Flats, held a conference with the various nations, and settled a definite peace.* At this meeting two propositions were made; the one to fix some boundary line, west of which the Europeans should not go; and the savages named, as this line, the Ohio or Alleghany and Susquehannah; but no definite agreement was made, Johnson not being empowered to act. The other proposal was, that the Indians should grant to the traders, who had suffered in 1763, a tract of land in compensation for the injuries then done them, and to this the red men agreed.†

With the returning deputies of the Shawanese and Delawares, George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's sub-commissioner, went to the west for the purpose of visiting the more distant tribes, and securing, so far as it could be done, the alliance of the French who were scattered through the western valleys, and who were stirring up the savages to warfare, as it was believed. The Journal of his voyage may be found in the Appendix to Butler's "History of Kentucky" (second edition,) together with the estimate of the number of Indians in the west; a very curious table, though, of course vague and inaccurate. From his Journal we present some passages illustrative of the state of the western French settlements, and the feelings of the western Indians at that time. On the 15th of May, Croghan left Pittsburgh: on the 6th of June reached the mouth of the Wabash, and on the 8th was taken prisoner by a party of Indians from the upper Wabash. Upon the 15th he reached Vincennes, or St. Vincent, or Post Vincent.

On my arrival there, I found a village of about eighty or ninety French families settled on the east side of this river, being one of the

* Plain Facts, p. 60.

† *Ibid.*—Butler's *History of Kentucky*, second edition, p. 479, *et seq.*

finest situations that can be found. The country is level and clear, and the soil very rich, producing wheat and tobacco. I think the latter preferable to that of Maryland or Virginia. The French inhabitants hereabouts, are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegadoes from Canada, and are much worse than the Indians. They took a secret pleasure at our misfortunes, and the moment we arrived, they came to the Indians, exchanging trifles for their valuable plunder. As the savages took from me a considerable quantity of gold and silver in specie, the French traders extorted ten half johannes from them for one pound of vermilion. Here is likewise an Indian village of the Pyankeshaws, who were much displeased with the party that took me, telling them that "our and your chiefs are gone to make peace, and you have begun a war, for which our women and children will have reason to cry." From this post the Indians permitted me to write to the commander, at Fort Chartres,* but would not suffer me to write to any body else, (this I apprehend was a precaution of the French, lest their villany should be perceived too soon,) although the Indians had given me permission to write to Sir William Johnson and Fort Pitt on our march, before we arrived at this place. But immediately after our arrival they had a private council with the French, in which the Indians urged, (as they afterwards informed me,) that as the French had engaged them in so bad an affair, which was likely to bring a war on their nation, they now expected a proof of their promise and assistance. They delivered the French a scalp and part of the plunder, and wanted to deliver some presents to the Pyankeshaws, but they refused to accept of any, and declared they would not be concerned in the affair. This last information I got from the Pyankeshaws, as I had been well acquainted with them several years before this time.

Post Vincent is a place of great consequence for trade, being a fine hunting country all along the Ouabache, and too far for the Indians, which reside hereabouts, to go either to the Illinois, or elsewhere, to fetch their necessaries. * * * *

June 23d. Early in the morning we set out through a fine meadow, then some clear woods; in the afternoon came into a very large bottom on the Ouabache, within six miles of Ouicatanon; here I met several chiefs of the Kicapoos and Musquattimes, who spoke to their young men who had taken us, and reprimanded them severely for what they had done to me, after which they returned with us to their village, and delivered us all to their chiefs.

The distance from Post Vincent to Ouicatanon is two hundred and ten miles. This place is situated on the Ouabache. About fourteen French families are living in the fort, which stands on the north side of

* Illinois, near Kaskaskia.

the river. The Kicapoos and Musquattimes whose warriors had taken us, live nigh the fort, on the same side of the river, where they have two villages; and the Ouicatanons have a village on the south side of the river. At our arrival at this post, several of the Wawcottonans, (or Ouicatonans) with whom I had been formerly acquainted, came to visit me, and seemed greatly concerned at what had happened. They went immediately to the Kicapoos and Musquattimes, and charged them to take the greatest care of us, till their chiefs should arrive from the Illinois, where they were gone to meet me some time ago, and who were entirely ignorant of this affair, and said the French had spirited up this party to go and strike us.

The French have a great influence over these Indians, and never fail in telling them many lies to the prejudice of his majesty's interest, by making the English nation odious and hateful to them. I had the greatest difficulties in removing these prejudices. As these Indians are a weak, foolish, and credulous people, they are easily imposed on by a designing people, who have led them hitherto as they pleased. The French told them that as the southern Indians had for two years past made war on them, it must have been at the instigation of the English, who are a bad people. However I have been fortunate enough to remove their prejudice, and in a great measure, their suspicions against the English. The country hereabouts is exceedingly pleasant, being open and clear for many miles; the soil very rich and well watered; all plants have a quick vegetation, and the climate very temperate through the winter. This post has always been a very considerable trading place. The great plenty of furs taken in this country, induced the French to establish this post, which was the first on the Ouabache, and by a very advantageous trade they have been richly recompensed for their labor. * * * *

August 1st. The Twightwee village is situated on both sides of a river, called St. Joseph. This river, where it falls into the Miame* river, about a quarter of a mile from this place, is one hundred yards wide, on the east side of which stands a stockade fort, somewhat ruinous.

The Indian village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses, a runaway colony from Detroit, during the late Indian war; they were concerned in it, and being afraid of punishment, came to this post, where ever since they have spirited up the Indians against the English. All the French residing here are a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and spiriting up the Indians against the English, and should by no means be suffered to remain here. The country is pleasant, the soil rich and well watered. After several con-

* Miami of the Lake, or Maumee.

conferences with these Indians, and their delivering me up all the English prisoners they had, ——

On the 6th of August we set out for Detroit, down the Miames river in a canoe.

August 17th. In the morning we arrived at the fort,* which is a large stockade, inclosing about eighty houses, it stands close on the north side of the river, on a high bank, commands a very pleasant prospect for nine miles above, and nine miles below the fort; the country is thick settled with French, their plantations are generally laid out about three or four acres in breadth on the river, and eighty acres in depth; the soil is good, producing plenty of grain. All the people here are generally poor wretches, and consist of three or four hundred French families, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for their subsistence; though the land, with little labor, produces plenty of grain, they scarcely raise as much as will supply their wants, in imitation of the Indians, whose manners and customs they have entirely adopted, and cannot subsist without them. The men, women, and children speak the Indian tongue perfectly well. In the last Indian war the most part of the French were concerned in it, (although the whole settlement had taken the oath of allegiance to his Britanic Majesty) they have, therefore, great reason to be thankful to the English clemency in not bringing them to deserved punishment. Before the late Indian war there resided three nations of Indians at this place: the Putawatimes, whose village was on the west side of the river, about one mile below the fort; the Ottawas, on the east side, about three miles above the fort; and the Wyandotts, whose village lies on the east side, about two miles below the fort. The former two nations have removed to a considerable distance, and the latter still remain where they were, and are remarkable for their good sense and hospitality. They have a particular attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, the French, by their priests, having taken uncommon pains to instruct them.†

So stood matters in the West during this year, 1765. All beyond the Alleghanies, with the exception of a few forts, was a wilderness until the Wabash was reached, where dwelt a few French, with some fellow countrymen, not far from them upon the Illinois and Kaskaskia. The Indians, a few years since undisputed owners of the prairies and broad vales, now held them by sufferance, having been twice conquered by the arms of England. They, of course, felt both hatred and fear; and, while they despaired of holding their lands, and looked forward to unknown

* Detroit.

† Butler's History of Kentucky, from p. 465, to 470.

evils, the deepest and most abiding spirit of revenge was roused within them. They had seen the British coming to take their hunting-grounds upon the strength of a treaty they knew not of. They had been forced to admit British troops into their country; and, though now nominally protected from settlers, that promised protection would be but an incentive to passion, in case it was not in good faith extended to them.

And it was not in good faith extended to them by either individuals or governments. During the year that succeeded the treaty of German Flats, settlers crossed the mountains and took possession of lands in western Virginia, and along the Monongahela. The Indians, having received no pay for these lands, murmured, and once more a border war was feared. General Gage, commander of the King's forces, was applied to, probably through Sir William Johnson, and issued his orders for the removal of the settlers; but they defied his commands and his power, and remained where they were.* And not only were frontier men thus passing the line tacitly agreed on, but Sir William himself was even then meditating a step which would have produced, had it been taken, a general Indian war again. This was the purchase and settlement of an immense tract south of the Ohio river, where an independent colony was to be formed. How early this plan was conceived we do not learn, but, from Franklin's letters, we find that it was in contemplation in the spring of 1766.† At this time Franklin was in London, and was written to by his son, Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, with regard to the proposed colony. The plan seems to have been, to buy of the Six Nations the lands south of the Ohio, a purchase which it was not doubted Sir William might make, and then to procure from the King a grant of as much territory as the Company, which it was intended to form, would require. Governor Franklin, accordingly, forwarded to his father an application for a grant, together with a letter from Sir William, recommending the plan to the ministry; all of which was duly communieated to the proper department. But at that time there were various interests bearing upon this plan of Franklin. The old Ohio Company was still suing, through its agent Colonel George Mercer, for a perfection of the original grant. The soldiers claiming under Dinwiddie's proclamation had their tale of rights and grievances. Individuals, to

* Plain Facts, p. 65.

† Sparks' Franklin, vol. iv. p. 233, *et seq.*

whom grants had been made by Virginia, wished them completed. General Lyman, from Connecticut we believe, was soliciting a new grant similar to that now asked by Franklin; and the ministers themselves were divided as to the policy and propriety of establishing any settlements so far in the interior,—Shelburne being in favor of the new colony,—Hillsborough opposed to it.

The Company was organized, however, and the nominally leading man therein being Mr. Thomas Walpole, a London banker of eminence, it was known as the Walpole Company. Franklin continued privately to make friends among the ministry, and to press upon them the policy of making large settlements in the West; and, as the old way of managing the Indians by superintendents was just then in bad odor in consequence of the expense attending it, the cabinet council so far approved the new plan as to present it for examination to the Board of Trade, with members of which Franklin had also been privately conversing.

This was in the autumn of 1767. But, before any conclusion was come to, it was necessary to arrange definitely that boundary line, which had been vaguely talked of in 1765, and with respect to which Sir William Johnson had written to the ministry, who had mislaid his letters, and given him no instructions. The necessity of arranging this boundary was also kept in mind by the continued and growing irritation of the Indians, who found themselves invaded from every side. This irritation became so great during the autumn of 1767, that Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania on the subject. The Governor communicated his letter to the Assembly on the 5th of January, 1768, and representations were at once sent to England, expressing the necessity of having the Indian line fixed. Franklin, the father, all this time, was urging the same necessity upon the ministers in England; and about Christmas of 1767, Sir William's letters on the subject having been found, orders were sent him to complete the proposed purchase from the Six Nations, and settle all differences. But the project for a colony was for the time dropped, a new administration coming in which was not that way disposed.

Sir William Johnson having received early in the spring, the orders from England relative to a new treaty with the Indians, at once took steps to secure a full attendance.* Notice was given to the various colonial governments, to the Six Nations, the Dela-

* For an account of this long-lost treaty see *Plain Facts*, pp. 65—104, or Butler's *Kentucky*, 2nd edition, pp. 472—488.

wares, and the Shawanese, and a congress was appointed to meet at Fort Stanwix during the following October (1768). It met upon the 24th of that month, and was attended by representatives from New Jersey, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; by Sir William and his deputies; by the agents of those traders who had suffered in the war of 1763; and by deputies from all the Six Nations, the Delawares and the Shawanese. The first point to be settled was the boundary line which was to determine the Indian lands of the West from that time forward; and this line the Indians, upon the 1st of November, stated should begin on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Cherokee (or Tennessee) river; thence go up the Ohio and Alleghany to Kittaning; thence across to the Susquehannah, &c.; whereby the whole country south of the Ohio and Alleghany, *to which the Six Nations had any claim*, was transferred to the British. One deed for a part of this land, was made on the 3d of November to William Trent, attorney for twenty-two traders, whose goods had been destroyed by the Indians in 1763. The tract conveyed by this was between the Kenawha and Monongahela, and was by the traders named Indiana. Two days afterwards, a deed for the remaining western lands was made to the King, and the price agreed on paid down.* These deeds were made upon the express

* There was also given two deeds of lands in the interior of Pennsylvania, one to Croghan, and the other to the proprietaries of that colony.

Filson (London edition, 1793, p. 10) speaks of two other deeds given by the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, but mentions no year; one was to Col. Donaldson for the lands from the Kentucky to the Great Kenhawa. Col. D. ran the line from six miles above Long Island in Holsten to the mouth of the Gt. Kenhawa, in 1770—1; (see post;) and his deed seems to have been after this, from Filson's account. The other deed was to Dr. Walker and Gen. Lewis. (Thomas Walker was commissioner for Virginia at the Stanwix treaty of 1768—was this Dr. Walker? His name was Thomas. Holmes' Annals, ii. 304, note.) Dr. Walker and Colonel Lewis, in 1769, were employed to convince the superintendent of the southern Indians, Mr. Stewart, that the claim of the Iroquois extended to Kentucky. (Butler, 2d edition, 14.) Marshal (i. 15) refers to Donaldson's deed, but we find no confirmation of Filson's statement that it was given by the Iroquois. (See Butler, 2nd edition, 14.) We presume the true explanation of the whole matter is that given by Judge Hall, in his Sketches, vol. i. p. 248, which we extract.

"John Donaldson, the surveyor who traced this line [that from the Holston from six miles above Big Island to the Kenawha, under the treaty of Lochaber] by an appointment from the president and council of Virginia, states, in a manuscript affidavit which we have seen, 'that, in the progress of the work, they came to the head of Louisa, now Kentucky river, when the Little Carpenter (a Cherokee Chief) observed that his nation delighted in having their lands marked out by natural boundaries; and proposed that, instead of the line agreed upon at Lochaber as aforesaid, it should break off at the head of Louisa river, and run thence to the mouth thereof, and thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa.' This boundary was accordingly agreed to by the surveyor. It is further stated, by the same authority, 'that leave having been granted, by the king of Great Britain, to treat with the Cherokees for a more extensive boundary than that which had been established at the treaty of Hard Labour, provided the Virginians

agreement that no claim should ever be based upon previous treaties, those of Lancaster, Logstown, &c.; and they were signed by the chiefs of the Six Nations, for themselves, their allies and dependents, the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and others; but the Shawanese and Delaware deputies present did not sign them.

Such was the treaty of Stanwix, whereon, in a great measure, rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, western Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was a better foundation, perhaps, than that given by previous treaties, but was essentially worthless; for the lands conveyed were not occupied or hunted on by those conveying them. In truth, we cannot doubt that this immense grant was obtained by the influence of Sir William Johnson, in order that the new colony, of which he was to be governor, might be founded there. The fact, that such a country was ceded voluntarily, — not after a war, not by hard persuasion, but at once and willingly, — satisfies us that the whole affair had been previously settled with the New York savages, and that the Ohio Indians had no voice in the matter.

But beside the claim of the Iroquois and the north-west Indians to Kentucky, it was also claimed by the Cherokees; and it is worthy of remembrance that the treaty of Lochaber, made in October, 1770, two years after the Stanwix treaty, recognized a title in the southern Indians to all the country west of a line drawn from a point six miles east of Big or Long Island in Holston river to the mouth of the Great Kenawha;* although as we have just stated their right to all the lands north and east of the Kentucky river was purchased by Col. Donaldson, either for the king, Virginia, or himself — it is impossible to say which.†

But the grant of the great northern confederacy was made. The white man could now quiet his conscience when driving the native from his forest home, and feel sure that an army would back his pretensions. A new company was at once organized in Virginia, called the "Mississippi Company," and a petition sent to the King for two millions and a half of acres in the West. Among the signers of this were Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard

would be at the expense of purchasing the same, the general assembly voted the sum of £2500 sterling for that purpose, which sum was accordingly paid to the Cherokees, in consideration, as we presume, of the additional lands gained by the alteration of the line by the surveyor, and in confirmation of his act."

* Butler. 2nd edition. Introduction, li.

† Hall's Sketches, ii. 248.

Henry Lee, George Washington and Arthur Lee. The gentleman last named was the agent for the petitioners in England. This application was referred to the Board of Trade on the 9th of March, 1769, and after that we hear nothing of it. *

The Board of Trade was, however, again called on to report upon the application of the Walpole Company, and Lord Hillsborough, the President, reported against it. This called out Franklin's celebrated "Ohio Settlement," a paper written with so much ability, that the King's Council put by the official report, and granted the petition, a step which mortified the noble lord so much that he resigned his official station.† The petition now needed only the royal sanction, which was not given until August 14th, 1772; but in 1770, the Ohio Company was merged in Walpole's, and, the claims of the soldiers of 1756 being acknowledged both by the new Company and by government, all claims were quieted. Nothing was ever done, however, under the grant to Walpole, the Revolution soon coming upon America.‡ After the Revolution, Mr. Walpole and his associates petitioned Congress respecting their lands, called by them "Vandalia," but could get no help from that body. What was finally done by Virginia with the claims of this and other companies, we do not find written, but presume their lands were all looked on as forfeited.

During the ten years in which Franklin, Pownall, and their friends were trying to get the great western land company into operation, actual settlers were crossing the mountains all too rapidly; for the Ohio Indians "viewed the settlements with an uneasy and jealous eye," and "did not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right, if people settled thereon, notwithstanding the cession by the Six Nations."‖ It has been said, also, that Lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia, authorized surveys and settlements on the western lands, notwithstanding the proclamation of 1763; but Mr. Sparks gives us a letter from him, in which this is expressly denied.§ However, surveyors did go down even to the Falls of the Ohio, and the whole region south of the Ohio was filling with white men. The futility of the Fort Stanwix treaty, and the ignorance or contempt of it by the fierce

* *Plain Facts*, p. 69.—Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 475.

† Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 302.

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 483, *et seq.*—*Plain Facts*, p. 149.

‖ Washington's "Journal to the West, in 1770." Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 531.

§ *Ibid*, p. 378.

Shawanese are well seen in the meeting between them and Bullitt, one of the early emigrants, in 1773.* Bullitt, on his way down the Ohio, stopped, and singly sought the savages at one of their towns. He then told them of his proposed settlement, and his wish to live at peace with them; and said, that, as they had received nothing under the treaty of 1768, it was intended to make them presents the next year. The Indians considered the talk of the Long Knife, and the next day agreed to his proposed settlement, provided he did not *disturb them in their hunting south of the Ohio;* a provision wholly inconsistent with the Stanwix deed.

Among the foremost speculators in western lands at that time was George Washington. He had always regarded the proclamation of 1763 as a mere temporary expedient to quiet the savages, and, being better acquainted with the value of western lands than most of those who could command means, he early began to buy beyond the mountains. His agent in selecting lands was Crawford, afterwards burnt by the Ohio Indians. In September, 1767, we find Washington writing to Crawford on this subject, and looking forward to the occupation of the western territory; in 1770, he crossed the mountains, going down the Ohio to the mouth of the great Kenawha; and in 1773, being entitled, under the King's proclamation of 1763, (which gave a bounty to officers and soldiers who had served in the French war,) to ten thousand acres of land, he became deeply interested in the country beyond the mountains, and had some correspondence respecting the importation of settlers from Europe. Indeed, had not the Revolutionary war been just then on the eve of breaking out, Washington would in all probability have become the leading settler of the West, and all our history, perhaps, have been changed.†

But while in England and along the Atlantic, men were talking of peopling the West south of the river Ohio, a few obscure individuals, unknown to Walpole, to Franklin, and to Washington, were taking those steps which actually resulted in its settlement; and to these we next turn.

Notwithstanding the fact that so much attention had been given

* Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 20.

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. pp. 346—7. He had patents for 32,373 acres; 9157 on the Ohio, between the Kenhawas with a river front of 13 1-2 miles; 23,216 acres on the Great Kenhawa, with a river front of forty miles. Besides these lands, he owned fifteen miles below Wheeling, 587 acres, with a front of two and a half miles. He considered the land worth $3·33 per acre.—Sparks' Washington, xii. 264, 317.

to the settlement of the West, even before the French war, it does not appear that any Europeans, either French or English, had, at the time the treaty of Fort Stanwix was made, thoroughly examined that most lovely region near the Kentucky river, which is the finest portion, perhaps, of the whole Ohio valley. This may be accounted for by the non-residence of the Indians in that district; a district which they retained as a hunting ground. Owing to this, the traders who were the first explorers, were led to direct their steps northward, up the Miami and Scioto vallies, and were quite familiar with the country between the Ohio and the Lakes, at a period when the interior of the territory south of the river was wholly unknown to them. While, therefore, the impression which many have had, that the entire valley was unknown to the English colonists before Boone's time, is clearly erroneous; it is equally clear that the centre of Kentucky, which he and his comrades explored during their first visit, had not before that time, been examined by the whites to any considerable extent.

Dr. Walker, in 1747 or 1750,* had been among the mountains in the eastern part of what is now Kentucky; there is also reason to think that Christopher Gist may have been through the centre of Kentucky, along the river of that name, and across to the Scioto, before 1755;† and Washington's journal of 1770 shows that Dr. Connoly, Colonel Croghan's nephew, was well acquainted with the lands south of the Ohio; but the first actual explorer, of whom we have any definite knowledge, was Colonel James Smith, from whose narrative we take the following statement:

In the year 1766, I heard that Sir William Johnson, the king's agent for settling affairs with the Indians, had purchased from them all the land west of the Appalachian Mountains that lay between the Ohio and

* Butler (p. 18) says 1747; Stipp's Miscellany, (p. 9.) says 1750; which date is confirmed by facts in Holmes' Annals (ii. 304, note): Marshall, i. 7) says 1758. See note (†).

† Evans' map, published in 1755 and republished 1776, gives Gist's route from the Alleghanies, through Kentucky and Ohio; this expedition may have been after the first edition was published, but was probably in 1750 or 1751. Governor Pownal, in his *Topography* (Imlay, 99) speaks of Gist's second journey as in 1761, but this we take to be a misprint for 1751. Evans published a map of the West in 1752 (Pownall in Imlay, 89.) Captain Gordon, whose journal is much referred to by Evans and others, went down the Ohio in 1766. (Pownall in Imlay, 115.)

In the London edition of Washington's Journal, printed in 1754, there is a map on which is marked "Walker's Settlement, 1750", upon the Cumberland. On that map nothing is said of Gist's journey, and it is too imperfect to allow us to think it based on actual travels

Cherokee River; and as I knew by conversing with the Indians in their own tongue that there was a large body of rich land there, I concluded I would take a tour westward and explore that country.

I set out about the last of June, 1766, and went in the first place to Holstein River, and from thence I travelled westward in company with Joshua Horton, Uriah Stone, William Baker and James Smith, who came from near Carlisle. There were only four white men of us, and a mulatto slave about eighteen years of age, that Mr. Horton had with him. We explored the country south of Kentucky, and there was no more sign of white men there then than there is now west of the head waters of the Missouri. We also explored Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, from Stone's* River down to the Ohio.

When we came to the mouth of Tennessee, my fellow-travellers concluded that they would proceed on to the Illinois, and see some more of the land to the west, this I would not agree to. As I had already been longer from home than what I expected, I thought my wife would be distressed, and think I was killed by the Indians; therefore I concluded that I would return home. I sent my horse with my fellow-travellers to the Illinois, as it was difficult to take a horse through the mountains. My comrades gave me the greatest part of the ammunition they then had, which amounted only to half a pound of powder, and lead equivalent. Mr. Horton also lent me his mulatto boy, and I then set off through the wilderness for Carolina.

About eight days after I left my company at the mouth of the Tennessee, on my journey eastward, I got a cane stab in my foot, which occasioned my leg to swell, and I suffered much pain. I was now in a doleful situation; far from any of the human species, excepting black Jamie, or the savages, and I knew not when I might meet with them. My case appeared desperate, and I thought something must be done. All the surgical instrnments I had was a knife, a moccasin awl, and a pair of bullet-moulds; with these I determined to draw the snag from my foot, if possible. I stuck the awl in the skin, and with the knife I cut the flesh away from around the cane, and then I commanded the mulatto fellow to catch it with the bullet-moulds, and pull it out, which he did. When I saw it, it seemed a shocking thing to be in any person's foot; it will therefore be supposed that I was very glad to have it out. The black fellow attended upon me, and obeyed my directions faithfully. I ordered him to search for Indian medicine, and told him to get me a quantity of bark from the root of a lynn tree, which I made him beat on a stone, with a tommahawk, and boil it in a kettle, and with the ooze I bathed my foot and leg; what remained when I had finished bathing

* Stone's river is a south branch of Cumberland, and empties into it above Nashville. We first gave it this name in our journal, in May, 1767, after one of my fellow-travellers, Mr. Uriah Stone, and I am told that it retains the same name unto this day.

I boiled to a jelly and made poultices thereof. As I had no rags, I made use of the green moss that grows upon logs, and wrapped it round with elm bark; by this means, (simple as it may seem) the swelling and inflammation in a great measure abated. As stormy weather appeared, I ordered Jamie to make us a shelter, which he did by erecting forks and poles, and covering them over with cane tops, like a fodder house. It was about one hundred yards from a large buffalo road. As we were almost out of provision, I commanded Jamie to take my gun, and I went along as well as I could, concealed myself near the road, and killed a buffalo. When this was done, we jerked* the lean, and fried the tallow out of the fat meat, which we kept to stew with our jerk as we needed it.

While I lay at this place, all the books I had to read was a psalm-book and Watts upon Prayer. Whilst in this situation, I composed the following verses, which I then frequently sung.

Six weeks I've in this desert been,
With one mulatto lad:
Excepting this poor stupid slave,
No company I had.

In solitude I here remain,
A cripple very sore,
No friend or neighbor to be found,
My case for to deplore.

I'm far from home, far from the wife
Which in my bosom lay,
Far from the children dear, which used
Around me for to play.

This doleful circumstance cannot
My happiness prevent,
While peace of conscience I enjoy,
Great comfort and content.

I continued in this place until I could walk slowly, without crutches. As I now lay near a great buffalo road, I was afraid that the Indians might be passing that way, and discover my fire-place, therefore I moved off some distance, where I remained till I killed an elk. As my foot was yet sore, I concluded that I would stay here until it was healed, lest by travelling too soon it might again be inflamed.

* Jerk is a name well known by the hunters and frontier inabitants for meat cut in small pieces and laid on a scaffold, over a slow fire, whereby it is roasted until it is thoroughly dry.

In a few weeks after I proceeded on, and in October, 1767, I arrived in Carolina. I had now been eleven months in the wilderness, and during this time I had neither seen bread, money, women, nor spirituous liquors; and three months of which I saw none of the human species, except Jamie.

When I came into the settlement, my clothes were almost worn out, and the boy had nothing on him that ever was spun. He had buckskin leggins, moccasins, and breech-clout, a bear-skin dressed with the hair on, which he belted about him, and a raccoon-skin cap. I had not travelled far after I came in before I was strictly examined by the inhabitants. I told them the truth, and where I came from, &c.; but my story appeared so strange to them that they did not believe me. They said that they had never heard of any one coming through the mountains from the mouth of Tennessee, and if any one would undertake such a journey, surely no man would lend him his slave. They said that they thought that all I had told them were lies, and on suspicion they took me into custody, and set a guard over me.*

The next persons who entered this region were traders; coming, not from Virginia and Pennsylvania by the river, but from North Carolina by the Cumberland Gap. These traders probably sought, in the first instance, the Cherokees and other southern Indians, with whom they had dealings from a very early period; but appear afterward to have journeyed northward upon what was called the warrior's road, an Indian path leading from the Cumberland ford along the broken country, lying upon the eastern branch of the Kentucky river and so across the Licking toward the mouth of the Scioto.† This path formed the line of communication between the northern and southern Indians; and somewhere along its course, John Finley, doubtless in company with others, was engaged, in 1767, in trading with the red men; we presume, with those from north of the Ohio, who met him there with the skins procured during their hunting expedition in that central and choice region. Upon Finley's return to North Carolina, he met with Daniel Boone, to whom he described the country he had visited. Of Boone's previous life we know but little. He was born in Pennsylvania, July 14th, 1732,‡ the same year in which Washington was born. His early literary education was but slight; at some period of his life he learned to write, but never

* All this portion of Smith's Narrative is omitted by Metcalf and McClung. It may be found as above in Drake's Captivities, p. 239.

† See map in Filson's *Kentucky*.

‡ Cist's *Cincinnati Miscellany*, ii. 141, taken from the family Record.

used the pen much or well; Humphrey Marshall states that when Boone was, in 1783, deputy surveyor of Fayette county, his writing and spelling were so bad as to be objectionable, and that he was forced to employ a penman to make his returns.* His education in woodcraft, however, was complete, and few men ever have possessed his peculiar combination of boldness, caution, hardihood, strength, activity, patience, and love of solitude. With his nature and habits, Finley's description of the West must have seemed the account of an Eden, and no wonder that when his predecessor proposed to return, Daniel made up his mind to be of the party.

It was on the first of May, 1769, that Boone, in company with five companions, left his home upon the Yadkin, and began to cross that immense mountain barrier which separates the plains of the Atlantic coast from those of the great valley of the West. Though nowhere of very great heighth, the breadth of the Appalachian chain makes a journey across it, even with all the aids of modern art, tedious and fatiguing, and we may well imagine with what joy the adventurous hunters at length looked down from the "knobs" of Red River upon the opening glades and levels of the region they were in search of. Thirty-eight days had passed since they left the Yadkin; they had toiled through a perfect wilderness, a land of precipices, of rugged hill-sides, of deep narrow valleys, of tangled wood, and impenetrable thickets; and before them lay a gently rolling country, watered by fine springs, covered with the most lovely natural forests in the world, and filled with every variety of bird and beast, proper to an Indian's or a hunter's Paradise. Their path (that used by the south-western traders) had led them under the shadow of the Negro Mountain, across the vallies of the Holston and Clinch, to the head waters of the Cumberland River; thence along the Warrior's road, already mentioned, northward, by the Cumberland ford, over the head waters of the Kentucky to Red River, a branch of the Kentucky running through Morgan and Montgomery counties. On the 7th of June they ceased their march at the point where Finley, who acted as their guide, had met the Indians two years before. They reached this point wholly unharmed, though they had suffered much on the road from long-continued rains. They encamped, built such a wigwam as served to shelter them from the storms, and began

* MS. letter, Mr. Marshall was in the Registry Office in Frankfort, where the returns were made.

an examination of the country. In this examination, and in hunting, they passed the time from June 7th to December 22d. How far they went, in what directions, and whether with or without the knowledge of the Indians we have no means of knowing. We have, however, but little doubt that some intercourse took place during those six months, between themselves and the red men; first, because we cannot think six roaming hunters could so long have escaped the lynx-eyed savages; and next, because, after the friendly relations which appear to have existed between Finley and the Indians in 1767, we should not expect an unprovoked attack from the latter in 1769;—and yet, the first event of which we hear in Boone's Narrative, our only authority, is the attack upon himself and Stuart, upon the 22d of December. No cause is assigned by Boone for this event; but a very probable explanation of it is the following:—The Indians were always extremely jealous of any white man that showed the faintest intention of residence on or near their hunting-grounds; if, therefore, the observation of several months had satisfied them that the new comers meant to lay equal claims with themselves to the game of their choicest forests, instead of being mere transient traders, we need not be surprised that they seized the first opportunity of making any of them prisoners. Such an opportunity occurred, as we have said, on the 22d of December; when Boone, with his companion, Stuart, as they returned from a hunting expedition, near the Kentucky river, were taken captive by a party of the natives, who lay concealed in a thick cane-brake. Their captivity lasted a week, during which time they attempted to throw their captors off their guard, by affecting to have no thought nor hope of escape. In this attempt they succeeded. The Indians relaxed their watchfulness. The hunters waited their opportunity, and at length one night, as they lay encamped by a large fire, Boone discovered that the Indians were all asleep: he awoke his companion, and with careful steps they effected their escape. They returned to the camp near Red River, but found it deserted; their four companions, alarmed at their fate probably, having gone home again. In a little while, however, Boone and Stuart were relieved from the solitude caused by their desertion by the arrival of two other adventurers; one of them, Squire Boone, the brother of Daniel. They had followed the same course from Carolina, and chanced upon the spot where those who had gone before them

were staying.* But the confidence inspired by increased numbers did not continue long; in a short time Stuart was killed by the Indians, and the man who had come out with Squire Boone, returned home by himself. And now commenced that most extraordinary life on the part of these two men, which has, in a great measure, served to give celebrity to their names; we refer to their residence, entirely alone, for more than a year, in a land filled with the most subtle and unsparing enemies, and under the influence of no other motive, apparently, than a love of adventure, of nature, and of solitude. Nor were they, during this time, always together; for three months, Daniel remained amid the forest utterly by himself, while his brother, with courage and capacity equal to his own, returned to North Carolina for a supply of powder and lead; with which he succeeded in rejoining the roamer of the wilderness in safety, in July, 1770. It is almost impossible to conceive of the skill, coolness, and sagacity which enabled Daniel Boone to spend so many weeks in the midst of the Indians, and yet undiscovered by them. He appears to have changed his position continually; to have explored the whole centre of what forms now the State of Kentucky, and in so doing must have exposed himself to many different parties of the natives. A reader of Mr. Cooper's Last of the Mohicans, may comprehend, in some measure, the arts by which he was preserved; but, after all, a natural gift seems to lie at the basis of such consummate wood-craft; an instinct, rather than any exercise of intellect appears to have guided Boone in such matters, and made him pre-eminent among those who were most accomplished in the knowledge of forest life. Then we are to remember the week's captivity of the previous year; it was the first practical acquaintance that the pioneer had with the western Indians, and we may be assured he spent that week in noting carefully the whole method of his captors. Indeed, we think it probable he remained in captivity so long, that he might learn their arts, stratagems, and modes of concealment. We are, moreover, to keep in mind this fact, the woods of Kentucky were at that period filled with a species of nettle of such a character, that being once bent down it did not recover itself, but remained prostrate, thus retaining the impression of a foot almost like snow, even a turkey might be tracked in it with perfect ease: this weed Boone would carefully avoid, but the natives, numerous

* This spot is said to have been a cave in Mercer County. See Cist's Miscellany, ii. 137.

and fearless, would commonly pay no regard to it, so that the white hunter was sure to have palpable signs of the presence of his enemies, and the direction they had taken. Considering these circumstances it is even more remarkable that his brother should have returned in safety, with his loaded horses, than that he alone remained unharmed; though in the escape of both from captivity or death from January, 1770, until their return to the Atlantic rivers in March, 1771, there is something so wonderful, that the old pioneer's phrase, that he was "an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness," seems entirely proper.*

When at length the brothers returned from the West, in the spring of 1771, it was with the intention, on Daniel's part, of bringing his family to reside in the land of his choice, but circumstances, with which we are unacquainted, detained him in North Carolina until September, 1773. On the 25th of that month, having sold his farm upon the Yadkin, and whatever articles he did not propose to take into the wilderness, he and his household left his eastern home forever, in company with five other families. This little band was farther increased by a party of forty men in Powell's Valley, which lies upon the eastern side of the Cumberland Mountains. Full of hope and spirit they pressed on toward that last great mountain barrier, but just as they approached it, on the 10th of October, were attacked in the rear by a party of Indians, who killed six of the emigrants and wounded a seventh. Among the dead was Boone's eldest son. The woodsmen, unprepared for action, and attacked from behind, met the foe as quickly as they could, and easily repulsed them. But the fear of the women, the loss they had met with, the disorder introduced into their ranks and among their cattle, and above all, the evidence afforded by the attack of the vigilance, activity, and hostile feelings of the Indians, deterred the settlers from going further; and, with heavy hearts, they turned upon their trace, recrossed Powell's Valley, and stopped not till upon the borders of Clinch River, with a double mountain range between them and the western wilds.

Meantime other adventurers were examining the rich lands south of the Ohio. Even in 1770, while Boone was wandering solitary in those Kentucky forests, a band of forty hunters, led by

* Boone's Narrative, as given in Filson's Kentucky. The copy in Cary's Museum is not exact. A correct copy is in the life of Boone, published by Messrs. Appleton, New York, 1844: this "Life," however, is of little value, being taken from Flint's.

Colonel James Knox, had gathered from the valleys of New River, Clinch, and Holston to chase the buffaloes of the West; nine of the forty had crossed the mountains, penetrated the desert and almost impassable country about the heads of the Cumberland, and explored the region on the borders of Kentucky and Tennessee. This hunting party, from the length of time it was absent, is known in the traditions of the West, as the party of the Long Hunters. While these bold men were penetrating the valley of the Ohio, in the region of the Cumberland gap, others came, from Virginia and Pennsylvania, by the river; among them, and in the same year, that the Long Hunters were abroad, (1770,) came no less noted a person than George Washington. His attention, as we have before said, had been turned to the lands along the Ohio, at a very early period; he had himself large claims, as well as far-reaching plans of settlement, and he wished with his own eyes to examine the Western lands, especially those about the mouth of the Kenawha. From the journal of his expedition, published by Mr. Sparks, in the Appendix to the second volume of his Washington papers, we learn some valuable facts in reference to the position of affairs in the Ohio valley at that time. We learn, for instance, that the Virginians were rapidly surveying and settling the lands south of the river as far down as the Kenawhas; and that the Indians, notwithstanding the treaty of Fort Stanwix, were jealous and angry at this constant invasion of their hunting-grounds.

This jealousy and anger were not suffered to cool during the years next succeeding, and when Thomas Bullitt and his party descended the Ohio in the summer of 1773, he found as related above, that no settlements would be tolerated south of the river, unless the Indian hunting grounds were left undisturbed. To leave them undisturbed was, however, no part of the plan of these white men. This very party, which Bullitt led, and in which were the two McAfees, Hancock Taylor, Drennon and others, separated, and while part went up the Kentucky River, explored the banks, and made important surveys, including the valley in which Frankfort stands, the remainder went on to the Falls, and laid out, on behalf of John Campbell and John Connolly, the plat of Louisville. All this took place in the summer of 1773; and in the autumn of that year, or early in the next, John Floyd, the deputy of Colonel William Preston, the surveyor of Fincastle county, Virginia, in which it was claimed that Kentucky was comprehended,

also crossed the mountains; while General Thompson, of Pennsylvania, made surveys upon the north fork of the Licking.* When Boone, therefore, in September, commenced his march for the West, (that to which we have already referred,) the choice regions which he had examined three years before, were known to numbers, and settlers were preparing to desecrate the silent and beautiful woods. Nor did the projects of the English colonists stop with the settlement of Kentucky. In 1773, General Lyman, with a number of military adventurers, went to Natchez, and laid out several townships in that vicinity; to which point emigration set so strongly, that we are told, four hundred families passed down the Ohio, on their way thither, during six weeks of the summer of that year.*

* Marshall, i. 11.—Butler, second edition, 20. American State Papers, xvi. 583.—General Thompson was surveying for the Pennsylvania soldiers under the Proclamation of 1763, and a permit from the Council of Virginia in 1774.

* Holmes' Annals, ii. 183;—from Original MSS. For a history of Natchez, see Western Messenger, September and November, 1838: it is by Mann Butler. See also Ellicott's Journal, (Philadelphia, 1803,) p. 129, &c.

# 1774 AND 1775.

But for a time the settlement of Kentucky and the West was delayed; for though James Harrod, in the spring or early summer of 1774, penetrated the wilderness, and built his cabin, (the first log-hut reared in the valley of the Kentucky,) where the town which bears his name now stands, he could not long stay there; the sounds of coming war reached even his solitude, and forced him to rejoin his companions, and aid in repelling the infuriated savages. Notwithstanding the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the western Indians, as we have seen, were in no degree disposed to yield their lands without a struggle. Wide-spread dissatisfaction prevailed among the Shawanese and Mingoes, which was fostered probably by the French traders who still visited the tribes of the northwest. Evidence of the feeling which prevailed, is given by Washington in his Journal of 1770, and has been already referred to. And from that time forward almost every event was calculated still more to excite and embitter the children of the forest. In 1770, Ebenezer, Silas and Jonathan Zane, settled at Wheeling; during that year the Boones, as we have related, were exploring the interior of Kentucky; and after them came the McAfees, Bullitt, Floyd, Hancock Taylor, and their companions. The savages saw their best grounds gradually occupied or threatened with occupation; but still they remembered the war of 1763, and the terrible power of Britain, and the oldest and wisest of the sufferers were disposed rather to submit to what seemed inevitable than to throw themselves away in a vain effort to withstand the whites. Hopeless hatred toward the invaders filled the breasts of the natives, therefore, at the period immediately preceding the war of 1774; a hatred needing only a few acts of violence to kindle it into rage and thirst for human blood. And such acts were not wanting; in addition to the murder of several single Indians by the frontier men,—in 1772, five families of the natives on the Little Kenawha, were killed, in revenge for the death of a white family on Gauley River, although no evidence existed

to prove who had committed the last-named outrage.* And when 1774 came, a series of events, of which we can present but a faint outline, led to excessive exasperation on both sides. Pennsylvania and Virginia laid equal claim to Pittsburgh and the adjoining country. In the war of 1754, doubt had existed as to which colony the fork of the Ohio was situated in, and the Old Dominion having been forward in the defence of the contested territory, while her northern neighbor had been very backward in doing anything in its favor, the Virginians felt a certain claim upon the "Key of the West." This feeling showed itself before 1763, and by 1773 appears to have attained a very decided character. Early in 1774, Lord Dunmore, prompted very probably by Colonel Croghan, and his nephew, Dr. John Connolly, who had lived at Fort Pitt, and was an intriguing and ambitious man, determined, by strong measures, to assert the claims of Virginia upon Pittsburgh and its vicinity, and despatched Connolly, with a captain's commission, and with power to take possession of the country upon the Monongahela, in the name of the king. The Dr. issued his proclamation to the people, in the neighborhood of Redstone and Pittsburgh, calling on them to meet upon the 24th or 25th of January, 1774, in order to be embodied as Virginia militia. Arthur St. Clair, who then represented the Proprietors of Pennsylvania in the West, was at Pittsburgh at the time, and arrested Connolly before the meeting took place. The people who had seen the proclamation, however, came together, and though they were dispersed without attempting any outbreak in favor of the Virginian side of the dispute, which it was very much feared they would do,—they did not break up without drunkenness and riot, and among other things *fired their guns at the town occupied by friendly Indians* across the river, hurting no one, but exciting the fear and suspicion of the red men.

Connolly, soon after, was for a short time released by the sheriff, upon the promise to return to the law's custody, which promise he broke however, and having collected a band of followers, on the 28th of March, came again to Pittsburgh, still asserting the claim of Virginia to the government. Then commenced a series of contests, outrages and complaints, which were too extensive and complicated to be described within our limited space. The upshot of the matter was this, that Connolly, in Lord Dunmore's name, and by his authority, took and kept possession of Fort Pitt;

* Withers' Border Warfare, 106.

and as it had been dismantled and nearly destroyed, by royal orders, rebuilt it, and named it Fort Dunmore. Meantime, in a most unjustifiable and tyrranical manner, he arrested both private men and magistrates, and kept some of them in confinement, until Lord Dunmore ordered their release. Knowing that these measures were calculated to lead to active and violent measures against himself by the Pennsylvanians, he took great precautions, and went to considerable expense to protect his own party from surprise. These expenses, it is not improbable, he feared the Virginia General Assembly would object to, although his noble patron might allow them; and it is not *impossible* that he intentionally fostered, as St. Clair distinctly intimated in his letters to the Pennsylvania authorities,—the growing jealousy between the whites and natives, in order to make their quarrels serve as a color to his profuse expenditures. At any rate it appears that on the 21st of April, Connolly wrote to the settlers along the Ohio, that the Shawanese were not to be trusted, and that they (the whites) ought to be prepared to revenge any wrong done them. This letter came into the hands of Captain Michael Cresap, who was looking up lands near Wheeling, and who appears to have possessed the true frontier Indian-hatred. Five days before its date, a canoe, belonging to William Butler, a leading Pittsburgh trader, had been attacked by three Cherokees, and one white man had been killed. This happened not far from Wheeling, and became known there of course; while about the same time the report was general that the Indians were stealing the traders' horses. When, therefore, immediately after Connolly's letter had been circulated, the news came to that settlement, that some Indians were coming down the Ohio in a boat, Cresap, in revenge for the murder by the Cherokees, and as he afterwards said, in obedience to the direction of the commandant at Pittsburgh, contained in the letter referred to, determined to attack them. They were, as it chanced, two friendly Indians, who, with two whites, had been despatched by William Butler, when he heard that his first messengers were stopped, to attend to his peltries down the river, in the Shawanee country.* The project of Cresap, (and here we continue in the words of Dr. Doddridge)—

Was vehemently opposed by Colonel Zane, the proprietor of the

* For the above facts relative to Connolly's conduct, &c. see American Archives, fourth series, i. 252 to 288, 435, 774, 459, 467, 470, 484, &c. It was *said* that Dunmore thanked Cresap for what he did; American Archives, fourth series, i. 506; but no *proof* exists, we believe, of his having done so.

place. He stated to the Captain that the killing of those Indians, would inevitably bring on a war, in which much innocent blood would be shed, and that the act in itself would be an atrocious murder, and a disgrace to his name forever. His good counsel was lost. The party went up the river. On being asked, at their return, what had become of the Indians? They coolly answered that "They had fallen overboard into the river!" Their canoe, on being examined, was found bloody, and pierced with bullets. This was the first blood which was shed in this war,* and terrible was the vengeance which followed.

In the evening of the same day, the party hearing that there was an encampment of Indians at the mouth of Captina, went down the river to the place, attacked the Indians and killed several of them. In this affair one of Cresap's party was severely wounded.

The massacre at Captina and that which took place at Baker's, about forty miles above Wheeling, a few days after that at Captina, were unquestionably the sole causes of the war, 1774. The last was perpetrated by thirty-two men, under the command of Daniel Greathouse. The whole number killed at this place, and on the river opposite to it was twelve, besides several wounded. This horrid massacre was effected by an hypocritical stratagem, which reflects the deepest dishonor on the memory of those who were agents in it.

The report of the murders committed on the Indians near Wheeling, induced a belief that they would immediately commence hostilities, and this apprehension furnished the pretext for the murder above related. The ostensible object for raising the party under Greathouse, was that of defending the family of Baker, whose house was opposite to a large encampment of Indians, at the mouth of Big Yellow Creek. The party were concealed in ambuscade, while their commander went over the river, under the mask of friendship to the Indian camp, to ascertain their number; while there, an Indian woman advised him to return home speedily, saying that the Indians were drinking, and angry on account of the murder of their people down the river, and might do him some mischief. On his return to his party he reported that the Indians were too strong for an open attack. He returned to Baker's and requested him to give any Indians who might come over, in the course of the day, as much rum as they might call for, and get as many of them drunk as he possibly could. The plan succeeded. Several Indian men with two women, came over the river to Baker's, who had previously been in the habit of selling rum to the Indians. The men drank freely and became intoxicated. In this state they were all killed by Greathouse, and a few of his party. I say a few of his party, for

* The murder at Balltown took place in 1772.

it is but justice to state, that not more than five or six of the whole number had any participation in the slaughter at the house. The rest protested against it, as an atrocious murder. From their number, being by far the majority, they might have prevented the deed; but alas! they did not. A little Indian girl alone was saved from the slaughter, by the humanity of some one of the party, whose name is not now known.

The Indians in the camps, hearing the firing at the house, sent a canoe with two men in it to enquire what had happened. These two Indians were both shot down, as soon as they landed on the beach. A second and larger canoe was then manned with a number of Indians i arms; but in attempting to reach the shore, some distance below the house, were received by a well directed fire from the party, which killed the greater number of them, and compelled the survivors to return. A great number of shots were exchanged across the river, but without damage to the white party, not one of whom was even wounded. The Indian men who were murdered were all scalped.

The woman who gave the friendly advice to the commander of the party, when in the Indian camp, was amongst the slain at Baker's house.

The massacres of the Indians at Captina and Yellow Creek, comprehended the whole of the family of the famous, but unfortunate Logan.*

This account by Doddridge is confirmed by the evidence of Colonel Zane, whose deposition is given by Jefferson;† but as it differs somewhat from that of George Rogers Clark, who was also present, we give part of the letter written by the last named pioneer relative to the matter, dated June 17, 1798.

This country was explored in 1773. A resolution was formed to make a settlement the spring following, and the mouth of the Little Kenaway appointed the place of general rendezvous, in order to descend the river from thence in a body. Early in the spring the Indians had done some mischief. Reports from their towns were alarming, which deterred many, About eighty or ninety men only arrived at the appointed rendezvous, where we lay some days.

A small party of hunters, that lay about ten miles below us, were fired upon by the Indians, whom the hunters beat back, and returned to camp. This and many other circumstances led us to believe, that the Indians were determined on war. The whole party was enrolled and determined to execute their project of forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary store that could be thought of. An Indian

* See Doddridge's Notes, p. 226.

† See on the whole subject, Appendix to Jefferson's Notes.

town called the Horsehead Bottom, on the Scioto and near its mouth, lay nearly in our way. The determination was to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command? was the question. There were but few among us that had experience in Indian warfare, and they were such that we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Capt. Cresap being on the river about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a plantation; and that he had concluded to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed there his people. We also knew that he had been experienced in a former war. He was proposed; and it was unanimously agreed to send for him to command the party. Messengers were despatched, and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution by some of his hunters, that had fallen in with ours, and had set out to come to us.

We now thought our army, as we called it, complete, and the destruction of the Indians sure. A council was called, and, to our astonishment, our intended Commander-in-chief was the person that dissuaded us from the enterprise. He said that appearances were very suspicious, but there was no certainty of a war. That if we made the attempt proposed, he had no doubt of our success, but a war would, at any rate, be the result, and that we should be blamed for it, and perhaps justly. But if we were determined to proceed, he would lay aside all considerations, send to his camp for his people, and share our fortunes.

He was then asked what he would advise. His answer was, that we should return to Wheeling, as a convenient post, to hear what was going forward. That a few weeks would determine. As it was early in the spring, if we found the Indians were not disposed for war, we should have full time to return and make our establishment in Kentucky. This was adopted; and in two hours the whole were under way. As we ascended the river, we met Kill-buck, an Indian chief, with a small party. We had a long conference with him, but received little satisfaction as to the disposition of the Indians. It was observed that Cresap did not come to this conference, but kept on the opposite side of the river. He said that he was afraid to trust himself with the Indians. That Kill-buck had frequently attempted to waylay his father, to kill him. That if he crossed the river, perhaps his fortitude might fail him, and that he might put Kill-buck to death. On our arrival at Wheeling, (the country being pretty well settled thereabouts,) the whole of the inhabitants appeared to be alarmed. They flocked to our camp from every direction; and all that we could say could not keep them from under our wings. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts, until further information, if they would return to their plantations; but nothing would prevail. By this time we had got to be a formidable party. All the hunters, men without families, etc., in that quarter, had joined our party.

Our arrival at Wheeling was soon known at Pittsburgh. The whole

of that country, at that time, being under the jurisdiction of Virginia, Dr. Connolly had been appointed by Dunmore Captain Commandant of the District which was called Waugusta. He, learning of us, sent a message addressed to the party, letting us know that a war was to be apprehended; and requesting that we would keep our position for a few days; as messages had been sent to the Indians, and a few days would determine the doubt. The answer he got, was, that we had no inclination to quit our quarters for some time. That during our stay we should be careful that the enemy did not harass the neighborhood that we lay in. But before this answer could reach Pittsburgh, he sent a second express, addressed to Capt. Cresap, as the most influential man amongst us; informing him that the messages had returned from the Indians, that war was inevitable, and begging him to use his influence with the party, to get them to cover the country by scouts until the inhabitants could fortify themselves. The reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. A new post was planted, a council was called, and the letter read by Cresap, all the Indian traders being summoned on so important an occasion. Action was had, and war declared in the most solemn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into the camp.

The next day some canoes of Indians were discovered on the river, keeping the advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased fifteen miles down the river, and driven ashore. A battle ensued; a few were wounded on both sides; one Indian only taken prisoner. On examining their canoes, we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp, a resolution was adopted to march the next day, and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio about thirty miles above us. We did march about five miles, and then halted to take some refreshment. Here the impropriety of executing the projected enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions—as they were hunting, and their party were composed of men, women, and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew; as I myself and others present had been in their camp about four weeks past, on our descending the river from Pittsburgh. In short, every person seemed to detest the resolution we had set out with. We returned in the evening, decamped, and took the road to Redstone.

It was two days after this that Logan's family were killed. And from the manner in which it was done, it was viewed as a horrid murder. From Logan's hearing of Cresap being at the head of this party on the river, it is no wonder that he supposed he had a hand in the destruction of his family.*

* Louisville Literary News Letter, quoted in Hesperian, February, 1839. p. 309.

In relation to the murders by Greathouse, there is also a variance in the testimony. Henry Jolly, who was near by, and whose statement is published in an article by Dr. Hildreth, in Silliman's Journal for January, 1837, makes no mention of the visit of Greathouse to the Indian camp, but says that five men and one woman with a child came from the camp across to Baker's, that three of the five were made drunk, and that the whites finding the other two would not drink, persuaded them to fire at a mark, and when their guns were empty shot them down; this done, they next murdered the woman, and tomahawked the three who were intoxicated. The Indians who had not crossed the Ohio, ascertaining what had taken place, attempted to escape by descending the river, and having passed Wheeling unobserved, landed at Pipe Creek, and it was then, according to Jolly, that Cresap's attack took place; he killed only one Indian.* But whatever may have been the precise facts in relation to the murder of Logan's family, they were at any rate of such a nature as to make all concerned feel sure of an Indian war; and while those upon the frontier gathered hastily into the fortresses,† an express was sent to Williamsburgh to inform the Governor of the necessity of instant preparation. The Earl of Dunmore at once took the needful steps to organize forces; and meanwhile in June sent Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner to conduct into the settlements the surveyors and others who were lingering upon the banks of the Kentucky and Elkhorn, a duty which was ably and quickly performed. The unfortunate traders among the Indians, however, could not thus be rescued from the dangers which beset them. Some of them fell the first victims to the vengeance of the natives. One, near the town of White-Eyes, the Peace Chief of the Delawares, was murdered, cut to pieces, and the fragments of his body hung upon the bushes; the kindly chief gathered them together and buried them; the hatred of the murderers, however, led them to disinter and disperse the remains of their victim anew, but the kindness of the Delaware was as persevering as the hatred of his brethren, and again he collected the scattered limbs and in a secret place hid them.‡

It being, under the circumstances, deemed advisable, by the

* See Am. Pioneer, i. 12 to 24. Am. Archives, 4th Series, i. 467. See also Border Warfare, 112, note, where the discrepancies of evidence are stated, also Jacob's Life of Cresap.

† Border Warfare, 114.

‡ Heckewelder's Narrative, 132.

Virginians to assume the offensive, as soon as it could be done, an army was gathered at Wheeling, which some time in July, under Colonel McDonald, descended the Ohio to the mouth of Captina Creek, or as some say Fish Creek, whence it was proposed to march against the Indian town of Wappatomica on the Muskingum. The march was successfully accomplished, and the Indians having been frustrated in an expected surprise of the invaders, sued for peace, and gave five of their chiefs as hostages. Two of them were set free, however, by Colonel McDonald, for the proposed purpose of calling the heads of the tribes together to ratify the treaty which was to put an end to warfare; but it being found that the natives were merely attempting to gain time and gather forces, the Virginians proceeded to destroy their towns and crops, and then retreated, carrying three of the chiefs with them as prisoners to Williamsburg.* But this invasion did nothing toward intimidating the red men.

The Delawares were anxious for peace; Sir William Johnson sent out to all his copper colored flock orders to keep still:† and even the Shawanese were prevailed on by their wise leader, Cornstalk, to do all they could to preserve friendly relations:‡ indeed they went so far as to secure some wandering traders from the vengeance of the Mingoes, whose relatives had been slain at Yellow Creek and Captina, and sent them with their property safe to Pittsburgh.‖ But Logan, who had been turned by the murders on the Ohio from a friend to a deadly foe of the whites, came suddenly upon the Monongahela settlements. and while the other Indians were hesitating as to their course, took his thirteen scalps in repayment for the heads laid low by Cresap and Greathouse, and returning home, expressed himself satisfied, and ready to listen to the Long-Knives.§ But it was not, apparently, the wish of Dunmore or Connolly to meet the friendly spirit of the natives, and when, about the 10th of June, three of the Shawanese conducted the traders who had been among them, safely to Pittsburgh, Connolly had even the meanness to attempt first to seize them, and when foiled in this by Colonel Croghan, his uncle, who had been alienated by his tyranny, he sent men to watch, waylay and kill them; and one account says that one of the three was slain.¶ Indeed, the character developed by this man, while

* Border Warfare, 115. Doddridge, 241. Am. Archives, 4th Series, i. 722.
† Am. Archives, 4th Series, i. 252 to 288.
‡ Do. do. ‖ Do. do. § Do. 428. ¶ Do. 449.

commandant of Fort Dunmore, was such as to excite universal detestation, and at last to draw down upon his patron the reproof of Lord Dartmouth.* He seized property, and imprisoned white men without warrant or propriety; and we may be assured, in many cases beside that just mentioned, treated the natives with an utter disregard of justice. It is not then surprising that Indian attacks occurred along the frontiers from June to September; nor, on the other hand, need we wonder that the Virginians (against whom, in distinction from the people of Pennsylvania, the war was carried on,) became more and more excited, and eager to repay the injuries received.

To put a stop to these devastations, two large bodies of troops were gathering in Virginia; the one from the southern and western part of the State, under General Andrew Lewis, met at Camp Union, now Lewisburg, Greenbriar county, near the far-famed White Sulphur Springs;—the other from the northern and eastern counties was to be under the command of Dunmore himself, and descending the Ohio from Fort Pitt, was to meet Lewis' army at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa. The force under Lewis, amounting to eleven hundred men, commenced its march upon the 6th and 12th of September, and upon the 6th of October reached the spot agreed upon. As Lord Dunmore was not there, and as other troops were to follow down the Kenhawa under Colonel Christian, General Lewis despatched runners toward Pittsburgh to inform the Commander-in-chief of his arrival, and proceeded to encamp at the point where the two rivers meet. Here he remained until the 9th of October, when despatches from the Governor reached him informing him that the plan of the campaign was altered, that he (Dunmore) meant to proceed directly against the Shawanese towns of the Scioto, and Lewis was ordered at once to cross the Ohio and meet the other army before those towns. But on the very day when this movement should have been executed, (October 10th,) the Indians in force, headed by the able and brave Chief of the Shawanese, Cornstalk, appeared before the army of Virginians, determined then and there to avenge past wrongs and cripple vitally the power of the invaders. Delawares, Iroquois, Wyandots, and Shawanese, under their most noted Chiefs, among whom was Logan, formed the army opposed to that of Lewis, and with both the struggle of that day was one of life or death. Soon after sunrise the presence of the savages was discovered; General

* Am. Archives, 4th Series, i. 774.

Lewis ordered out his brother Colonel Charles Lewis and Colonel Fleming to reconnoitre the ground where they had been seen; this at once brought on the engagement. In a short time Colonel Lewis was killed, and Colonel Fleming disabled; the troops, thus left without Commanders, wavered, but Colonel Field with his regiment coming to the rescue, they again stood firm;—about noon Colonel Field was killed, and Captain Evan Shelby, (father of Isaac Shelby Governor of Kentucky in after time and who was then Lieutenant in his father's company,) took the command;—and the battle still continued. It was now drawing toward evening and yet the contest raged without decided success for either party, when General Lewis ordered a body of men to gain the flank of the enemy by means of Crooked Creek, a small stream which runs into the Kenhawa about four hundred yards above its mouth. This was successfully done, and the result was the retreat of the Indians across the Ohio.* Lord Dunmore meanwhile, had descended the river from Fort Pitt, and was, at the time he sent word to Lewis of his change of plans, at the mouth of the Hocking, where he built a block-house, called Fort Gower, and remained until after the battle at the Point.† Thence he marched on towards the Scioto, while Lewis and the remains of the army under his command strengthened by the troops under Colonel Christian, pressed forward in the same direction, elated by the hope of annihilating the Indian towns, and punishing the inhabitants for all they had done. But before reaching the enemy's country Dunmore was visited by Chiefs asking for peace;‡ he listened to their request, and appointing a place where a treaty should be held, sent orders to Lewis to stop his march against the Shawanese towns; which orders, however, that officer did not obey, nor was it till the Governor visited his camp on Congo Creek near Westfall, that he would agree to give up an attempt upon the village of Old Chillicothe, which stood where Westfall now is.‖ After this visit by Dunmore General Lewis felt himself bound, though unwillingly, to prepare for a bloodless retreat.

The Commander-in-chief, however, remained for a time at Fort

* Border Warfare, 125. Doddridge, 230.—American Pioneer, i. 381. Letters in American Archives, fourth series, i. 808, 18, &c. &c. Thatcher's lives of Indians, ii. 168.

† Border Warfare, 133.

‡ With them was one Elliott, probably Matthew Elliott, so noted in 1790 to 1795.—American Pioneer, i. 18.

‖ Whittlesey's Discourse, 1840—p. 24.

Charlotte, upon Sippo Creek, about eight miles from the town of Westfall on the Scioto.* There he met Cornstalk who, being satisfied of the futility of any further struggle, was determined to make peace, and arranged with the Governor the preliminaries of a treaty; and from this point Crawford was sent against a town of the Mingoes, who still continued hostile, and took several prisoners who were carried to Virginia, and were still in confinement in February, 1775.† It was at this time though not at Camp Charlotte, for he would not go there, that Logan delivered his celebrated speech. In relation to this speech or message, the genuineness of which has been questioned,‡ it may be worth while to record here the evidence of John Gibson,‖ to whom it was given by Logan, and whose statement being undisputed seems to place the matter beyond cavil.

*Alleghany county, SS.*
*State of Pennsylvania.*

Before me, the subscriber, a justice of the peace in and for said county, personally appeared John Gibson, Esquire, an Associate Judge of the same county, who being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that in the year 1774, he accompanied Lord Dunmore on the expedition against the Shawanese and other Indians on the Sciota; that on their arrival within fifteen miles of the towns, they were met by a flag, and a white man by the name of Elliott, who informed Lord Dunmore that the Chiefs of the Shawanese had sent to request his Lordship to halt his army and send in some person, who understood their language; that this deponent, at the request of Lord Dunmore and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the towns, Logan, the Indian, came to where this deponent was sitting with the Cornstalk, and the other Chiefs of the Shawanese, and asked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copse of wood, where they sat down, when Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech, nearly as related by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on the State of Virginia; that he the deponent told him then that it was not Colonel Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son Captain Michael Cresap was with the party who killed a Shawanese Chief and other

* American Pioneer, i. 331.

† American Archives, fourth series, i. 1222. Border Warfare, 137.—American Archives, fourth series, ii. 1189.

‡ See, very lately, Brown's History of Illinois, p. 25; also, American Pioneer, i. vol. Index.

‖ This gentleman was (nominal) Secretary of Indiana Territory under General Harrison. See account by John Johnson, in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 305.

Indians, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Baker's near the mouth of Yellow Creek on the Ohio; that this deponent on his return to camp delivered the speech to Lord Dunmore; and that the murders perpetrated as above, were considered as ultimately the cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's war.

JOHN GIBSON.

*Sworn and subscribed the 4th of April*, 1800, *at Pittsburgh, before me,* JER. BAKER.*

Thus in November was the war of 1774, known as Dunmore's, Logan's, or Cresap's war, terminated; the Shawanese agreeing not to hunt south of the Ohio, nor molest travellers.† It was very much to the dissatisfaction of the Virginians that it ended as it did, as no efficient blow had been struck, and as the conduct of the Governor could not well be explained by the frontier men except by supposing him to act with reference to the expected contest of England and her colonies, a motive which the colonists naturally regarded as little less than treasonable.‡ And here we wish to notice a statement given as a curious instance of historical puzzles by Mr. Whittlesey, in his address before the Ohio Historical Society, delivered in 1841, at page 28.‖

In 1831, a steam boat was detained a few hours near the house of Mr. Curtis, on the Ohio, a short distance above the mouth of the Hockhocking, and General Clark§ came ashore. He inquired respecting the remains of a Fort or encampment at the mouth of the Hockhocking river, as it is now called. He was told that there was evidence of a clearing of several acres in extent, and that pieces of guns and muskets had been found on the spot; and also, that a collection of several hundred bullets had been discovered on the bank of the Hockhocking, about twenty-five miles up the river. General Clark then stated, that the ground had been occupied as a camp by Lord Dunmore, who came

* American Pioneer, p. 18.

† American Archives, fourth series, i. 1170.

‡ When Lord Dunmore retired he left an hundred men at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, a few at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburgh,) and some at Fort Fincastle (Wheeling.) These were dismissed as the prospect of renewed war ceased. Lord Dunmore was to have returned to Pittsburgh in the spring, to meet the Indians and form a definite peace, but the Revolutionary movements prevented. The Mingoes were not parties to the peace of Fort Charlotte.—(American Archives, ii. 1189.) The frontier men, or many of them, thought, as we have said, that Dunmore's conduct was outrageous, but that such was not the universal feeling in Virginia may be seen by reference to American Archives, fourth series, ii. 170, 301. &c.

‖ Expedition of Lord Dunmore, from p. 28, to 29.

§ An eminent citizen of Missouri, a brother of General George Rogers Clark, of Ky.

down the Kenhawa with 300 men in the spring of 1775, with the expectation of treating with the Indians here. The Chiefs not making their appearance, the march was continued up the river twenty-five or thirty miles, where an express from Virginia overtook the party. That evening a council was held and lasted very late at night. In the morning the troops were disbanded, and immediately requested to enlist in the British service for a stated period. The contents of the despatches had not transpired when this proposition was made. A major of militia by the name of McCarty, made an harrangue to the men against enlisting, which seems to have been done in an eloquent and effectual manner. He referred to the condition of the public mind in the colonies, and the probability of a revolution, which must soon arrive. He represented the suspicious circumstances of the express, which was still a secret to the troops, and that appearances justified the conclusion, that they were required to enlist in a service against their own countrymen, their own kindred, their own homes. The consequence was, that but few of the men re-enlisted, and the majority, choosing the orator as a leader, made the best of their way to Wheeling. The news brought out by the courier proved to be an account of the opening combat of the Revolution at Lexington, Massachusetts, April 20, 1775. General Clark stated that himself (or his brother,) was in the expedition.

Lord Dunmore is said to have returned to Virginia by way of the Kenhawa river.

There are very few historical details sustained by better authority than the above relation. Desirous of reconciling this statement with history, I addressed a letter to General Clark, requesting an explanation, but his death, which happened soon after, prevented a reply.*

This we know cannot be true in the form in which it is stated. The battle of Lexington was on April 19th; on April 21st Lord Dunmore removed the powder from the public storehouse at Williamsburg on board a King's vessel, and was thenceforward at Williamsburg. June 5th he informs the Assembly that he had meant to go West and look after Indian matters, but had been too busy.† It is one of many instances showing how sceptical we should be where a single person testifies, and especially from memory.

Among those who had been engaged in Dunmore's war, as scouts or soldiers, were Daniel Boone, James Harrod, and others of the early explorers of Kentucky; after the peace these naturally turned their attention again to the rich valleys they had visited.

* Lord Dunmore's Expedition, pp. 28, 29.

† American Archives, fourth series, ii. 1189, &c.

Boone appears to have been among the first to re-enter them, which he did in the service of a new Land Company formed in North Carolina, called the Transylvania Company.* The chief person in this association was Colonel Richard Henderson, of whom little is known except that he was a man of capacity and ambition. Dr. Smyth, an Englishman who in 1784 published a work of professed travels in the United States, gives the following account of him, but as Smyth's work is full of palpable falsehoods,† it is not in our power to say how much truth there is in his statements respecting the founder of Transylvania.

"His father still alive, a poor man, whose residence is in the settlement of Nutbush, where he was at this time on a visit.

This son was grown up to maturity before he had been taught to read or write, and he acquired those rudiments of education, and arithmetic also, by his own indefatigable industry.

He then obtained the inferior office of constable; from that was promoted to the office of under-sheriff; after this he procured a license to plead as a lawyer, in the inferior or county courts, and soon after in the superior, or highest courts of judicature.

Even there, where oratory and eloquence is as brilliant and powerful as in Westminster Hall, he soon became distinguished and eminent, and his superior genius shone forth with great splendor, and universal applause.

He was, at the same time, a man of pleasure, gay, facetious, and pliant; nor did his amazing talents, and general praise, create him a single enemy.

In short, while yet a very young man, he was promoted from the bar to the bench, and appointed Associate Chief Judge of the province of North Carolina, with a salary adequate to the dignity.

Even in this elevated station, his reputation and renown continued to increase.

But having made several large purchases, and having fallen into a train of expense that his circumstances and finances could not support, his extensive genius struck out on a bolder track to fortune and fame than any one had ever attempted before him.

Under pretence of viewing some back lands, he privately went out to the Cherokee nation of Indians, and, for an insignificant consideration,‡ (only ten wagons loaded with cheap goods, such as coarse

* This was one of several such companies; see Patrick Henry's deposition in Hall's Sketches, i. 249.

† For an account of Smyth's work see the Preface to this Volume.

‡ This seems to be false; see Butler's Kentucky, 2nd edition; introduction, lxvi. note.

woolens, trinkets, fire-arms, and spirituous liquors,) made a purchase from the chiefs of the nation, of a vast tract of territory, equal in extent to a kingdom; and in the excellence of climate and soil, extent of its rivers, and beautiful elegance of situations, inferior to none in the universe. A domain of no less than one hundred miles square, situated on the back or interior part of Virginia, and of North and South Carolina; comprehending the river Kentucky, Cherokee, and Ohio, besides a variety of inferior rivulets, delightful and charming as imagination can conceive.

This transaction he kept a profound secret, until such time as he obtained the final ratification of the whole nation in form. Then he immediately invited settlers from all the provinces, offering them land on the most advantageous terms, and proposing to them likewise, to form a legislature and government of their own; such as might be most convenient to their particular circumstances of settlement. And he instantly vacated his seat on the bench."*

Colonel Henderson in company with Colonel Nathaniel Hart, or as Morehead says, Colonel Hart alone,† having heard of the valuable lands upon the Kentucky river, (probably from Boone who had been acquainted with the Hart family before his visit to the West;‡) in the course of 1774 paid a visit to the Cherokees to ascertain if they would be willing to sell their title to the region which was desired. Finding that a bargain might be made, a meeting was arranged with the Chiefs of the nation, to be held at the Sycamore Shoal on the Wataga branch of the Holston river, in March 1775.

At this meeting Daniel Boone was, by the desire of the Transylvania proprietors, present, to aid in the negotiation and deter-

* Morehead's Address, p. 157.

† Butler, second edition, Introduction, lxvi.—Morehead, 159.

‡ This appears in the following extract of a letter from Colonel Thomas Hart, late of Lexington, Kentucky, to Captain Nathaniel Hart, dated Grayfields, August 3, 1780.

"I observe what you say respecting our losses by Daniel Boone. [Boone had been robbed of funds in part belonging to T. and N. Hart.] I had heard of the misfortune soon after it happened, but not of my being a partaker before now. I feel for the poor people who perhaps are to lose even their pre-emptions: but I must say, I feel more for Boone, whose character, I am told, suffers by it. Much degenerated must the people of this age be, when amongst them are to be found men to censure and blast the reputation of a person so just and upright, and in whose breast is a seat of virtue too pure to admit of a thought so base and dishonorable. I have known Boone in times of old, when poverty and distress had him fast by the hand: and in these wretched circumstances, I have ever found him of a noble and generous soul, despising every thing mean; and therefore, I will freely grant him a discharge for whatever sums of mine he might have been possessed of at the time."—Morehead, 105 note.

A MAP of
KENTUCKY,
by JOHN FILSON:
Drawn from actual observation.
INDIAN TERR.
Pecaway T.
Old Chelicothe.
Mingo Nation.
G. Miami.
Lit. Miami.
returning
going
OHIO R.
Licking R.
Bird's war road.
Gen. Clark's war road.
North Fork.
FAYETTE COUNTY
Eagle C.
Licking R.
S. Fork.
Blue Licks.
Little Kentucke.
Kentucky R.
Elkhorn.
Greenville.
Leestown.
Lexington.
Boonsburg.
Red R.
The Rapids.
LOUISVILLE.
Salt R.
Boons.
Town Fork.
Bardstown.
Chaplain's Fork.
Harrodsburg.
Danville.
Dick's R.
LINCOLN COUNTY
JEFFERSON COUNTY
Rolling Fork.
Warriors Path.
Road from the Old Settlements in Va. to Ken., thro' the gr. wilderness.
Green R.
Cumberland R.
Sciota R.
39
38
37
36
11
10
9

mining the bounds of the proposed purchase. This done, he set forth with a party, well armed and equipped, to mark out a road from the settlement, through the wilderness, to the lands which were about to be colonized. Boone does not say when he started, but as he was within fifteen miles of Boonesboro' on the 20th of March, and the grant from the Cherokees is dated the 17th, he must have left the Council before the final action of the Indians took place; indeed, Henderson says (April 10th to 20th) that Boone did not know of the purchase with certainty. By that action the southern savages, in consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, transferred to the Company two provinces defined as follows:

The first was defined as "Beginning on the Ohio river, at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoee, or what, by the English, is called Louisa river; from thence running up the said river, and the most northwardly fork of the same, to the head spring thereof; thence a south-east course to the top of the ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of the said mountain, unto a point from which a northwest course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland river, thence down said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio river, and up the said river, as it meanders, to the beginning."

The other deed comprised a tract "beginning on the Holston river, where the course of Powell's mountain strikes the same; thence up the said river, as it meanders, to where the Virginia line crosses the same; thence westwardly along the line run by Donaldson, to a point six English miles eastward of the long island in said Holston river; thence a direct course towards the mouth of the Great Canaway, until it reaches the top ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the said ridge to the place of beginning."*

This transfer, however, was in opposition to the ancient and constant policy, both of England and Virginia; neither of which would recognize any private dealings for land with the natives; and, as much of the region to be occupied by the Transylvania Company was believed to be within the bounds of the Old Dominion, Governor Dunmore, even before the bargain was completed, prepared his proclamation warning the world against "one Richard Henderson and other disorderly persons, who, under pretence of a purchase from the Indians, do set up a claim to the

* Hall, i. 251. See also Butler, 504. Butler, instead of "Cantuckey Chenoee," has "Kentucky Chenoca."

lands of the crown." This paper is dated but four days later than the treaty of Wataga.* When Colonel Henderson and his "disorderly" associates, therefore, set forth early in April for their new colony, granted by the first named deed, clouds beset their path. Virginia threatened in their rear, and before them, the blood of Boone's pioneers soiled the fresh leaves of the young wood-flowers. Upon the 20th or 25th of March, an attack had been made upon those first invaders of the forests, in which two of their number were killed, and one or two others wounded: repulsed but not defeated, the savages watched their opportunity, and again attacked the little band; but being satisfied by these attempts,† that the leaders of the whites were their equals in forest warfare, the natives offered no further opposition to the march of the hunters, who proceeded to the Kentucky, and upon the 1st of April, 1775, began the erection of a fort upon the banks of that stream, sixty yards south of the river, at a salt-lick. This was Boonesboro'. This fort or station was probably, when complete, about two hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred and fifty broad, and consisted of block-houses and pickets, the cabins of the settlers forming part of the defences;‡ it was, from neglect, not completed until June 14th, and the party, while engaged in its erection, appear to have been but little annoyed by the Indians, although one man was killed upon the 4th of April. To this station, while yet but half complete, Henderson and his companions came the 20th of April,‖ following the road marked out by Boone. Of his journey, and the country itself, some parts of a letter, published entire by Judge Hall, will give a distinct picture, and are better than any abstracts.

Boonesborough, June 12th, 1755.

* * * No doubt but you have felt great anxiety since the receipt of my letter from Powell's Valley. At that time things wore a gloomy aspect; indeed it was a serious matter, and became a little more so, after the date of the letter than before. That afternoon I wrote the letter in Powell's Valley,§ in our march this way, we met about 40 people returning, and in about four days the number was little short of

* American Archives, Fourth Series, 174.

† See Boone's Narrative, and his letter in Hall's Sketches, i. 254. They do not agree entirely.

‡ See plan of the fort, Hall's Sketches, i.

‖ Henderson's Letter, Hall ii. 269.

§ April 8th.

100. Arguments and persuasions were needless; they seemed resolved on returning, and travelled with a precipitation that truly bespoke their fears. Eight or ten were all that we could prevail on to proceed with us, or to follow after; and thus, what we before had, counting every boy and lad, amounted to about 40, with which number we pursued our journey with the utmost diligence, for my own part, never under more real anxiety. * * * * * Every group of travellers we saw, or strange bells which were heard in front, was a fresh alarm; afraid to look or inquire, lest Captain Boone or his company was amongst them, or some disastrous account of their defeat. The slow progress we made with our packs, made it absolutely necessary for some person to go on and give assurance of our coming, especially as they had no certainty of our being on the road at all; or had even heard whether the Indians had sold to us or not. It was owing to Boone's confidence in us, and the people's in him, that a stand was ever attempted in order to wait for our coming. * * * * * * * * *

The general panic that had seized the men we were continually meeting, was contagious; it ran like wild fire; and, notwithstanding every effort against its progress, it was presently discovered in our own camp; some hesitated and stole back, privately; others saw the necessity of returning to convince their friends that they were still alive, in too strong a light to be resisted; whilst many, in truth, who have nothing to thank but the fear of shame, for the credit of intrepidity, came on, though their hearts, for some hours, made part of the deserting company. In this situation of affairs, some few, of genuine courage and undaunted resolution, served to inspire the rest; by help of whose example, assisted by a little pride and some ostentation, we made a shift to march on with all the appearance of gallantry, and, cavalier like, treated every insinuation of danger with the utmost contempt. It soon became habitual; and those who started in the morning with pale faces and apparent trepidation, could lie down and sleep at night in great quiet, not even possessed of fear enough to get the better of indolence. * * * * * To give you a small specimen of the disposition of the people, it may be sufficient to assure you that when we arrived at this place, we found Captain Boone's men as inattentive on the score of fear, (to all appearances,) as if they had been in Hillsborough. A small fort which only wanted two or three days' work to make it tolerably safe, was totally neglected on Mr. Cock's arrival;* and unto this day remains unfinished, notwithstanding the repeated applications of Captain Boone, and every representation of danger from ourselves. * * * * Our plantations extend near two miles in length, on the river, and up a creek. Here people work in their different lots; some without their guns, and others without care or

* A messenger sent ahead of the main body.

caution. It is in vain for us to say any thing more about the matter; it cannot be done by words. * * * * Our company has dwindled from about eighty in number to about fifty odd, and I believe in a few days will be considerably less. Amongst these I have not heard one person dissatisfied with the country or terms; but go, as they say, merely because their business will not admit of longer delay. The fact is, that many of them are single, worthless fellows, and want to get on the other side of the mountains, for the sake of saying they have been out and returned safe, together with the probability of getting a mouthful of bread in exchange for their news. * * *

We are seated at the mouth of Otter Creek on the Kentucky, about 150 miles from the Ohio. To the west, about 50 miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles one of the other. There were, some time ago, about 100 at the two places; though now, perhaps, not more than 60 or 70, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, &c.; and some returned by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere. * * * On the opposite side of the river, and north from us, about 40 miles, is a settlement on the crown lands, of about 19 persons; and lower down, towards the Ohio, on the same side, there are some other settlers, how many, or at what place, I can't exactly learn. There is also a party of about 10 or 12, with a surveyor, who is employed in searching through the country, and laying off officers' lands; they have been more than three weeks within ten miles of us, and will be several weeks longer ranging up and down the country. * * * * Colonel Harrod, who governs the two first mentioned settlements, (and is a very good man for our purpose.) Colonel Floyd, (the surveyor) and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate, with the utmost despatch every piece of intelligence respecting danger or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of Indians, both the other parties are instantly to march and relieve the distressed, if possible. Add to this, that our country is so fertile, the growth of grass and herbage so tender and luxuriant, that it is almost impossible for man or dog to travel, without leaving such sign that you might, for many days, gallop a horse on the trail. To be serious, it is impossible for any number of people to pass through the woods without being tracked, and of course discovered, if Indians, for our hunters all go on horseback, and could not be deceived if they were to come on the trace of footmen. From these circumstances, I think myself in a great measure secure against a formidable attack; and a few skulkers could only kill one or two, which would not much affect the interest of the company.* * * * * * *

Upon the 23d of May, the persons then in the country, were called on by Henderson to send representatives to Boonesboro', to

* Hall's Sketches, ii. 260 to 271.

agree upon a form of government, and to make laws for the conduct of the inhabitants. From the journal of this primitive legislature, we find that, besides Boonesboro', three settlements were represented, viz: Harrodsburgh, which had been founded by James Harrod in 1774, though afterwards for a time abandoned, in consequence of Dunmore's war; the Boiling-spring settlement, also headed by James Harrod, who had returned to the west early in 1775; and St. Asaph, in Lincoln county, where Benjamin Logan, who is said to have crossed the mountains with Henderson, was building himself a station, well known in the troubles with the Indians which soon followed.

The labors of this first of Western legislatures were fruitless, as the Transylvania colony was soon transformed into the county of Kentucky, and yet some notice of them seems proper. There were present seventeen representatives; they met about fifty yards from the banks of the Kentucky, under the budding branches of a vast elm, while around their feet sprang the native white clover, as a carpet for their hall of legislation. When God's blessing had been asked by the Rev. John Lythe, Colonel Henderson offered an address on behalf of the Proprietors, from which we select a few paragraphs illustrative of the spirit of the men and times.

Our peculiar circumstances in this remote country, surrounded on all sides with difficulties, and equally subject to one common danger, which threatens our common overthrow, must, I think, in their effects, secure to us an union of interests, and consequently, that harmony in opinion, so essential to the forming good, wise, and wholesome laws. If any doubt remain amongst you with respect to the force or efficacy of whatever laws, you now, or hereafter make, be pleased to consider that all power is originally in the people; therefore, make it their interest, by impartial and beneficial laws, and you may be sure of their inclination to see them enforced. For it is not to be supposed that a people, anxious and desirous to have laws made, — who approve of the method of choosing delegates, or representatives, to meet in general Convention for that purpose, can want the necessary and concomitant virtue to carry them into execution.

Nay, gentlemen, for argument's sake, let us set virtue for a moment out of the question, and see how the matter will then stand. You must admit that it is, and ever will be, the interest of a large majority that the laws should be esteemed and held sacred; if so, surely this large majority can never want inclination or power to give sanction and

efficacy to those very laws, which advance their interest and secure their property. * * * * * *

Among the many objects that must present themselves for your consideration, the first in order, must, from its importance, be that of establishing Courts of Justice, or tribunals for the punishment of such as may offend against the laws you are about to make. As this law will be the chief corner stone in the ground-work or basis of our constitution, let us in a particular manner recommend the most dispassionate attention, while you take for your guide as much of the spirit and genius of the laws of England, as can be interwoven with those of this country. We are all Englishmen, or, what amounts to the same, ourselves and our fathers have, for many generations, experienced the invaluable blessings of that most excellent constitution, and surely we cannot want motives to copy from so noble an original.

Many things, no doubt, crowd upon your minds, and seem equally to demand your attention; but next to that of restraining vice and immorality, surely nothing can be of more importance than establishing some plain and easy method for the recovery of debts, and determining matters of dispute with respect to property, contracts, torts, injuries, &c. These things are so essential, that if not strictly attended to, our name will become odious abroad, and our peace of short and precarious duration, it would give honest and disinterested persons cause to suspect that there was some colorable reason at least, for the unworthy and scandalous assertions, together with the groundless insinuations contained in an infamous and scurrilous libel* lately printed and published, concerning the settlement of this country, the author of which avails himself of his station, and under the specious pretence of proclamation, pompously dressed up and decorated in the garb of authority, has uttered invectives of the most malignant kind, and endeavours to wound the good name of persons, whose moral character would derive little advantage by being placed in comparison with his, charging them amongst other things equally untrue, with a design "of forming an asylum for debtors and other persons of desperate circumstances;" placing the proprietors of the soil at the head of a lawless train of abandoned villains, against whom the regal authority ought to be exerted, and every possible measure taken to put an immediate stop to so dangerous an enterprise.

I have not the least doubt, gentlemen, but that your conduct in this convention will manifest the honest and laudable intentions of the present adventurers, whilst the conscious blush confounds the wilful calumniators and officious detractors of our infant, and as yet, little community.

* Governor Dunmore's Proclamation.

Next to the establishment of courts or tribunals, as well for the punishment of public offenders as the recovering of just debts, that of establishing and regulating a militia, seems of the greatest importance; it is apparent, that without some wise institution, respecting our mutual defence, the different towns or settlements are every day exposed to the most imminent danger, and liable to be destroyed at the mere will of the savage Indians. Nothing, I am persuaded, but their entire ignorance of our weakness and want of order, has hitherto preserved us from the destructive and rapacious hands of cruelty, and given us an opportunity at this time of forming secure defensive plans to be supported and carried into execution by the authority and sanction of a well-digested law.

There are sundry other things, highly worthy your consideration, and demand redress; such as the wanton destruction of our game, the only support of life amongst many of us, and for want of which the country would be abandoned ere to-morrow, and scarcely a probability remain of its ever becoming the habitation of any Christian people. This, together with the practice of many foreigners, who make a business of hunting in our country, killing, driving off, and lessening the number of wild cattle and other game, whilst the value of the skins and furs, is appropriated to the benefit of persons not concerned or interested in our settlement: these are evils, I say, that I am convinced cannot escape your notice and attention.*

To this the representatives of the infant Commonwealth replied, by stating their readiness to comply with the recommendations of the Proprietor, as being just and reasonable, and proceeded, with praiseworthy diligence, to pass the necessary acts. They were in session three working days, in which time, they enacted the nine following laws;—one for establishing courts; one for punishing crimes; a third for regulating the militia; a fourth for punishing swearing and Sabbath-breaking; a fifth providing for writs of attachment; a sixth fixing fees; and three others for preserving the range, improving the breed of horses, and preserving game. In addition to these laws, this working House of Delegates prepared a Compact, to be the basis of relationship between the people and owners of Transylvania: some of its leading articles were these—

1st. That the election of delegates in this colony, be annual,

2d. That the convention may adjourn and meet again on their own adjournment, provided, that in cases of great emergency the proprietors may call together the delegates before the time adjourned to, and

* See Butler's Kentucky, p. 508.

a majority does not attend, they may dissolve them and call a new one.

3d. That to prevent dissention and delay of business, one proprietor shall act for the whole, or some one delegated by them for that purpose, who shall always reside in the colony.

4th. That there be a perfect religious freedom and general toleration —Provided that the propagators of any doctrine or tenets, widely tending to the subversion of our laws, shall for such conduct be amenable to, and punishable by the civil courts.

5th. That the judges of Superior or Supreme Courts be appointed by the proprietors, but be supported by the people, and to them be answerable for their mal-conduct.

9th. That the judges of the inferior courts be recommended by the people, and approved of by the proprietors, and by them commissioned.

10th. That all civil and military officers be within the appointment of the proprietors.

11th. That the office of Surveyor General, belong to no person interested, or a partner in this purchase.

12th. That the legislative authority, after the strength and maturity of the colony will permit, consist of three branches, to wit: the delegates or representatives chosen by the people, a council not exceeding twelve men, possessed of landed estate, residing in the colony, and the proprietors.

17th. That the convention have the sole power of raising and appropriating all public monies, and electing their treasurer.*

On the 27th of May this Legislature adjourned to meet again upon the first Thursday of the next September,—though we do not hear that it ever did so.

From the time of the unpopular treaty of Camp Charlotte, the western people had been apprehensive of extensive injury to the American frontiers from the Indians, instigated by agents reaching them through Canada, whenever the expected outbreak with England took place. Nor was it long before the Americans in the north saw the dangers to be feared from the action of the Indians, influenced by the British and early in April, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts wrote to the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, then a missionary among the Oneidas, informing him, that, having heard that the English were trying to attach the Six Nations to their interest, it had been thought proper to ask the several tribes, through him, to stand neutral. Steps were also taken to secure the co-operation, if possible, of the Penobscot

* See Butler's Kentucky, p. 514.

and Stockbridge Indians; the latter of whom replied, that, though they never could understand what the quarrel between the Provinces and old England was about, yet they would stand by the Americans. They also offered to "feel the mind" of the Iroquois, and try to bring them over.*

But the Iroquois were not to be easily won over by any means. Sir William Johnson, so long the King's agent among them, and to whom they looked with the confidence of children in a father, had died suddenly, in June, 1774, and the wild men had been left under the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William's son-in-law, who succeeded him as Superintendent, and of John Johnson, Sir William's son, who succeeded to his estates and honors. Both these men were Tories; and their influence in favor of England was increased by that of the celebrated Joseph Brant. This trio, acting in conjunction with some of the rich old royalists along the Mohawk, opposed the whole movement of the Bostonians, the whole spirit of the Philadelphia Congress, and every attempt, open or secret, in favor of the rebels. Believing Mr. Kirkland to be little better than a Whig in disguise, and fearing that he might alienate the tribe, in which he was, from their old faith, and, through them, influence the others, the Johnsons, while the war was still bloodless, made strong efforts to remove him from his position.

Nor were the fears of the Johnsons groundless, as is shown by the address of the Oneida Indians to the New England Governors, in which they state their intention of remaining neutral during so unnatural a quarrel as that just then commencing. But this intention the leading tribe of the great Indian confederacy meant to disturb, if possible. The idea was suggested, that Guy Johnson was in danger of being seized by the Bostonians, and an attempt was made to rally about him the savages as a body-guard; while he, on his part, wrote to the neighboring magistrates, holding out to them, as a terror, the excitement of the Indians, and the dangers to be feared from their rising, if he were seized, or their rights interfered with.

So stood matters in the Mohawk valley, during the month of May, 1775. The Johnsons were gathering a little army, which soon amounted to five hundred men; and the Revolutionary committees, resolute never to yield one hair's breadth, "never to submit to any arbitrary acts of any power under heaven," were

* Stone, vol. i. pp. 55–58.—Sparks' *Washington*, vol. iii. pp. 495, 496.

denouncing Colonel Guy's conduct as "arbitrary, illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable." "Watch him," wrote Washington to General Schuyler in June; and, even before that order was given, what with the Tryon county men above him on the river, and the whole Provincial force below him, he was likely to be well watched. Finding himself thus fettered, and feeling it to be time to take some decided step, the Superintendent, early in June, began to move westward, accompanied by his dependents and the great body of the Mohawk Indians, who remained firm in the British interests.* He moved first to Fort Stanwix, (afterwards Fort Schuyler, near the present town of Rome,) and then went on to Ontario, where he arrived early in July, and held a Congress with thirteen hundred and forty warriors, whose old attachment was then and there renewed. Joseph Brant, be it noted, during all this time, was acting as the Superintendent's secretary.

All of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, might now be deemed in alliance with the British. Those tribes, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Kirkland, were prevented from going with the others, and upon the 28th of June, at German Flats, gave to the Americans a pledge of neutrality.†

While the members of the Northern Confederacy were thus divided in their attachments, the Delawares of the upper Ohio were by no means unanimous in their opinions as to this puzzling family quarrel which was coming on; and Congress, having been informed on the first day of June, that the western Virginians stood in fear of the Indians, with whom Lord Dunmore, in his small way, was, as they thought, tampering,‡ it was determined to have a Congress called at Pittsburgh, to explain to the poor red men the causes of the sudden division of their old enemies, and try to persuade them to keep peace. This Congress did not meet, however, until October.‖

Nor was it from the northern and western tribes only, that hostilities were feared. The Cherokees and their neighbors were much dreaded, and not without cause; as they were then less under the control of the whites, than either the Iroquois or Delawares, and might, in the hope of securing their freedom, be led to unite, in a warfare of extermination against the Carolinas. We find, accordingly, that early in July, Congress having determined to seek the alliance of the several Indian nations, three depart-

* Stone, vol. i. p. 77.

† Stone, vol. i. p. 81.

‡ *Old Journals*, vol. i. p. 78.

‖ Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 136.

ments were formed;* a northern one, including the Six Nations and all north and east of them, to the charge of which General Schuyler, Oliver Wolcott, and three others, were appointed; a middle department, including the Western Indians, who were to be looked to by Messieurs Franklin, Henry, and Wilson; and a southern department, including all the tribes south of Kentucky, over which commissioners were to preside under the appointment of the South Carolina Council of Safety. These commissioners were to keep a close watch upon the nations in their several departments, and upon the King's Superintendents among them. These officers they were to seize, if they had reason to think them engaged in stirring up the natives against the colonies, and in all ways were to seek to keep those natives quiet and out of the contest. *Talks* were also prepared to send to the several tribes, in which an attempt was made to illustrate the relations between England and America, by comparing the last to a child ordered to carry a pack too heavy for its strength. The boy complains, and, for answer, the pack is made a little heavier. Again and again the poor urchin remonstrates, but the bad servants misrepresent the matter to the father, and the boy gets ever a heavier burden, till at last, almost broken-backed, he throws off the load altogether, and says he will carry it no longer. This allegory was intended to make the matter clear to the pack-carrying red men, and, if we may judge from Heckewelder's account, it answered the purpose; for, he says, the Delawares reported the whole story very correctly. Indeed, he gives their report upon the 137th page of his "Narrative," which report agrees very well with the original speech, preserved to us in the Journals of the Old Congress.†

The first conference held by the commissioners, was in the northern department, a grand congress coming together at Albany in August. Of this Congress a full account may be found in Colonel Stone's first volume.‡ It did not, however, fully represent the Six Nations, and some, even of those who were present, immediately afterwards deserted to the British; so that the result was slight.

The next conference was held at Pittsburgh with the western

* *Old Journals*, vol. i. p. 113, &c.

† Vol. i. p. 115. See also in Carey's Museum, for January, 1789, p. 88 to 91, the speech to the Iroquois, at Philadelphia, delivered July 13, 1775; in this the pack-proverb is given fully and very well.

‡ pp. 94-104. Appendix iv.-xxxi.

Indians. This was in October, and was attended by the Delawares, Senecas, and, perhaps, some of the Shawanese. The Delaware nation were, as we have already said, divided in their views touching the Americans. One of their chieftains, Captain White-Eyes, a man of high character and clear mind, of courage such as became the leader of a race whose most common virtues were those of the wild man, and of a forbearance and kindness as unusual as fearlessness was frequent, among his people,—this true man was now, as always, in favor of peace; and his influence carried with him a strong party. But there were others, again, who longed for war, and wished to carry the whole nation over to the British interest. These were led by a cunning and able man, called Captain Pipe, who, without the energy, moral daring, and unclouded honesty of his opponent, had many qualities admirably suited to win and rule Indians. Between these two men there was a division from the beginning of the Revolution till the death of White Eyes. At the Pittsburgh Conference the Peace Chief, as he was called, was present, and there asserted his freedom of the Six Nations, who, through their emissaries present, tried to bend the Delawares, as they had been used to do. His bold denial of the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people, was seized upon, by some of the War-Party, as a pretext for leaving the Muskingum, where White Eyes lived, and withdrawing toward Lake Erie, into the more immediate vicinity of the English and their allies.

The Shawanese and their neighbors, meantime, had taken counsel with Guy Johnson at Oswego, and might be considered as in league with the king. Indeed, we can neither wonder at, nor blame these bewildered savages for leaguing themselves with any power *against* those actual occupants of their hunting-grounds, who were, here and there in Kentucky, building block-houses and clearing corn-fields. Against those block-houses and their builders, little bands of red men continually kept sallying forth, supplied with ammunition from Detroit and the other western posts, and incited to exertion by the well known stimulants of whiskey and fine clothes.

However, it is hardly correct to say, that this was done in 1775, though the arrangements were, beyond doubt, made in that year, Col. Johnson having visited Montreal, immediately after the council with the Shawanese and others at Oswego, for the purpose of

concluding with the British governor and general upon his future course.

But although the dangers of the posts more immediately exposed to Indian invasions, were understood both East and West, it did not prevent emigration. In June, 1775, Boone had sought the settlements once more, in order to remove his family; and in the following September, with four females, the fearless mothers of Kentucky, re-crossed the mountains. These four women were his own wife, Mrs. McGary whose husband afterwards attained distinction in the battle of the Blue-licks, Mrs. Denton and Mrs. Hogan; their husbands and children came with them, and more than twenty other men able to bear arms, were also of the party.

At the close of 1775, then, the country along the Kentucky was filling with emigrants, although doubt and dissatisfaction already existed as to Henderson's purchase, and especially as to holding lands of proprietors, and being governed by them: — many of the new settlers not being ignorant of the evils brought on Pennsylvania by means of the Proprietary rule. But hope was still predominant, and the characters of Harrod, Floyd, Logan and the Harts were well calculated to inspire confidence.

North of the Ohio during that year, little was doing of which any knowledge has reached us: but one settlement beyond the Belle Riviere deserves our notice.

Our readers will remember the calm and bold Moravian, Christian Frederick Post, who journeyed to the Big Beaver Creek in 1758, and won the Delawares to peace. This same man, in 1761, thinking the true faith might be planted among those western tribes, journeyed out to the Muskingum, and, upon the banks of that stream, about a mile from Beaver's Town, built himself a house.* The next season, that is in the spring of 1762, he again crossed the mountains in company with the well-known Heckewelder, who went out as his assistant. The Indians having consented to his living among them, and teaching their children to read and write, Post prepared to clear a few acres whereon to raise corn. The chiefs hearing of this called him to them, and said they feared he had changed his mind, for, instead of teaching their children, he was clearing land; which if he did, others might do, and then a fort be built to protect them, and then the land claimed, and they be driven off, as had always, they said, been the case. Post replied that a teacher must live, and, as he did not wish to

* Heckwelder's *Narrative*, p. 59.

be a burden on them, he proposed to raise his own food. This reply the Indians considered, and told him, that, as he claimed to be a minister of God, just as the French priests did, and as these latter looked fat and comely though they did not raise corn, it was probable that the Great Spirit would take care of him as he did of them, if he wished him to be his minister; so they could only give him a garden spot. This Captain Pipe stepped off for him, and with this he had to shift as well as he could.

These proceedings were in 1762, and while they show the perfect perception which the Indians had of their dangers, and of the English tactics, explain most clearly the causes of the next year's war.

Post continued to till his little garden spot and teach his Indian disciples through the summer of 1762, and in the autumn accompanied King Beaver to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, where a fruitless treaty was concluded with the whites. Returning from this treaty in October, he met Heckewelder, who had been warned by his red friends to leave the country before war came, and was forced back upon the settlements.

From this time until the autumn of 1767, no Moravians visited the West. Then, and in the following spring, Zeisberger went to the Alleghany, and there established a mission, against the will, however, of the greater part of the savages, who saw nothing but evil in the white man's eye.* The fruits would not ripen, the deer would not stay, they said, where the white man came. But Zeisberger's was a fearless soul, and he worked on, despite threats and plots against his life; and not only held his place, but even converted some of the leading Indians. Among these was one who had come from the Big Beaver, for the purpose of refuting the Moravians; and this man being influential, the missionaries were in 1770 invited to come to Big Beaver, whither they went in April of that year, settling about twenty miles from its mouth. Nor did the kindness of the Indians stop here. The Delawares of the Muskingum, remembering perhaps what Post had done among them ten years before, invited the Christian Indians of Pennsylvania to come and live on their river; and in this invitation the Wyandots joined. The proposition was long considered, and at last agreed to; and, on the 3d of May, 1772, Zeisberger, with twenty-seven of his native disciples, founded Shoenbrun, upon the Muskingum, —the first true Christian settlement made within the present State

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 98.

of Ohio, and the beginning of that which was destroyed by the frontier men ten years afterward, in so cruel and cowardly a manner. To this settlement, in the course of the next year, the Christian Indians of the Susquehannah, and those of the Big Beaver, removed. Though endangered by the war of 1774, it was not injured, and, when our Revolution began, was the only point beyond Pittsburgh north of the river where the English were dwelling and laboring.*

It was towards the close of this last year of our colonial existence, 1775, that a plot was discovered, which involved some whose names have already appeared upon our pages, and which, if successful, would have influenced the fortunes of the West deeply. Dr. John Connolly, of Pittsburgh, (he whom Washington had met and talked with in 1770, and with whom he had afterwards corresponded in relation to western lands, and who played so prominent a part as commandant of Pittsburgh, where he continued at least through 1774,)† was, from the outset of the revolutionary movements, a Tory; and being a man extensively acquainted with the West, a man of talent, and fearless withal, he naturally became a leader. This man, in 1775, planned a union of the north-western Indians with British troops, which combined forces were to be led, under his command, from Detroit, and, after ravaging the few frontier settlements, were to join Lord Dunmore in eastern Virginia. To forward his plans, Connolly visited Boston to see General Gage; then, having returned to the south, in the fall of 1775, he left Lord Dunmore for the West, bearing one set of instructions upon his person, and another set, the true ones, most artfully concealed under the direction of Lord Dunmore himself, in his saddle, secured by tin and waxed cloth. He and his comrades, among whom was Dr. Smyth, the author of the doubtful work already quoted, had gone as far as Hagerstown, where they were arrested upon suspicion, and sent back to Frederick. There they were searched, and the papers upon Connolly's person were found, seized, and sent to Congress. Washington having been informed by one who was present when the genuine instructions were concealed as above stated, wrote twice on the

* See on the whole subject of the Moravian Missions, Heckewelder's account in American State Papers, vi. 379 to 391.

† American Archives, fourth series, i. 1179.

subject to the proper authorities, in order to lead to their discovery, but we do not learn that they were ever found. Connolly himself was confined, and remained a close prisoner till 1781, complaining much of his hard lot,* but finding few to pity him.†

## 1776.

In the annals of Kentucky, this year is remarkable, first, for the recognition by Virginia of the Transylvania colony, as a part of the Old Dominion; and secondly, for such a renewal of hostilities, as drove many who had come to make the West their home, back over the mountains again. During the last six months of 1775, and the first half of 1776, the northern savages, as has been stated, had in a great measure ceased their excursions against the invaders of their hunting grounds. Not, however, because they had given up the contest; they were preparing, in connection with the British agents in the north-west, to act with deadly efficiency against the frontier stations, and such seems to have been the feeling of the inhabitants of those stations. From an early period in the revolutionary war, the use of the Indians had been contemplated by both parties to the struggle. It had been usual,

† American Archives, 4th series, iv. 617, where Connolly's commission and several letters are given; do. iii. 1660, where his examination is to be found; also see index of both vols. See also Sparks' Washington, iii, 197, 211, 212, 269, 271. Border Warfare, 133. Old Journals, iii. 36, 121, 122, 125, 385. The whole story is in the report of the committee of Congress, old journals, iii. 121. See also Smyth's account of the affair in the 2nd vol. of his work. p. 243.

* After the revolution, Connolly was a mischief maker in Kentucky. He appears to have been one of the earliest explorers of the West, and in 1770, proposed a province which would have included all of Kentucky between the Cumberland or Shawanee river, a line drawn from above its fork to the falls, and the Ohio. (Sparks' Washington, ii. 532.) He afterwards caused to be surveyed, patented, and advertised for sale, in April, 1774, the ground upon which Louisville was built. (American Archives, fourth series. Western Garland, February, 1846, p. 98.) See years 1780, 1781, and 1789.

in the contests between the French and English, as we have seen; and few seem to have deemed it possible to avoid alliances with the red men. It has been suggested, but we know not on what evidence, that the origin of Dunmore's war was the evil feeling produced by British envoys, who anticipated a struggle with the colonists and were acting thus early.* We do not believe this: Dunmore's war is easily explained without resorting to any such abominable supposition;† but there is cause to think that England took the first steps that were taken to enlist the Indians in the quarrel of mother and daughter. The first mention of the subject which we meet with is in the address of the Massachussets Congress to the Iroquois, in April, 1775. In that they say, that they hear the British are exciting the savages against the colonies; and they ask the Six Nations to aid them or stand quiet.‡ And in the June following, when James Wood visited the western tribes, and asked them to a council, which he did under the direction of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he found that Governor Carlton had been beforehand, and offered the alliance of England.‖ It would seem, then, that even before the battle of Lexington, both parties had applied to the Indians, and sought an alliance. In the outset, therefore, both parties were of the same mind and pursued the same course. The Congress of the United Colonies, however, during 1775, and until the summer of 1776, *advocated merely the attempt to keep the Indians out of the contest entirely*, and instructed the commissioners, appointed in the several departments to do so. But England was of another mind. Promises and threats were both used to induce the savages to act with her,§ though, at first, it would seem, to little purpose, even the Canada tribe of Caghnawagas¶ having offered their aid to the Americans. When Britain,

* Border Warfare. 107, 111.

† The facts heretofore stated in relation to Connolly's general conduct, and especially his letter, and Cresap's assertion that his proceedings were in obedience to it, were the probable cause of the suggestions referred to. That Dunmore's course was not disapproved at the day is clear, we think, from this, that he was thanked for his conduct of the Indian war by the Virginia Convention, headed by Randolph, Washington, the Lees, &c.; was thanked by the House of Burgesses also; and received an address praising his proceedings, from the people of western Virginia. (Fincastle County.)—American Archives, fourth series, ii. 301, 170.

‡ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. iii. p. 495. † Ibid., p. 55.

‖ American Archives, fourth series, iv. 110.

§ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. iii. p. 55.

¶ Also known as the Seven Nations and Seven Castles of Canada. There is no end to the modes of spelling the name 'Caghnawagas.'

however, became victorious in the North, and particularly after the battle of the Cedars, in May, 1776, the wild men began to think of holding to her side, their policy being, most justly, in all quarrels of the whites, to stick to the strongest. Then it was, in June, 1776, that Congress resolved to do what *Washington had advised in the previous April*, that is, to employ the savages in active warfare. Upon the 19th of April the Commander-in-chief wrote to Congress, saying, as the Indians would soon be engaged, either for or against, he would suggest that they be engaged for the colonies;* upon the 3d of May, the report on this was considered; upon the 25th of May, it was resolved to be highly expedient to engage the Indians for the American service; and, upon the 3d of June, the General was empowered to raise two thousand to be employed in Canada. Upon the 17th of June, Washington was authorized to employ them where he pleased, and to offer them rewards for prisoners; and, upon the 8th of July, he was empowered to call out as many of the Nova Scotia and neighboring tribes as he saw fit.†

Such was the course of proceeding, on the part of the colonies, with regard to the employment of the Indians. The steps, at the time, were secret, but now the whole story is before the world. Not so, however, with regard to the acts of England; as to them, we have but few of the records placed within our reach. One thing, however, is known, namely, that, while the colonies offered their allies of the woods rewards for *prisoners*, some of the British agents gave them money for *scalps*‡—a proceeding that cannot find any justification.

In accordance with the course of policy thus pursued, the northwestern tribes, already angered by the constant invasions of their territory by the hunters of Virginia and Carolina, and easily accessible by the lakes, were soon enlisted on the side of England; and had a Pontiac been alive to lead them, might have done much mischief. As it was, during the summer of 1776, their straggling parties so filled the woods of Kentucky, that no one outside of a fort felt safe. But we can give no better picture of the fear and anxiety that prevailed, than is given in the following letter from Colonel Floyd, written at the time.

* Sparks' *Washington*, vol. iii. p. 364. Also, v. 277, where the views of Burke, Governor Pownall, and others, are given.

† *Secret Journals*, vol. 1. pp. 43-47.

‡ Jefferson's *Writings*, vol. i. p. 456.

BOONESBOROUGH, July, 21, 1776.

*My Dear Sir*,—The situation of our country is much altered since I wrote you last. The Indians seem determined to break up our settlement; and I really doubt, unless it is possible to give us some assistance, that the greater part of the people may fall a prey to them. They have, I am satisfied, killed several whom, at this time, I know not how to mention. Many are missing, who some time ago went out about their business, of whom we can hear nothing. Fresh sign of Indians is seen almost every day. I think I mentioned to you before, some damage they had done at Lee's town. On the seventh of this month, they killed one Cooper, on Licking Creek, and on the fourteenth, a man whose name I know not, at your salt spring on the same creek.

On the same day they took out of a canoe within sight of this place, Miss Betsy Callaway, her sister Frances, and a daughter of Daniel Boone—the two last about thirteen or fourteen years old, and the other grown. The affair happened late in the afternoon. They left the canoe on the opposite side of the river from us, which prevented our getting over for some time to pursue them. We could not that night follow more than five miles. Next morning, by day-light we were on their track; but they had entirely prevented our following them, by walking some distance apart through the thickest cane they could find. We observed their course, and on which side they had left their sign—and travelled upwards of thirty miles. We then supposed they would be less cautious in travelling, and making a turn in order to cross their trace, we had gone but a few miles when we found their tracks in a buffalo path—pursued and overtook them in going about ten miles, just as they were kindling a fire to cook. Our study had been how to get the prisoners, without giving the Indians time to murder them after they discovered us. We saw each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired, and all rushed on them, by which they were prevented from carrying any thing away except one shot gun without any ammunition. Mr. Boone and myself had each a pretty fair shot, as they began to move off. I am well convinced I shot one through the body. The one he shot dropped his gun—mine had none. The place was covered with thick cane, and being so much elated on recovering the three poor little heart-broken girls, we were prevented from making any further search. We sent the Indians off almost naked—some without their moccasins, and none of them with so much as a knife or tomahawk. After the girls came to themselves sufficiently to speak, they told us there were only five Indians—four Shawanese and one Cherokee. They could speak good English, and said they should then go to the Shawanese towns. The war club we got was like those I have seen of that nation. Several words of their language, which the girls retained,

were known to be Shawanese. They also told them that the Cherokees had killed or driven all the people from Wataga and thereabout, and that fourteen Cherokees were then on the Kentucky waiting to do mischief. If the war becomes general, of which there is the greatest appearance, our situation is truly alarming. We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible. They are, I understand, doing the same thing at Harrodsburgh, and also on Elkhorn, at the Royal Spring. The settlement on Licking Creek, known by the name of Hinkston's, has been broken up; nineteen of the settlers are now here on their way in—Hinkston among the rest. They all seem deaf to any thing we can say to dissuade them. Ten at least, of our own people, are going to join them, which will leave us with less than thirty men at this fort. I think more than three hundred men have left the country since I came out, and not one has arrived, except a few *cabiners* down the Ohio.

I want to return as much as any person can do; but if I leave the country now, there is scarcely one single man who will not follow the example. When I think of the deplorable condition a few helpless families are likely to be in, I conclude to sell my life as dearly as I can in their defence, rather than make an ignominious escape.

I am afraid it is in vain to sue for any relief from Virginia; yet the convention encouraged the settlement of this country, and why should not the extreme parts of Fincastle be as justly entitled to protection as any other part of the country. If an expedition were carried on against those nations who are at open war with the people in general, we might be in a great measure relieved, by drawing them off to defend their towns. If any thing under Heaven can be done for us, I know of no person who would more willingly engage in forwarding us assistance than yourself. I do, at the request and in behalf of all the distressed women and children and other inhabitants of this place, implore the aid of every leading man who may have it in his power to give us relief.

I cannot write. You can better guess at my ideas from what I have said than I can express them.*

I am Dear Sir, yours, most affectionately, to my last moments,

To Colonel Preston. J. FLOYD.

But it was not destined that Kentucky should sink under her trials. It was during this very summer of 1776, indeed, that the corner-stone of her prosperity was laid, and the first step taken toward making her an independent commonwealth.

This was done by George Rogers Clark, truly her founder, and the most eminent of the early heroes of the West. He was born

* See Morehead's Address, p. 151.

in September, 1743, in Albemarle county, Virginia.* In early life, he had been, like Washington, a surveyor, and more lately had served in Dunmore's war. He first visited Kentucky in 1775,† and held apparently at that time the rank of major. Returning to Virginia, in the autumn of 1775, he prepared to move permanently to the West, in the following spring. Having done this early in 1776, Clark, whose views reached much farther than those of most of the Pioneers, set himself seriously to consider the condition and prospects of the young republic to which he had attached himself. Its advantages were too obvious to escape any eye; but the dangers of a colony so far beyond the old lines of civilization, and unconnected with any of the elder provinces, while at the same time the title to it was in dispute, had not impressed all minds as they should. Clark knew that Virginia entirely denied the purchase of Henderson; he knew also that Henderson's purchase from the Cherokees was of the same soil which Sir William Johnson had purchased for the king in 1768, from the Iroquois, at Fort Stanwix; he was sure, also, that the Virginia settlers would never be easy under a proprietary government, however founded; and saw already with his quick eye, wide-spread dissatisfaction. One of two things he deemed the frontier settlements must be, either an acknowledged portion of Virginia,‡ and to be by her aided in their struggles,—or an independent commonwealth. These views had been partially formed in 1775, probably, for we find that by June 6th, 1776,‖ they had attained sufficient currency to cause the gathering of a general meeting at Harrodsburgh, to bring matters to an issue. Clark was not present at the commencement of the meeting. Had he been, there is reason to think he would have procured the election of envoys authorised to lay the whole business before the Assembly of Virginia, and ask the admittance of Kentucky by itself into the number of her counties. As it was, he and Gabriel Jones were chosen members of the Virginia Assembly, and the following petition was prepared to be laid before that body.

*Butler, 2nd edition, 36.

† He was west of the mountains in 1772, as far as the Kenhawa at least; see journal of Rev. David Jones in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 245. In 1774, he was on his way to Kentucky, when Dunmore's war broke out. See *ante*.

‡ So far Fincastle county had been held to include Kentucky, but the inhabitants had no rights or protection as citizens of Virginia, Marshall, i. 47.

‖ Butler, introduction, lxx. says June 5, 1776.; History, 38, June 6, 1775; Chronology, p. 27, June 5, 1775; Morehead, June 6, 1776; Clark, in Dillon's Indiana, i. 128, says June 6, 1776.

*To the honorable the Convention of Virginia*—The petition of the inhabitants, and some of the intended settlers, of that part of North America now denominated Transylvania, humbly sheweth.

*Whereas* some of your petitioners became adventurers in that country from the advantageous reports of their friends who first explored it, and others since allured by the specious show of the easy terms on which the land was to be purchased from those who style themselves to be proprietors, have, at a great expense and many hardships, settled there, under the faith of holding the lands by an indefeasible title, which those gentlemen assured them they were capable of making. But your petitioners have been greatly alarmed at the late conduct of those gentlemen, in advancing the price of the purchase money from twenty shillings to fifty shillings sterling per hundred acres, and at the same time have increased the fees of entry and surveying to a most exorbitant rate; and, by the short period prefixed for taking up the lands, even on those extravagant terms, they plainly evince their intentions of rising in their demands as the settlers increase, or their insatiable avarice shall dictate. And your petitioners have been more justly alarmed at such unaccountable and arbitrary proceedings, as they have lately learned, from a copy of the deed made by the Six Nations with Sir William Johnson, and the commissioners from this Colony, at Fort Stanwix, in the year 1768, that the said lands were included in the cession or grant of all that tract which lies on the south side of the river Ohio, beginning at the mouth of Cherokee or Hogohege River, and extending up the said river to Kettaning. And, as in the preamble of said deed, the said confederate Indians declare the Cherokee River to be their true boundary with the southern Indians, your petitioners may, with great reason, doubt the validity of the purchase that those proprietors have made of the Cherokees — the only title they set up to the lands for which they demand such extravagant sums from your petitioners, without any other assurance for holding them than their own deed and warrantee; a poor security, as your petitioners humbly apprehend, for the money that, among other new and unreasonable regulations, these proprietors insist should be paid down on the delivery of the deed. And, as we have the greatest reason to presume that his majesty, to whom the lands were deeded by the Six Nations, for a valuable consideration, will vindicate his title, and think himself at liberty to grant them to such persons, and on such terms as he pleases, your petitioners would in consequence thereof, be turned out of possession, or be obliged to purchase their lands and improvements on such terms as the new grantee or proprietor might think fit to impose; so that we cannot help regarding the demand of Mr. Henderson and his company as highly unjust and impolitic, in the infant state of the settlement, as well as greatly injurious to your petitioners, who would cheerfully have paid the considera-

tion at first stipulated by the company, whenever their grant had been confirmed by the crown, or otherwise authenticated by the supreme legislature.

And, as we are anxious to concur in every respect with our brethren of the united Colonies, for our just rights and privileges, as far as our infant settlement and remote situation will admit of, we humbly expect and implore to be taken under the protection of the honorable Convention of the Colony of Virginia, of which we cannot help thinking ourselves still a part, and request your kind interposition in our behalf, that we may not suffer under the rigorous demands and impositions of the gentlemen styling themselves proprietors, who, the better to effect their oppressive designs, have given them the color of a law, enacted by a score of men, artfully picked from the few adventurers who went to see the country last summer, overawed by the presence of Mr. Henderson.

And that you would take such measures as your honors in your wisdom shall judge most expedient for restoring peace and harmony to our divided settlement; or, if your honors apprehend that our case comes more properly before the honorable the General Congress, that you would in your goodness recommend the same to your worthy delegates, to espouse it as the cause of the Colony. And your petitioners, &c.

James Harrod, Abm. Hite, Jun., Patrick Dorane, Ralph Nailor, Robert Atkinson, Robert Nailor, John Maxfeld, Samuel Pottinger, Barnerd Walter, Hugh McMillion, John Kilpatrick, Robert Dook, Edward Brownfield, John Beesor, Conrad Woolter, John Moore, John Corbie, Abraham Vanmetre, Samuel Moore, Isaac Pritcherd, Joseph Gwyne, Charles Creeraft, James Willie, John Camron, Thomas Kenady, Jesse Pigman, Simon Moore, John Mooret Thomas Moore, Herman Consoley, Silas Harland, Wm. Harrod, Levi Harrod, John Mills, Elijah Mills, Jehu Harland, Leonard Cooper, William Rice, Arthur Ingram, Thomas Wilson, William Wood, Joseph Lyons, George Uland, Michael Thomas, Adam Smith, Samuel Thomas, Henry Thomas, William Myars, Peter Paul, Henry Symons, William Gaffata, James Hugh, Thos. Bathugh, John Connway, William Crow, William Feals, Benjamin Davis, Beniah Dun, Adam Neelson, William Shephard, Wm. House, John Dun, John Sim, Sen., John House, Simeon House, Andrew House, William Hartly, Thomas Dean, Richard Owan, Barnet Neal, John Severn, James Hugh, James Calley, Joseph Parkison, Jediah Ashraft, John Hardin, Archibald Reves, Moses Thomas, J. Zebulon Collins, Thomas Parkison, Wm. Muckleroy, Meredith Helm, Jun., Andrew House, David Brooks, John Helm, Benjamin Parkison, William Parkison, William Crow.*

* See Hall, ii. 236.

Clark knew perfectly well that the Legislature of his native State would not acknowledge the validity of the election of Delegates from the frontiers, but hoping nevertheless to effect his object, he and his companion took the southern route by the Cumberland Gap, and after suffering agonies from "scald feet," at length reached their destination only to learn that the Assembly had adjourned. This of course caused a delay in part of their proceedings, but the keen-witted soldier saw that, before the Legislature met again, he might, by proper steps, effect much that he wished to; he lost no time, therefore, in waiting upon Patrick Henry, then Governor, and explaining to him the capabilities, the dangers, the wishes, and the necessities of the settlers in the far west,—asked for a supply of the first necessary of life, gun powder. The Governor listened favorably and gave Clark a favorable letter to the Executive Council, being himself sick and unable to go with him to Williamsburg, the seat of government at that time. But the Council were very cautious, and while they would lend the powder if Clark would be answerable for it, and pay for its transportation, they dared not until the Assembly had recognized the Kentucky stations as within Virginia, do more. Clark presented, and again presented the impossibility of his conveying the powder to so great a distance, through a country swarming with foes. The Council listened patiently but dared not run any risk. An order was issued for the powder on the terms proposed, but the inflexible pioneer would have none of it, and inclosing the order again to the Council told them that, since Virginia would not aid her children they must look elsewhere,—that a land not worth defending was not worth claiming, of course,—and so he bade them good-bye. These intimations were not to be overlooked, the whole matter was again weighed in the Council, and probably the Governor's advice taken, after which, upon the 23d of August, an order was issued for placing the ammunition required at Pittsburgh, subject to Major Clark's order, for the use of the inhabitants of "Kentucki"*

One of his objects being thus in the main accomplished, Clark prepared himself to urge the suit of the Transylvania colonists before the Legislature when it should meet in the fall, having first written to his friends at the west that powder was waiting them at Pittsburgh, which they must manage to get down the river.

* Butler, second edition, 488, gives the order.

When the Assembly met, Messrs. Clark and Jones on the one hand, and Henderson and his friends on the other, proceeded to lay before it the whole question of proprietorship in the Kentucky purchase from the Cherokees. The contest must have been one of considerable severity, for it was not till December 7, 1776,* that the success of the Delegates appointed in June was made certain by the erection of the region in dispute, together with all that now forms the State of Kentucky, into a county of that name. His second great aim secured, (and he probably considered it so before the actual passage of the above law,) Clark and his associate were on the point of returning at once to the frontier by the southern route, as we presume, when they fortunately heard that their gun powder still lay at Pittsburgh. The truth was that Clark's letter to his western friends had miscarried. At once the envoys determined to go back by way of the Ohio and see their five hundred pounds of ammunition safe to the stations themselves. When they reached Pittsburgh they learned that many Indians, it was thought with hostile intentions, were lurking thereabouts who would probably follow them down the river; but no time was to be lost, no matter what dangers threatened, so with seven boatmen the two Delegates embarked upon the Ohio, and succeeded in reaching safely Limestone Creek, where Maysville has been since built. Setting their boat adrift, lest it should attract attention, they concealed their treasure, as they best could, along the banks of the Creek, and started for Harrodsburg to procure a convoy. On the way they heard of Colonel Todd as being in the neighborhood with a band of men; Jones and five of the boatmen remained to join this party and return with it for the powder, while Clark and the other two pushed forward to the Kentucky. Jones and Todd, having met, turned their steps towards the Ohio, but were suddenly attacked on the 25th of December, near the Blue Licks, by a party of natives who had struck Clark's trail, were defeated, and Jones with two others was killed.† Clark, however, reached Harrodsburg in safety, and a party was sent thence which brought the gun powder to the forts.

* Morehead's Address, 56.—Butler says October.—p. 89.—December 7, in his Introduction, lxx. and December 6th, in Chronology, p. 27.

† Clark's Journal in Morehead, 161.—Also Clark's account in Dillon's Indiana, 128 to 130.

# 1777.

The year 1776 might be said to have passed without any serious injury to the colonists from the various Indian tribes, although it was clear, that those tribes were to be looked on as engaged in the war, and that the majority of them were with the mother country. Through the west and northwest, where the agents of England could act to the greatest advantage, dissatisfaction spread rapidly. The nations, nearest the Americans, found themselves pressed upon and harassed by the more distant bands, and through the whole winter of 1776–7, rumors were flying along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, of coming troubles. Nor were the good people of New York less disturbed in their minds, the settlers upon the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna standing in continual dread of incursion.* No incursion, however, took place during the winter or spring of 1777; though why the blow was delayed is what we cannot well know, until Great Britain has magnanimity enough to unveil her past acts, and, acknowledging her follies and sins, to show the world the various steps to that union of the savages against her foes, which her noble Chatham denounced as a "disgrace," and "deep and deadly sin."

That blow was delayed, however; and, alas! was struck, at length, after, and as if in retaliation for, one of those violent acts of wrong, which must at times be expected from a frontier people. We refer to the murder of Cornstalk, the leading chieftain of the Scioto Shawanese; a man whose energy, courage, and good sense, place him among the very foremost of the native heroes of this land.† This truly great man, who was himself for peace, but who found all his neighbors, and even those of his own tribe, stirred up to war by the agents of England, went over to the American fort at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, in

* Journal of the Old Congress.—Stone, &c.

† See Stone, vol i. p. 191.—Doddridge's Indian Wars, &c.

order to talk the matter over with Captain Arbuckle, who commanded there, and with whom he was acquainted. This was early in the summer of 1777. The Americans, knowing the Shawanese to be inclining to the enemy, thought it would be a good plan to retain Cornstalk and Redhawk, a younger chief of note, who was with him, and make them hostages for the good conduct of their people. The old warrior, accordingly, after he had finished his statement of the position he was in, and the necessity under which he and his friends would be of "going with the stream," unless the Long-Knives could protect them, found that, in seeking counsel and safety, he had walked into a trap, and was fast there. However, he folded his arms, and, with Indian calmness, waited the issue. The day went by. The next morning came, and from the opposite shore was heard an Indian hail, known to be from Ellinipsico, the son of Cornstalk. The Americans brought him also into their toils as a hostage, and were thankful that they had thus secured to themselves peace;—as if iniquity and deception ever secured that first condition of all good! Another day rolled by, and the three captives sat waiting what time would bring. On the third day, two savages who were unknown to the whites, shot one of the white hunters, toward evening. Instantly the dead man's comrades raised the cry, "Kill the red dogs in the fort." Arbuckle tried to stop them, but they were men of blood, and their wrath was up. The Captain's own life was threatened if he offered any hindrance. They rushed to the house where the captives were confined; Cornstalk met them at the door, and fell, pierced with seven bullets; his son and Redhawk died also, less calmly than their veteran companion, and more painfully. From that hour peace was not to be hoped for.*

But this treachery, closed by murder, on the part of the Americans, in no degree caused, or excuses the after steps of the British agents; for almost at the moment when Cornstalk was dying upon the banks of the Ohio, there was a Congress gathering at Oswego, under the eye of Colonel Johnson, "to eat the flesh and drink the blood of a Bostonian;" in other words, to arrange finally the measures which should be taken against the devoted rebels by Christian brethren and their heathen allies.†

* Doddridge, 237.—Withers' Border Warfare, 151.

† Stone, vol. i. p. 186.

In Kentucky, meanwhile, Indian hostilities had been unceasing. In illustration of this we give some passages from George R. Clark's Journal.*

*March* 6th, Thos. Shores and William Ray killed at the Shawanese Spring.—7th, the Indians attempted to cut off from the fort a small party of our men: a skirmish ensued—we had four men wounded and some cattle killed. We killed and scalped one Indian, and wounded several.—8th, brought in corn from the different cribs until the 18th day. —9th, express sent to the settlement, Ebenezer Corn & Co. arrived from Captain Linn on the Mississippi.—18th, a small party of Indians killed and scalped Hugh Wilson, about half a mile from the fort, near night, and escaped.—19th, Archibald McNeal died of his wounds received on the 7th inst.—28th, a large party of Indians attacked the stragglers about the fort, killed and scalped Garret Pandergrest, killed or took prisoner, Peter Flin.

*April* 7th, Indians killed one man at Boonesborough, and wounded one.—8th, Stoner arrived with news from the settlement.—24th. forty or fifty Indians attacked Boonesborough, killed and scalped Daniel Goodman, wounded Captain Boone, Captain Todd, Mr. Hite and Mr. Stoner. Indians, 't is thought sustained much damage.—29th, Indians attacked the fort and killed ensign McConnell.

*May* 6th, Indians discovered placing themselves near the fort. A few shots exchanged—no harm done.—12th, John Cowan and Squire Boone arrived from the settlement.—18th, McGary and Haggin sent express to Fort Pitt.—23d, John Todd & Co. set off for the settlement. —23d, a large party of Indians attacked Boonesborough fort; kept a warm fire until 11 o'clock at night; began it next morning, and kept a warm fire until midnight, attempting several times to burn the fort; three of our men were wounded — not mortally; the enemy suffered considerably.—26th, a party went out to hunt Indians; one wounded Squire Boone, and escaped.—30th, Indians attacked Logan's Fort; killed and scalped William Hudson, wounded Burr Harrison and John Kennedy.

*June* 5th, Harrod and Elliot went to meet Colonel Bowman & Co.; Glen and Laird arrived from Cumberland; Daniel Lyons, who parted with them on Green River, we suppose was killed going into Logan's Fort. John Peters and Elisha Bathey we expect were killed coming home from Cumberland.—13th, Burr Harrison died of his wounds received the 30th of May.—22d, Barney Stagner, Sen. killed and beheaded half a mile from the fort. A few guns fired at Boone's.

* See also extracts from another journal of the same period in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 138.

*July* 9th, Lieutenant Linn married; *great merriment.*—11th, Harrod returned.—23d, express returned from Pittsburgh.

*August* 1st, Colonel Bowman arrived at Boonesborough.—5th, surrounded ten or twelve Indians near the fort; killed three and wounded others; the plunder was sold for upwards of £70.—11th, John Higgins died of a lingering disorder.—25th, Ambrose Grayson killed near Logan's Fort, and two others wounded; Indians escaped.

*September* 8th, twenty-seven men set out for the settlement.—9th, Indians discovered; a shot exchanged; nothing done.—11th, thirty-seven men went to Joseph Bowman's for corn, while shelling they were fired on; a skirmish ensued; Indians drew off, leaving two dead on the spot, and much blood; Eli Gerrard was killed on the spot and six others wounded.—12th, Daniel Bryan died of his wounds received yesterday.*

At times, the stations were assailed by large bodies of savages; at times, single settlers were picked off by single, skulking foes. The horses and cattle were driven away; the corn-fields remained uncultivated; the numbers of the whites became fewer and fewer, and from the older settlements little or no aid came to the frontier stations, until Col. Bowman, in August, 1777, came from Virginia with one hundred men. It was a time of suffering and distress through all the colonies, which was in most of them bravely borne; but none suffered more, or showed more courage and fortitude, than the settlers of the West. Their conduct has excited less admiration out of their own section than that of Marion, and men like him, because their struggles had less apparent connection with the great cause of American independence. But who shall say what would have become of the resistance of the colonies, had England been able to pour from Canada her troops upon the rear of the rebels, assisted, as she would have been, by all the Indian nations? It may have been the contests before the stations of Kentucky, and Clark's bold incursions into Illinois and against Vincennes, which turned the oft tottering fortunes of the great struggle.

But, however we may think of this point, we cannot doubt the picturesque and touching character of many incidents of Western history during the years from 1777 to 1780. Time has not yet so mellowed their features as to give them an air of romance precisely; but the essence of romance is in them. In illustration, we

* Morehead's Address, p. 162.

will mention one or two of these incidents, familiar enough in the West, but still worthy of repetition.

One of the eminent men of Kentucky in those and later times was General James Ray. While yet a boy, he had proved himself able to outrun the best of the Indian warriors; and it was when but seventeen years of age that he performed the service for a distressed garrison of which we are about to speak. It was in the winter of 1776–7, a winter of starvation. Ray lived at Harrodsburgh, which, like the other stations, was destitute of corn. There was game enough in the woods around, but there were also Indians more than enough, and had the sound of a gun been heard in the neighborhood of a station, it would have insured the death of the one who discharged it. Under these circumstances, Ray resolved to hunt at a distance. There was one horse left of a drove of forty, which Major McGary had brought to the West; an old horse, faithful and strong, but not fitted to run the gauntlet through the forest. Ray took this solitary nag, and before day-dawn, day by day, and week by week, rode noiselessly along the runs and rivers until he was far enough to hunt with safety; then he killed his game, and by night, or in the dusk of the evening, retraced his steps. And thus the garrison lived by the daring labors of this stripling of seventeen. Older hunters tried his plan, and were discovered; but he, by his sagacity, boldness, care, and skill, safely pursued his disinterested and dangerous employment, and succeeded in constantly avoiding the perils that beset him. We do not think that Boone or any one ever showed more perfectly the qualities of a superior woodsman than did Ray through that winter.

If any one did, however, it was surely Benjamin Logan, in the spring of that same year. Logan, as we have seen, crossed the mountains with Henderson, in 1775, and was of course one of the oldest settlers. In May, 1777, the fort at which Logan lived, was surrounded by Indians, more than a hundred in number; and so silently had they made their approach, that the first notice which the garrison had of their presence was a discharge of firearms upon some men who were guarding the women as they milked the cows outside the station. One was killed, a second mortally wounded, and a third, named Harrison, disabled. This poor man, unable to aid himself, lay in sight of the fort, where his wife, who saw his condition, was begging some one to go to his relief. But to attempt such a thing seemed madness; for whoever

ventured from either side into the open ground, where Harrison lay writhing and groaning, would instantly become a target for all the sharpshooters of the opposite party. For some moments Logan stood it pretty well; he tried to persuade himself and the poor woman who was pleading to him, that his duty required him to remain within the walls and let the savages complete their bloody work. But such a heart as his was too warm to be long restrained by arguments and judicious expediency; and suddenly turning to his men, he cried, "Come, boys, who's the man to help me in with Harrison?" There were brave men there, but to run into certain death in order to save a man whom, after all, they could not save,—it was asking too much; and all shook their heads, and shrunk back from the mad proposal. "Not one! not one of you help a poor fellow to save his scalp?" "Why, what's the good, Captain? to let the red rascals kill us wont help Harrison?" At last, one, half inspired by Logan's impetuous courage, agreed to go; he could die but once, he said, and was about as ready, then, as he should ever be. The gate was slightly opened, and the two doomed men stepped out; instantly a tempest of rifle balls opened upon them, and Logan's companion rapidly reasoning himself into the belief that he was not so ready to die as he had believed, bolted back into the station. Not so his noble-hearted leader. Alone, through that tempest, he sprang forward to where the wounded man lay, and while his hat, hunting-shirt, and hair were cut and torn by the ceaseless shower, he lifted his comrade like a child in his arms, and regained the fort without a scratch.

But this rescue of a fellow-being, though worthy of record in immortal verse, was nothing compared with what this same Benjamin Logan did soon after. The Indians continued their siege; still they made no impression, but the garrison were running short of powder and ball, and none could be procured except by crossing the mountains. To do this, the neighboring forest must be passed, thronging with Indians, and a journey of some hundred miles accomplished along a path every portion of which might be waylaid, and at last the fort must be re-entered with the articles so much needed. Surely, if ever an enterprise seemed hopeless, it was this one, and yet the thing must be tried. Logan pondered the matter carefully; he calculated the distance, not less than four hundred miles in and back; he estimated the aid from other quarters; and in the silence of night asked wisdom and guidance from

God. Nor did he ask in vain; wisdom was given him. At night, with two picked companions, he stole from the station, every breath hushed. The summer leaves were thick above them, and with the profoundest care and skill, Logan guided his followers from tree to tree, from run to run, unseen by the savages, who dreamed not, probably, of so dangerous an undertaking. Quickly but most cautiously pushing eastward, walking forty or fifty miles a day, the three woodsmen passed onward till the Cumberland range was in sight; then, avoiding the Gap, which they supposed would be watched by Indians, over those rugged hills, where man had never climbed before, they forced their way with untiring energy and a rapidity to us, degenerate as we are, inconceivable. The mountains crossed, and the valley of the Holston reached, Logan procured his ammunition, and then turned alone on his homeward track, leaving his two companions, with full directions, to follow him more slowly with the lead and powder. He returned before them, because he wished to revive the hopes of his little garrison in the wilderness, numbering as it did, in his absence, only ten men, and they without the means of defence. He feared they would yield, if he delayed an hour; so, back, like a chamois, he sped, over those broken and precipitous ranges, and actually reached and re-entered his fort in ten days from the time he left it, safe and full of hope. Such a spirit would have made even women dare and do every thing, and by his influence the siege was still resisted till the ammunition came safe to hand. From May till September that little band was thus beset; then Colonel Bowman relieved them. In the midst of that summer, as George Rogers Clark's journal has it, "Lieutenant Linn was married—great merriment!" This was at Harrodsburgh, near by Logan's station. Such was the frontier life!

It was a trying year, 1777, for those little forts in the wilderness. At the close of it, three settlements only existed in the interior,—Harrodsburgh, Boonesborough, and Logans;* and of these three the whole military population was but one hundred and two in number!

Nor was it in Kentucky alone that the Indians were busy. Through the spring and summer constant attacks were made upon the settlements in the neighborhood of Wheeling. At this point, as we have already said, the Zanes had settled in 1770, and here in 1774, Connolly, or the settlers, by his direction, had built a fort

* See Butler, Marshall, McClung, &c.

called Fort Fincastle* the name of the western county of Virginia. In this a body of men was left by Lord Dunmore, when he made his treaty with the Shawanese,† and through the whole of 1775 and 1776 it was occupied by more or fewer soldiers; indeed, in those times all men were soldiers, and hostility from the Indians daily anticipated. This fort in 1776 was called, in honor of the eloquent governor of Virginia, Fort Henry,‡ and was the central point between Fort Pitt and the works at the mouth of Kenawha. In the early autumn of 1777, word from friendly Indians, perhaps the Christian Delawares, of the Muskingum, or perhaps from Isaac Zane, the brother of the Wheeling settlers,‖ reached General Hand, who commanded at Fort Pitt, informing him that a large body of the north-western Indians was preparing to attack the posts of the Upper Ohio. These news were quickly spread abroad, and all were watching where the blow would come. On the evening of September 26, smoke was seen by those near Wheeling, down the river, and was supposed to proceed from the burning of the block-house at Grave creek, and the people of the vicinity taking the alarm, betook themselves to the fort. Within its walls were forty-two fighting men, of various ages and gifts: these were well supplied with guns, both rifles and muskets, but had only a scant supply of gunpowder, as the event proved. The night of the 26th passed without alarm, but when very early upon the 27th two men, who were sent out for horses, in order to alarm the settlements near by, had proceeded some distance from the fort, they met a party of six savages, by whom one of them was shot. The commandant of the post, Col. Shepherd, learning from the survivor that there were but six of the assailants, sent a party of fifteen men to see to them. These were suffered to march after the six, who seem to have been meant merely for a decoy, until they were within the Indian lines, when, suddenly, in front, behind, and on every side, the painted warriors showed themselves. The little band fought bravely against incalculable odds, but of the fifteen three only escaped, and they by means of the brush and logs which were in the corn field where the skirmish took place. As soon as the

* George R. Clarke is said to have planned it. (American Pioneer, ii. 303.)

† American Archives, 4th series, ii. 1189.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. 304.

‖ Isaac Zane was with the Wyandots from the time he was nine years old. (American State Papers, xvi. 93 121.)

position of the first band was seen at the fort thirteen others rushed to their assistance, and shared their fate. Then, and it was not yet sunrise, the whole body of Indians, disposed in somewhat martial order, appeared regularly to invest the devoted fort. There were nearly four hundred of them, and of the defenders but twelve men and boys; unless indeed we count women, *than whom, as we shall see, none were braver or calmer within the walls of that little fortress.*

The Indians were led by Simon Girty,* who was acting as an

* As this is the first time we have had occasion to speak of this far-famed white Indian, we introduce from the writings of Judge Campbell, the best account of the family that we have met with. See also Hesperian, September and October, 1838: and Index to this volume.

Perhaps there was no part of America so highly prized by the aboriginals as Kentucky. To them its importance consisted not so much in the fertility of soil as in the abundance of game which it afforded. Indeed, by common consent, they abstained from occupying it with their families, reserving it exclusively for a great hunting ground. The interminable cane-brakes and numerous *licks*, yielded subsistence to such vast herds of buffaloes and deer, as have never been seen elsewhere.

It is not at all astonishing that the Indians should have defended, with great obstinacy, a country so dear to them, against the incursions of the whites. That they were vigilant, active and cruel cannot be denied. They were provoked to a degree of phrenzy, which led to acts of daring and outrage shocking to humanity. In their atrocities they had the aid and countenance of the Girtys, of whom a brief account will be given.

Girty, the father, was an emigrant from Ireland, about eighty years ago, if report can be relied on. He settled in Pennsylvania where that liberty which he sought degenerated in his possession into the basest licentiousness. His hours were wasted in idleness and beastly intemperance. Nothing ranked higher in his estimation, or so entirely commanded his regard, as a jug of whiskey. "Grog was his song and grog would he have." His sottishness turned his wife's affection. Ready for seduction, she yielded her heart to a neighboring rustic, who, to remove all obstacles to their wishes, knocked Girty on the head and bore off the trophy of his prowess.

He left four sons, Thomas, Simon, George and James. The three latter were taken prisoners by the Shawanese, Delawares, and Senecas, in that war which developed the military talents of General Washington. George was adopted by the Delawares, and continued with them until his death. He became a perfect savage — his manners being entirely Indian. To consummate cunning he added the most fearless intrepidity. He fought in the battles of Kenhawa, Blue Licks, and Sandusky, and gained himself much distinction for skill and bravery. In his latter years, like his father, he gave himself up to intemperance, and died drunk, about twenty-five years ago, on the Miami of the Lake.

Simon was adopted by the Senecas, and became as expert a hunter as any of them. In Kentucky and Ohio, he sustained the reputation of an unrelenting barbarian. Forty-five years ago, with his name was associated every thing cruel and fiend-like. To the women and children in particular, nothing was more terrifying than the name of Simon Girty. At that time, it was believed by many, that he had fled from justice and sought refuge among the Indians, determined to do his countrymen all the harm in his power. This impression was an erroneous one. It is true he joined the Indians in their wars with the whites and conformed to their usages. This was the education he had received, and those who were the foes of his red brethren were his foes. Although trained in all his pursuits as an Indian, it is said to be a fact, susceptible of proof, that through his importunities, many prisoners were saved from death. His influence was great, and when he chose to be merciful, it was generally in his power to protect the imploring captive.

agent for the British in the attempt to secure the aid of a part, at any rate, of the frontier men, in the revolutionary struggle.

Fort Henry stood immediately upon the bank of the Ohio about a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Wheeling Creek; between it and the steep river hill which every traveller in the west is acquainted with, were twenty or thirty log huts. When Girty then, as we have said, led his red troops against the fort, he at once took possession of the houses of the village as a safe and ready-made line of attack, and from the window of one of the cabins called upon the little garrison to surrender to King George, and promised absolution to all who would do so. Colonel Shepherd answered at once that they would neither desert nor yield; and when Girty recommenced his eloquence, a shot from some impatient listener suddenly stopped his mouth. Then commenced the siege. It was just sunrise in the quiet valley, through which the quiet autumnal river flowed as peacefully as if war was never known. A calm, warm, bright September day;—one of those days most lovely among the many pleasant ones of a year in the Ohio valley.—And from sunrise till noon, and from noon till night of that day, the hundreds of besiegers and units of besieged about and within Fort Henry, ceased not to load and discharge musket or rifle till it was too hot to hold. About noon the fire of

His reputation was that of an honest man. In the payment of his debts he was scrupulously exact. Knowing and duly appreciating integrity, he fulfilled his engagements to the last cent. It is stated that on one occasion he sold his horse rather than incur the odium of violating his promise.

He was a great lover of rum. Nothing could afford him more joy than a keg of this beverage. When intoxicated, in abuse he was indiscriminate, sparing neither friends nor foes. Then it was, he had no compassion in his heart. Although much disabled by the rheumatism for the last ten years of his life, he rode to his hunting grounds in pursuit of game. Suffering the most excruciating pains, he often boasted of his war-like spirit. It was his constant wish that he might breathe his last in battle. So it happened. He was at Proctor's defeat on the river Thames, and was cut to pieces by Colonel Johnson's mounted men.

James Girty fell into the hands of the Shawanese, who adopted him as a son. As he approached manhood he became dextrous in all the arts of savage life. To the most sanguinary spirit, he added all the vices of the depraved frontiersmen with whom he frequently associated.

It is represented that he often visited Kentucky at the time of its first settlement, many of the inhabitans feeling the effects of his courage and cruelty. Neither age nor sex found mercy at his hand. His delight was in carnage. When unable to walk, in consequence of disease, he laid low, with his hatchet, captive women and children who came within his reach. Traders who were acquainted with him, say, so furious was he that he would not have turned on his heel to save a prisoner from the flames. His pleasure was to see new and refined tortures inflicted; and to perfect this gratification he frequently gave directions. To this barbarian are to be attributed many of the cruelties charged upon his brother Simon. Yet this monster was caressed by Elliott and Proctor.

the attackers slackened, and then as powder was scarce in the fort, and it was remembered that a keg was concealed in the house of Ebenezer Zane, some sixty yards distant,—it was determined to make an effort to obtain it. When the question, "Who will go?" was proposed, however, so many competitors appeared that time was wasted in adjusting claims to what was almost sure death. The rest of the story we must let Mr. Geo. S. McKiernan, from whom we take our whole account nearly,—tell in his own words.

At this crisis, a young lady, the sister of Ebenezer and Silas Zane, came forward and desired that she might be permitted to execute the service. This proposition seemed so extravagant that it met with a peremptory refusal; but she instantly renewed her petition in terms of redoubled earnestness, and all the remonstrances of the colonel and her relatives failed to dissuade her from her heroic purpose. It was finally represented to her that either of the young men, on account of his superior fleetness and familiarity with scenes of danger, would be more likely than herself to do the work successfully. She replied, that the danger which would attend the enterprize was the identical reason that induced her to offer her services, for, as the garrison was very weak, no soldier's life should be placed in needless jeopardy, and that if she were to fall the loss would not be felt. Her petition was ultimately granted, and the gate opened for her to pass out. The opening of the gate arrested the attention of several Indians who were straggling through the village. It was noticed that their eyes were upon her as she crossed the open space to reach her brother's house; but seized, perhaps, with a sudden freak of clemency, or believing that a woman's life was not worth a load of gunpowder, or influenced by some other unexplained motive, they permitted her to pass without molestation. When she reappeared with the powder in her arms, the Indians, suspecting, no doubt, the character of her burden, elevated their firelocks and discharged a volley at her as she swiftly glided towards the gate; but the balls all flew wide of the mark, and the fearless girl reached the fort in safety with her prize.*

The allies of Britain, finding rifles powerless when used against well-built block-houses and pickets, determined upon trying an extemporary cannon, and having bound a hollow maple with chains, having bored a touch hole, and plugged up one end, they loaded it liberally and levelled it at the gate of the impregnable castle. It was now evening, and the disappointed Wyandots gathered about their artillery, longing to see its loading of stones open to

* See American Pioneer, vol. ii. p. 309.

them the door of the American citadel. The match was applied; bursting into a thousand pieces the cannon of Girty tore, maimed, and killed his copper-colored kinsfolk, but hurt none else.*

During that night many of the assailants withdrew disheartened. On the morning of the 28th, fifteen men came from Cross creek to the aid of Fort Henry, and forty-one from Short creek. Of these all entered the fort except Major McColloch, the leader of the Short creek volunteers. He was separated from his men, and at the mercy of the natives, and here again we prefer to use the words of Mr. McKiernan.

From the very commencement of the war, his reputation as an Indian hunter was as great, if not greater, than that of any white man on the north-western border. He had participated in so many rencounters that almost every warrior possessed a knowledge of his person. Among the Indians his name was a word of terror; they cherished against him feelings of the most phrensied hatred, and there was not a Mingo or Wyandot chief before Fort Henry who would not have given the lives of twenty of his warriors to secure to himself the living body of Major McColloch. When, therefore, the man whom they had long marked out as the first object of their vengeance, appeared in their midst, they made almost superhuman efforts to acquire possession of his person. The fleetness of McColloch's well-trained steed was scarcely greater than that of his enemies, who, with flying strides, moved on in pursuit. At length the hunter reached the top of the hill, and, turning to the left, darted along the ridge with the intention of making the best of his way to Short Creek. A ride of a few hundred yards in that direction brought him suddenly in contact with a party of Indians who were returning to their camp from a marauding excursion to Mason's Bottom, on the eastern side of the hill. This party being too formidable in numbers to encounter single-handed, the major turned his horse about and rode over his own trace, in the hope of discovering some other avenue to escape. A few paces only of his countermarch had been made, when he found himself confronted by his original pursuers, who had, by this time, gained the top of the ridge, and a third party was discovered pressing up the hill directly on his right. He was now completely hemmed in on three sides, and the fourth was almost a perpendicular precipice of one hundred and fifty feet descent, with Wheeling Creek at its base. The imminence of his danger allowed him but little time to reflect upon his situation. In an instant he decided upon

* This incident, and the heroic act of Elizabeth Zane, are placed by Withers in the siege of Fort Henry in 1782 (Border Warfare, 263, 264.) We follow the writer in the Pioneer, who is represented as an accurate man; Withers was not always so.

his course. Supporting his rifle in his left hand and carefully adjusting his reins with the other, he urged his horse to the brink of the bluff, and then made the leap which decided his fate. In the next moment the noble steed, still bearing his intrepid rider in safety, was at the foot of the precipice. McColloch immediately dashed across the creek, and was soon beyond the reach of the Indians.*

Finding all attempts to take the fort fruitless, the Indians killed all the stock, including more than three hundred cattle, burned houses and fences, and destroyed every article of furniture.

Of the forty-two men who had been in the fort, twenty-five were killed, *all outside of the walls*; of the savages probably one hundred perished.†

But notwithstanding the dangers and difficulties which surrounded them during 1777, the pioneers of the West held steadily to their purposes, and those of Kentucky being now a component part of the citizens of Virginia, proceeded to exercise their civil privileges, and in April elected John Todd and Richard Gallaway, burgesses to represent them in the Assembly of the parent State. Early in the following September the first court was held in Harrodsburg; and Col. Bowman, who, as we have mentioned, had arrived from the settlements in August, was placed at the head of a regular military organization which had been commenced the March previous. Thus, within herself, feeble as she was, Kentucky was organizing; and her chief spirit, he that had represented her beyond the mountains the year before, was meditating another trip to Williamsburg, for the purpose of urging a bolder and more decided measure than any yet proposed. He understood the whole game of the British. He saw that it was through their possession of Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and the other western posts—which gave them easy and constant access to the Indian tribes of the north-west—that the British hoped to effect such an union of the wild men as would annihilate the frontier fortresses. He knew that the Delawares were divided in feeling, and the Shawanese but imperfectly united in favor of England, ever since the murder of Cornstalk. He was convinced that could the British in the north-west be defeated and expelled, the natives might be easily awed or bribed into neutrality; and by spies sent for the

* American Pioneer, vol. ii. p. 312.

† See Withers' Border Warfare, 160. American Pioneer, ii. 302–314–339. The usual date of the attack is September 1. Mr. McKiernan gives good authority for his dates, which we follow.

purpose, and who were absent from April 20 to June 22d, he had satisfied himself that an enterprise against the Illinois settlements might easily succeed. Having made up his mind, on the 1st of October, he left Harrodsburg for the East, and reached the capital of Virginia November the 5th. Opening his mind to no one, he watched with care the state of feeling among those in power, waiting the proper moment to present his scheme. Fortunately, while he was upon his road, on the 17th of October, Burgoyne had surrendered, and hope was again predominant in the American councils. When therefore the western soldier, upon the 10th of December, broke the subject of his proposed expedition against the forts on the far distant Mississippi, to Patrick Henry, who was still governor, he met with a favorable hearing, and though doubts and fears arose by degrees, yet so well digested were his plans, that he was able to meet each objection, and remove every seeming impossibility. Already the necessity of securing the western posts had been presented to the consideration of Congress; as early as April 29, 1776, the committee on Indian affairs were instructed to report upon the possibility of taking Detroit;* and again, upon the 20th of November, 1777, a report was made to that body, in which this necessity was urged, and also the need that existed, of taking some measure to prevent the spirit of disaffection from spreading among the frontier inhabitants.† Three commissioners also were chosen to go to Fort Pitt, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the frontier difficulties, and doing what could be done to secure all the whites to the American cause, to cultivate the friendship of the Shawanese and Delawares, and to concert with General Hand some measures for pushing the war westward, so as to obtain possession of Detroit and other posts. General Washington was also requested to send Colonel William Crawford, an old pioneer, to take the active command in the West; and he accordingly left head quarters upon the 25th. All this, as we shall see by and by, ended in nothing, but it proved the correctness of Clark's views, and aided, we may suppose in convincing those who ruled in the Ancient Dominion that their glory and interest, as well as the safety of the whole frontier country, were deeply involved in the success of the bold plan of the founder of Kentucky.

And here, before proceeding to narrate the steps taken by Clark

* Secret Journals, i. 43.

† Old Journals, vol. ii. p. 340.

to reduce the Illinois and other British posts of the north-west, it will be proper to bring up the scant and simple annals of that portion of our country from 1750, when Vivier wrote respecting them, to the period at which we have now arrived.

The settlements along the Mississippi, from 1750 to 1762, experienced few changes with which we are acquainted.* On the 3d of the month of November of the year last named, the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, which resulted in the peace of Paris, of February 10th, 1763, were signed at Fontainbleau; on that day also, by a secret act of cession the French king gave to Spain all of Louisiana (west of the Mississippi,†) together with New Orleans and the island on which it is situated. The command of this territory, however, was not given over by the officers of France until directed to do so by an order dated April 21, 1764. The regions east of the Mississippi, including all the various towns of the north-west, were by the same peace-making given over to England; but they do not appear to have been taken possession of by that power until 1765, when Captain Stirling, in the name of the majesty of England, established himself at Fort Chartres, bearing with him the proclamation of General Gage, dated December 30, 1764, which promised freedom of religious worship to the western Catholics, a right to leave the country with their effects if they wished, or to remain with the privileges of Englishmen.‡ During some years, differences occurred between the British rulers and French inhabitants, and many of the latter crossed the river into the dominions of Spain; so that when Captain Pittman visited "the Illinois," in 1770, Kaskaskia contained only sixty-five resident families, and Cahokia only forty-five dwellings.‖ Still at that time one man furnished the king's stores from his crop, 86,000 lbs. of flour.§ Soon after this we find General Gage issuing his proclamation of April, 1772, against interlopers on the Wabash, at St. Vincent and elsewhere, which led to a protest on

* Some account of the Illinois in 1756 may be found in the travels of Bossu, translated by J. R. Forster, London, 1771. 2 vols.

† This was intended, but not stated. See order to Mons. D'Abbadie, Land Laws 976.

‡ Land Laws, 948.—Brown's Illinois, 212.

‖ Pittman's present state of English Settlements on the Mississippi. (London, 1770) p. 43.

§ Pittman, p. 43. On p. 55 this writer says a man in Illinois could have been fed and lodged the year round for two months' work; the one in seed-time, the other in harvest. In 1769, Hutchins (Geographical Description, 43) says the Illinois produced 110 Hhds. of wine.

the part of the old inhabitants in the following September, this protest the General replied to by requiring the name of every person at St. Vincents, with all the details of each one's claim.* These claims at the time of the Revolution passed, as did those from the posts further west, into the hands of the United States' Government, and were by them equitably adjusted, although it was by no means an easy matter to do so, as the claims finally existing had arisen in various ways; some from grants by the old French commandants, others from those by the British officers, who succeeded in the government of Illinois, others by purchase from the Indians, and others again under promises made by the old confederation. Many of these claims were supported by scarce any proof, most of the old records having been destroyed; and others were upheld only by perjury, which seems to have been easily procured when needed. Among the cases which appear most embarrassing were those of the Illinois and Wabash Co's, who, in July, 1773, and October, 1775, had bought of the Indians three immense and most valuable tracts of land in what are now the States of Illinois and Indiana, upon the Illinois, Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers. The purchases were made by William Murray, for himself and others, at open councils held at Kaskaskia and St. Vincent, in the presence of the British officers, and which lasted for several weeks. From these meetings ardent spirits were entirely excluded, and the savages, in return for their deeds, received goods to the value of fifty thousand dollars. The British government, however, under the pressure of the time, did not confirm the proceedings, although Lord Dunmore was one of the leaders of the Wabash Company—and when, after the Revolution, the purchasers presented their claim to the United States, which they did several times, it was not granted, Congress taking the ground that the purchase from the natives was in contempt of the Proclamation of 1763, and could not be recognized. Upon the same ground the vast tract in the north-west, which Jonathan Carver, the old traveller, alledged a title to, as having been purchased of the Sioux, was considered as in no degree his, even though he had been able to show a fair title, (independent of the proclamation,) which, as it happened, he was not able to do. There are many voluminous reports in relation to these matters in the American State papers, which may be found by turning to the Index of

* Land Laws, 948–949. For Gage's Proclamation, see American State Papers, xvii. 209.

those volumes; a few of them we refer to below.* Among those referred to, that on page 108, is a very able and full argument in favor of the Illinois and Wabash Companies, (which had been united in 1780,)—a paper probably prepared by Robert Goodloe Harper.

In Hutchins' Topography of Virginia, &c., we find it stated that Kaskaskia contained 80 houses, and nearly 1000 white and black inhabitants; the whites being a little the most numerous. Cahokia is stated at 50 houses and 300 white inhabitants, with 80 negroes. He also estimates east of the Mississippi, 300 white men capable of bearing arms, and 230 negroes. This last calculation is made for 1771, and although Hutchins did not publish his work until 1778, we presume his calculations all apply to a period anterior to the commencement of the Revolutionary War.

From 1775 until the expedition by Clark, we find nothing recorded, and know nothing of the condition of the Illinois settlements beyond what is contained in the following extract from a report made by a committee to Congress in June, 1788.

> Near the mouth of the river Kaskaskies, there is a village which appears to have contained nearly eighty families, from the beginning of the late revolution. There are twelve families in a small village at la Prairie du Rochers, and near fifty families at the Kahokia village. There are also four or five families at Fort Chartres and St. Philip's, which is five miles further up the river.†

Such were the posts against which Clark was to march. But in the immediate neighorhood of those posts was the young and promising, though while under Spanish rule by no means thriving, colony of which St. Louis‡ was the central point; a brief history of which, (drawn almost entirely from the report of J. N. Nicollet made to Congress, in 1843,) seems also appropriate at this point.

The country west of the Mississippi was secretly given over by France to Spain, November 3, 1762, the order on the French Governor, Mons. D'Abbudie, to deliver up his command, was drawn on the 21st of April, 1764. Meantime a company of mer-

* See American State Papers, xvii. 123 to 240. 108. 253. xviii. 551. 611. See also case of Johnson vs. McIntosh. Wheaton's Reports, viii. 543.

† See Land Laws, 393. [Volney, (view, 381,) says that Colonel Sargent, in 1790, estimated the French families in Illinois at 150.]

‡ Or Pancore, see Volney's View, 381.

chants, headed by a Mr. Laclede, had obtained the monopoly of the Indian fur-trade on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and an expedition was fitted out to form establishments, and open commercial relations with the natives. Says Nicollet:

Mr. Laclede, the principal projector of the company, and withal a man of great intelligence and enterprise, was placed in charge of the expedition. Leaving New Orleans on the 3d of August, 1763, he arrived at St. Genevieve three months afterwards—namely, on the 3d of November. * * * * * * * * *

At this time, the French establishments were on the east side of the Mississippi, particularly those made in Illinois. The small village of St. Genevieve alone was on the right side, in which Mr. Laclede could scarcely find a house of sufficient size to store a fourth part of his cargo. On the other hand, the director general of Louisiana had received orders to deliver up the territory on the west side of the river; so that the British authorities might be expected at any moment, presenting themselves to take possession of it. In the midst of these difficulties, Mr. Laclede, greatly embarrassed under the new aspect of things, found himself, however, relieved when the commanding officer, Mr. Neyon de Villiers, allowed him the use of the store at Fort Chartres, until the final surrender of the place. Laclede gladly accepted the offer, and lost no time in apportioning his squad and distributing his flotilla along the rivers, so as to render them most effective either for defence or for trade.

Having accomplished that preliminary arrangement, it became necessary to look out for the position of a central establishment. The left bank of the river no longer presented any fit situation, since the whole territory of Illinois had been passed over to the British Government; the village of St. Genevieve, on the right bank, being his only alternative, and this situated at too great a distance from the mouth of the Missouri. Mr. Laclede, therefore, left Fort Chartres, on a voyage of exploration to the junction of this river with the Mississippi, and was not long before he discovered that the bluff upon which St. Louis now stands was the spot that would best answer the purposes of the company.

Deferring, for the present, a more particular account of the geological situation of St. Louis, it may be remarked in this place that the hill upon which the city is situated is composed of limestone rocks, covered by a deep deposite of alluvial soil of great fertility. The limestone bluff rises to an elevation of about eighty feet over the usual recession of the waters of the Mississippi, and is crowned by an upland, or plateau, extending to the north and west, and presenting scarcely any limit to the foundation of a city entirely secure from the invasions of the river. * * * * * * * * * *

It was on this spot that the prescient mind of Mr. Laclede foresaw and predicted the future importance of the town to which he gave the name of St. Louis, and about which he discoursed, a few days afterward, with so much enthusiasm, in presence of the officers at Fort Chartres. But winter had now set in, (December,) and the Mississippi was about to be closed by ice. Mr. Laclede could do no more than cut down some trees, and *blaze* others, to indicate the places which he had selected. Returning afterwards to the fort, where he spent the winter, he occupied himself in making every preparation for the establishment of the new colony.

Accordingly, at the breaking up of winter, he equipped a large boat, which he manned with thirty hands. It is proper to mention, in this place, that Mr. Laclede was accompanied by two young creoles of New Orleans, Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, of high intelligence, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence, and from whom he derived much assistance. These two young men, who never afterwards quitted the country of their adoption, became in time the heads of numerous families; enjoying the highest respectability, the comforts of an honorably acquired affluence, the fruit of their own industry, and possessed of a name which to this day, after a lapse of seventy years, is still a passport that commands safety and hospitality among all the Indian nations of the United States, north and west. Mr. Laclede gave the command of his boat to Auguste, the elder of the two brothers, who died in 1826; and it is with mixed feelings of veneration and filial affection that, at the moment of recording these events, (1842,) I have the satisfaction of believing that my respectable and esteemed friend, Pierre Chouteau, is still alive, in the full enjoyment of his faculties, at the ripe old age of 86 years.

Auguste Choteau, who had accompanied Mr. Laclede in his first excursion, was directed to carry out his plans; and on the 15th of February, 1764, had arrived at his point of destination, with all his men, whom he immediately set to work. The present old market-place of St. Louis is the spot where the first tents and log cabins were pitched, upon the site of this now important city of the West. Mr. Laclede being detained at Fort Chartres in the settlement of his private affairs, and in anticipation of the arrival of the British troops, thought it necessary, however, to pay a visit, early in the ensuing month of April, to his *pioneers;* and, finding every thing in good train, contented himself with leaving such instructions as were best fitted to develop the resources of the location, and returned to Fort Chartres, with the intention of removing thence the goods belonging to the company.*

For some time, however, as the English did not appear, M. Laclede remained at Fort Chartres, from the vicinity of which

* Nicollet's Report, pp. 75—77.

many of the French, during the summer of 1764, removed to St. Louis. This emigration was soon checked, however, by the news of the secret cession to "His Catholic Majesty,"* which news left the unfortunate and simple hearted French† of Illinois, deserted by their own monarch, to choose between the dominion of England and Spain. The troubles which followed the attempt of Spain to take possession of Lower Louisiana, for some time left the upper settlements in the hands of the French: it was not, indeed, till 1770, that Spain obtained final possession of St. Louis. Meanwhile other towns were rising.

Of the state of St. Louis and its neighboring towns, about 1771, we may form some conception from the facts and estimates given by Hutchins. At St. Genevieve he says there were 208 whites and 80 negroes, capable of bearing arms; and at St. Louis, 415 whites and 40 blacks. He further tells us there were 120 houses in the town last named, mostly of stone, large and commodious: and the whole number of people he places at 800, besides 150 negroes; the whites being chiefly French. The population of St. Genevieve, he puts at 460, besides blacks.‡

In 1767, a man by the name of Delo Detergette settled upon a splendid amphitheatre on the right bank of the Mississippi, six miles south of St. Louis. He was soon followed by others; but, as they were not overburdened with wealth, they used to pay frequent visits to their kinsfolk of St. Louis, who, on seeing them approach, would exclaim, "Here come the empty pockets,"—"*voila les poches vides qui viennent.*" But, on some occasion, a wag remarked, "You had better call them *emptiers of pockets*," *les vide-poches;* a compliment which

* Nicollet says (p. 82) that news of this cession reached New Orleans, April 21, 1764; that was the date of the king's order, which was printed at New Orleans, in the following October. See Land Laws, 976.

† The following story, told by Nicollet, is very characteristic.

"A genuine Missourian, it is related, was hovering for some time around the stall of a negro dealer, situated on the bank of the Mississippi, in Lower Louisiana. The dealer was a Kentucky merchant, who, observing him, asked him if he wished to purchase any thing? 'Yes,' said the Missourian, 'I should like to buy a negro.' He was invited to walk in, made his choice, and inquired the price. 'Five hundred dollars," said the dealer, 'but, according to custom, you may have one year's credit upon the purchase.' The Missourian, at this proposition, became very uneasy, the idea of such a load of debt upon him for a whole year was too much. 'No, no,' said he, 'I'd rather pay you six hundred dollars at once, and be done with it.' 'Very well," said the Kentuckian, any thing to accommodate.' "

‡ Hutchins' Topographical description of Virginia, (we have lost the pages of this reference.) There is no additional information on the subject in his pamphlet on Louisiana, though published several years later.

was retaliated by these upon the place of St. Louis, which was subject to frequent seasons of want, by styling it *Pain-court*—short of bread. The village, being still nameless, retained the appellation of Vide poche until 1776, when it was changed into that of Carondelet.

In 1769, settlements were made on both shores of the lower portion of the Missouri river. Blanchette, surnamed "the hunter," built his log-house on the hills called *les Petites Cotes;* being the first dwelling of the beautiful village that, in 1784, received the name of *St. Charles.**

François Borosier Dunegan commenced the village of *Florissant;* which name it still popularly retains, although more lately called by the Spaniards St. Ferdinand.

About the same time, François Saucier originated the establishment of the *Portage des Sioux*, on the bank of the Mississippi, seven miles above the mouth of the Missouri.

And here, anticipating a little, we give Nicollet's account of the attack on St. Louis by the British and Indians usually assigned to 1778, but by Nicollet said to have been in May, 1780; a date made probable by the fact that Spain did not side with the United States until June 16th, 1779, and that act of hers must have been the provocation to the attack referred to.†

The garrison, says Nicollet's report, consisted of only fifty to sixty men, commanded by a certain Captain Lebas,‡ (a Spaniard, and not a Frenchman, as his name might lead one to suppose.) But, whatsoever his origin, he deserves nothing but public contempt. This Lebas, during the first three years that the Spaniards occupied the country, had commanded a small fort somewhere towards the mouth of the Missouri perhaps at *Belle Fontaine*—and afterwards received the command of St. Louis, as a successor to Cruzat, who himself had succeeded Piernaz. The only means of defence for the place at that time, was a stone tower erected near the village on the bank of the Mississippi, and some weak palisades. There were not more than 150 males in the place, of whom not more than 70 could be relied upon as efficient to repel an enemy numbering, according to the best authorities, 900 combatants; though, by some, their number is represented to have been from 1,400 to 1,500. It would have been useless to propose a capitulation, the conditions of which the Indians, (as has been unfortunately too often experienced,)

* Hall (Sketches, i. 171,) says, 1804.

† Nicollet had the papers of Colonel Auguste Chouteau.—For the date of Spain's action see Pitkins' United States, ii. 72.

‡ Spelt Leyba by Hall. whose account of the transaction, see Sketches, i. 171. Judge Hall's spelling of the name is probably correct, if the man was a Spaniard.

either from ignorance or treachery, never fulfil'; and the inhabitants knew too well the character of those with whom they had to deal, to expect salvation in anything but a courageous resistance. The women and children, who could not take part in the defence, took shelter in the house of Auguste Chouteau; whilst all those, both men and women, who were within the palisades, commenced so vigorous a resistance, that the enemy was forced to retreat. But these, with characteristic ferocity, threw themselves upon those of the inhabitants who, engaged in the cultivation of their fields, had not had time to reach the palisades; and it is said that sixty were killed, and thirteen made prisoners.

It is averred that the Spanish garrison took no part in this gallant defence. Lebas and his men had betaken themselves to the stone tower; and it is further stated, that, as the tower threatened to give way after the first fire from it, he ordered the firing to be stopped; and that he died on receiving information that the Sacs, Foxes, and Iowa Indians were massacring the people on the plains. The year this attack took place, is called by the French *l'Annee du Grand Coup*—the year of the great blow.

Historical accuracy demands a denial here of the assertion of some authors, who ascribe to American troops an active part in this defence. Unfortunately, there were no United States troops on the bank of the Mississippi opposite to St. Louis, as none were needed, there being nothing to guard or to defend. It is well known that General George R. Clark, with his men, then occupied the important post of Kaskaskia, which is more than fifty-six miles south-east of St. Louis; and that, consequently, this gallant officer could not have had time, even if it fell within his line of duty, to aid in an affair that concerned the Spaniards and the British, which was planned as a surprise, and lasted but a few hours.

After the event narrated above, the inhabitants of St. Louis, finding that their garrison were unworthy of trust, without ammunition, and without means of defence against a regularly organized attack, deputed Mr. A. Chouteau to proceed to New Orleans for assistance. Cruzat was again made commander of St. Louis, the affairs of which place he administered with mildness and public satisfaction. A wooden fort was built on the most elevated spot within the city, upon which were mounted several heavy pieces of ordnance, and still later there were added four stone turrets, from which cross-fires could be kept up. This might have answered for the protection of the city, but only against the Indians. No trace of this fortification are now to be seen—the very site of which has yielded to the improvements of the city.*

* See Nicollet, p. 83.

# 1778.

Clark, having satisfied the Virginia leaders of the feasibility of his plan, received on the 2d of January two sets of instructions—the one open, authorising him to enlist seven companies to go to Kentucky, subject to his orders, and to serve for three months from their arrival in the West; the other set secret and drawn as follows:

VIRGINIA: Sct. In Council, Williamsburg, Jan. 2d, 1778.

*Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark:*

You are to proceed, with all convenient speed, to raise seven companies of soldiers to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, and armed most properly for the enterprize; and with this force attack the British post at Kaskasky.

It is conjectured that there are many pieces of cannon and military stores, to considerable amount, at that place; the taking and preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the State.

For the transportation of the troops, provisions, &c., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, for boats; and during the whole transaction you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret: its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to Captain Smith to secure the two men from Kaskasky. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants at that post and the neighborhood, will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this State, (for it is certain they live within its limits,) by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever, shall be afforded them; and the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede

to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider as the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart.

The corps you are to command are to receive the pay and allowance of militia, and to act under the laws and regulations of this State, now in force, as militia. The inhabitants at this post will be informed by you, that in case they accede to the offers of becoming citizens of this Commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them, and every attention bestowed to render their commerce beneficial; the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of both France and Spain.

It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskasky will be easily brought thither, or otherwise secured, as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand, at Pittsburgh, for powder and lead necessary for this expedition, If he can't supply it, the person who has that which Captain Lynn brought from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders, and that may be delivered you. Wishing you success, I am Sir, your humble servant,* P. HENRY.

With these instructions and twelve hundred pounds in the depreciated currency of the time, Colonel Clark, (for such was now his title,) on the 4th of February started for Pittsburg. It had been thought best to raise the troops needed beyond the mountains, as the colonies were in want of all the soldiers they could muster east of the Alleghanies, to defend themselves against the British forces. Clark therefore proposed to enlist men about Pittsburg, while Major W. B. Smith, for the same purpose went to the Holston, and other officers to other points. None, however, succeeded as they hoped to; at Pittsburg Clark found great opposition to the intention of carrying men away to defend the outposts in Kentucky, while their own citadel and the whole region about it were threatened by the savage allies of England; and Smith, though he nominally succeeded in raising four companies, was unable essentially to aid his superior officer after all. With three companies and several private adventurers, Clark at length commenced his descent of the Ohio, which he navigated as far as the Falls, where he took possession of and fortified Corn Island, opposite to the spot now occupied by Louisville. At this place he appointed Colonel Bowman to meet him with such recruits as had

* See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. p. 489.

reached Kentucky by the southern route, and as many men as could be spared from the stations. Here also he announced to the men their real destination. Having waited until his arrangements were all completed, and those chosen who were to be of the invading party, on the 24th of June, during a total eclipse of the sun, with four companies he left his position and fell down the river. His plan was to follow the Ohio as far as the fort known as Fort Massac or Massacre, and thence to go by land direct to Kaskaskia. His troops took no other baggage than they could carry in the Indian fashion, and for his success he trusted entirely to surprise. If he failed, his plan was to cross the Mississippi and throw himself into the Spanish settlements on the west of that river. Before he commenced his march he received two pieces of information of which he made good use at the proper time, by means of which he conquered the west without bloodshed. One of these important items was the alliance of France with the colonies; this at once made the American side popular with the French and Indians of Illinois and the lakes, France having never lost her hold upon her ancient subjects and allies, and England having never secured their confidence. The other item was, that the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the other old towns had been led by the British to believe that the Long Knives or Virginians, were the most fierce, cruel, and blood-thirsty savages that ever scalped a foe. With this impression on their minds, Clark saw that proper management would readily dispose them to submit from fear, if surprised, and then to become friendly from gratitude, when treated with unlooked for clemency.

In the hot July sun, therefore, the little army toiled along the dimly seen hunters' paths toward the British Fort, suffering not a little from thirst. A party of hunters which had been stopped on their way from Kaskaskia, told the Americans that, alarmed by some means, we know not how, the English commander, Mr. Rocheblave, was on the alert, and that they must ensure a surprise if they wished success. This was just as the Colonel expected, and cautiously, quickly, and full of hope, he and his men pressed on, until on the evening of July 4th they drew near the settlement they were in search of. Carefully concealed, the troops lay still while boats were collected to carry them across the river; then, in the darkness, two divisions crossed with directions to remain hidden at different points, until a signal should warn them that Clark, with the third division, had succeeded in taking the

fort opposite the village, when with shouts and yells they were to rush upon the town, and give warning that any citizens who appeared in the streets would be instantly shot. These arrangements made, the Colonel with his party, led by a hunter, taken prisoner the evening previous, obtained quiet possession of the fort by entering an open gate on the river side. The signal agreed on was given; the other parties broke into the quiet streets like bands of wild Iroquois; and the inhabitants, surprised, terrified and trembling, heard the formidable notice shouted forth which forbade their appearance in the streets, and listened all night to the screams and shrieks of the white savages who, by Clark's orders, constantly patrolled the streets.* The commandant of Kaskaskia was taken in his bed, but his papers were saved by being placed in his wife's trunks, which the Virginia barbarians were too gallant to seize and search against her will; conduct contrasting singularly with that of the Great Frederick, the leader of European civilization, who, twenty years before, would have certain documents, though the Queen of Poland not only put them in her trunk, but sat down herself upon the top of it.†

On the 5th of July, Clark withdrew his troops from the town, but still forbade communication among the inhabitants, and all intercourse between them and the American soldiers. Not content with this, the Virginian placed some of the more prominent of the French in irons, without assigning any cause, a step which wrought up the terror of their fellow citizens to a still higher pitch. One thing more only was wanting to complete the consternation of the conquered—the appearance of the victors. To the Illinois Europeans, who even in their far-off wilderness, associated much of splendor and pomp with military command, the soiled, torn, shabby clothes, burned faces, and useful rather than ornamental arms of the American officers, carried conviction of all that had been told them as to the untamed ferocity of the Long Knives; and when a deputation waited upon the General and his staff to ask leave to meet in the village church, and there bid one another farewell before being separated forever, as they supposed they should be, it was plain that fear had done the work intended. In answer to the request which they made, Clark said bluntly,

* On that same night, while the soldiers of Clark scared the Kaskaskians with pretended ferocity, the valley of Wyoming echoed with real shrieks of rage and pain, and swam with blood shed by white men; for the leaders in that massacre were Tories.

† Lord Dover's Life of Frederick. ii., 15. (Harpers' Edition.)

that Americans left all men to worship as they would, that they might meet in the church, if they pleased, but on no account to venture upon any farther step: they wished, apparently, to say something more, but the ragged General would not listen. After the assemblage had taken place, the leading men, together with their priest, once more came with an humble petition to the dangerous Virginia chieftain; they asked that they might not be separated from their wives and children, and that some food and clothing might be allowed them. "Do you mistake us for savages?" asked Clark, who saw that the hour for leniency was come, "Do you think that Americans intend to strip women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen disdain to make war upon helpless innocence; it was to prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our own wives and children, that we have taken arms and penetrated into this remote stronghold of British and Indian barbarity; and not the despicable prospect of plunder. Now that the king of France has united his powerful arms with those of America, the war will not, in all probability, continue long; but the inhabitants of Kaskaskia are at liberty to take which side they please, without the least danger to either their property or families. Nor will their religion be any source of disagreement; as all religions are regarded with equal respect in the eye of the American law, and any insult which shall be offered it, will be immediately punished. And now, to prove my sincerity, you will please inform your fellow-citizens, that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as usual, without the least apprehension; I am now convinced from what I have learned since my arrival among you, that you have been misinformed and prejudiced against us by British officers; and your friends who are in confinement shall immediately be released." The change of feeling which followed this speech of Clark's fully justified the course of conduct he had pursued; expecting every severity which war could justify, the joy produced by the announcement that they would be deprived of neither liberty nor property, prepared them to become the friends and supporters of those before whom they had trembled, and when a detachment was ordered to march against Cahokia, the Kaskaskians offered to go with it and secure the submission of their neighbors. In this they perfectly succeeded, and on the 6th of July, the two chief posts in the Illinois had passed, and without bloodshed, from the possession of England into that of Virginia.

But St. Vincent's, the most important western post except Detroit, still remained unconquered, nor could Clark, with his small force, hope to obtain possession of it, as he must of necessity be for some time near the Mississippi, to organize a government for the colonies he had taken, and to treat with the Indians of the north-west. Under these circumstances, he determined to accept the offer of M. Gibault, the priest of Kaskaskia, who told him he would undertake by persuasion alone to lead the inhabitants of Vincennes to throw off their forced connexion with England. On the 14th of July, in company with a fellow townsman, M. Gibault left upon his mission of peace; and upon the 1st of August, returned with the intelligence that the inhabitants of the post upon the Wabash had taken the oath of allegiance to the Old Dominion.

Having met with such great success, Clark in the next place re-enlisted his men, established courts, placed garrisons at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, sent word to have a fort, which proved the germ of Louisville, commenced at the falls of the Ohio, and despatched Mr. Rocheblave, who had been commandant at Kaskaskia, as a prisoner to Richmond. In October, the county of Illinois was created by the legislature of Virginia, and John Todd appointed Lieutenant Colonel and civil Commandant; and in November, Colonel Clark, his officers and men, received the thanks of their native state in these words:

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES,
*Monday, the 23d Nov.* 1778.

*Whereas*, authentic information has been received, that Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western part of this Commonwealth, on the river Mississippi, and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this Commonwealth in particular.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are justly due to the said Colonel Clark and the brave officers and men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance, in so hazardous an enterprize, and for the important services thereby rendered their country. *

Test, E. RANDOLPH, C. H. D.

The next steps of the western leader had reference to securing the co-operation or neutrality of the various Indian tribes, and here, especially, he seems to have been in his element. His meetings with them were opened at Cahokia, in September, and

* See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 490.

his principles of action being never to court them, never to load them with presents, never to seem to fear them, though always to show respect to courage and ability, and to speak in the most direct manner possible,—he waited for the natives to make the first advances and offer peace. When they had done so, and thrown away the bloody wampum sent them by the British, Clark coldly told them he would answer them the next day, and meanwhile cautioned them against shaking hands with the Americans, as peace was not yet concluded; it will be time to give hands when the heart can be given too, he said. The next day the Indians came to hear the answer of the Big Knife, which we give entire, as taken by Mr. Butler and Mr. Dillon, from Clark's own notes.

"Men and warriors: pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday, that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hoped, that as he was good, it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon, whether it shall be peace or war; and henceforward prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior, not a counsellor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the Red people: to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river; but to clear the roads from us to those that desire to be in peace; that the women and children may walk in them without meeting any thing to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the Red people may hear no sound, but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes; I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the causes of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves, which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess yourselves to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party, which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and not show yourselves to be squaws.

"The Big Knife is very much like the Red people, they don't know how to make blankets, and powder, and cloth; they buy these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting and trade, as you and your neighbors, the French, do. But the Big Knife daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor, and hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves; soon made blan-

kets for their husbands and children; and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English; they then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country, (as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French,) they would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with any body else. The English said, we should buy every thing from them, and since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased, and they killed some of our people, to make the rest fear them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us; which did not take place for some time after this treatment. But our women became cold and hungry, and continued to cry; our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark, the old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun, and thus there was mourning for many years over the land. At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia; he then stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads, and assembled at the fire; they took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters, The young men immediately struck the war post, and blood was shed: in this way the war began, and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak, and then they hired you Red people to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old Father, the French king, and other great nations to join the Big Knife, and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like a deer in the woods; and you may see that it is the Great Spirit, that has caused your waters to be troubled; because you have fought for the people he was mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the Big Knife. You can now judge who is in the right; I have already told you who I am; here is a bloody belt, and a white one, take which you please. Behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knife, cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English; we will then try like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knife, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds, that may be

flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men; but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to any thing you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but one heart and one tongue."*

This speech produced the desired effect, and upon the following day, the "Red People" and the "Big Knife" united hearts and hands both. In all these proceedings, there is no question that, directly and indirectly, the alliance of the United States with France was very instrumental in producing a friendly feeling among the Indians, who had never lost their old regard toward their first Great Father.

But though it was Clark's general rule not to court the savages, there were some particular chieftains so powerful as to induce him to invite them to meet him, and learn the merits of the quarrel between the colonies and England. Among these was Black Bird, one of the lake chiefs; he came at the invitation of the American leader, and dispensing with the usual formulas of Indian negotiation, sat down with Colonel Clark in a common sense way, and talked and listened, questioned and considered, until he was satisfied that the rebels had the right of the matter; after which he became, and remained, a firm friend of the Big Knives.

While the negotiations between the conqueror of Kaskaskia and the natives were going forward, a couple of incidents occurred, so characteristic of Colonel Clark, that we cannot omit their mention. One was as follows:—A party of Indians, known as Meadow Indians,† had come to attend the council with their neighbors. These, by some means, were induced to attempt the murder of the invaders, and tried to obtain an opportunity to commit the crime proposed, by surprising Clark and his officers in their quarters. In this plan they failed, and their purpose was discovered by the sagacity of the French in attendance; when this was done Clark gave them to the French to deal with as they pleased, but with a hint that some of the leaders would be as well in irons. Thus fettered and foiled, the chiefs were brought daily to the

* See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 68.

† Were these the Mascoutins, Prairie Indians? See Dillon's Indiana, i. 5.

council house, where he whom they proposed to kill, was engaged daily in forming friendly relations with their red brethren. At length, when by these means the futility of their project had been sufficiently impressed upon them, the American commander ordered their irons to be struck off, and in his quiet way, full of scorn, said, "Every body thinks you ought to die for your treachery upon my life, amidst the sacred deliberations of a council. I had determined to inflict death upon you for your base attempt, and you yourselves must be sensible that you have justly forfeited your lives; but on considering the meanness of watching a bear and catching him asleep, I have found out that you are not warriors, only old women, and too mean to be killed by the Big Knife. But," continued he, "as you ought to be punished for putting on breech cloths like men, they shall be taken away from you, plenty of provisions shall be given for your journey home, as women don't know how to hunt, and during your stay you shall be treated in every respect as squaws." These few cutting words concluded, the Colonel turned away to converse with others. The children of the prairie, who had looked for anger, not contempt—punishment, not freedom—were unaccountably stirred by this treatment. They took counsel together, and presently a chief came forward with a belt and pipe of peace, which, with proper words, he laid upon the table. The interpreter stood ready to translate the words of friendship, but, with curling lip, the American said he did not wish to hear them, and lifting a sword which lay before him, he shattered the offered pipe, with the cutting expression that "he did not treat with women." The bewildered, overwhelmed Meadow Indians next asked the intercession of other red men already admitted to friendship, but the only reply was, "The Big Knife has made no war upon these people; they are of a kind that we shoot like wolves when we meet them in the woods, lest they eat the deer." All this wrought more and more upon the offending tribe; again they took counsel, and then two young men came forward, and covering their heads with their blankets, sat down before the impenetrable commander; then two chiefs arose, and stating that these young warriors offered their lives as an atonement for the misdoings of their relatives, again they presented the pipe of peace. Silence reigned in the assembly, while the fate of the proffered victims hung in suspense: all watched the countenance of the American leader, who could scarce master the emotion which the incident excited. Still, all

sat noiseless, nothing heard but the deep breathing of those whose lives thus hung by a thread. Presently he upon whom all depended arose, and approaching the young men, he bade them be uncovered and stand up. They sprang to their feet. "I am glad to find," said Clark warmly, "that there are men among all nations. With you, who alone are fit to be chiefs of your tribe, I am willing to treat; through you I am ready to grant peace to your brothers; I take you by the hand as chiefs, worthy of being such." Here again the fearless generosity, the generous fearlessness of Clark, proved perfectly successful, and while the tribe in question became the allies of America, the fame of the occurrence, which spread far and wide through the north-west, made the name of the white negotiator everywhere respected.

The other incident to which we referred was this.—There was a warrior known in the West as the Big Gate, who was noted for his unceasing adherence to British interests. This man, when Clark began to gain the favor of the other red men, still remained unbending and at last coming to Cahokia, had the boldness to attend the councils there held, with his English war wampum and medals displayed upon his person. While the public business remained unfinished, Clark took no notice of the hostile chief, who still, day after day, attended the deliberations. At length the various treaties were concluded, and then the American commander, for the first time, turning toward the great warrior, told him, that private matters he was forced to lay aside while those of the country were concerned, but that he should be happy at last to pay his respects to one so distinguished, and asked the fierce tomahawker to dine with him. The Big Gate was taken unawares, and while he hesitated, Clark added,—"With us, however much we may be enemies, it is usual to show respect to those who are brave;" and insisted upon the company of the savage. The red man was at a loss; among all his tactics and strategems, this one of bold, kind appeal to the sympathies, was unknown;—for a moment he hesitated, then, stepping into the midst of the assembly, he threw down his emblems of amity for Britain, tore off his clothes, and proclaimed himself ally to the Big Knife.

But while Clark was thus fortunate in one portion of the West, misfortunes beset those parts which were less distant from the centre of American life.

In January, Boone, with thirty men, had started for the Blue

Licks, to enter upon the interminable business of salt making, the water being by no means strongly impregnated. Boone was to be guide, hunter, and scout; the rest cut wood and attended to the manufacturing department. January passed quietly, and before the 7th of February, enough of the precious condiment had accumulated to lead to the return of three of the party to the stations with the treasure. The rest still labored on, and Boone enjoyed the winter weather in the forest after his own fashion. But, alas for him, there was more than mere game about him in those woods along the rugged Licking. On the 7th of February, as he was hunting, he came upon a party of one hundred and four foes, two Canadians, the remainder Indians, Shawanese apparently. Boone fled; but he was a man of forty-six, and his limbs were less supple than those of the young savages who pursued him, and in spite of every effort he was a second time prisoner. Finding it impossible to give his companions at the Licks due notice so as to secure their escape, he proceeded to make terms on their behalf with his captors, and then persuaded his men by gestures, at a distance, to surrender without offering battle. Thus, without a blow, the invaders found themselves possessed of twenty-eight prisoners, and among them the greatest, in an Indian's eyes, of all the Long Knives. This band was on its way to Boonesborough to attack or to reconnoitre; but so good luck as they had met with changed their minds, and, turning upon their track, they took up their march for Old Chillicothe, an Indian town on the Little Miami.

It was no part of the plan of the Shawanese, however, to retain these men in captivity, nor yet to scalp, slay, or eat them. Under the influence and rewards of Governor Hamilton, the British Commander in the Northwest, the Indians had taken up the business of speculating in human beings, both dead and alive; and the Shawanese meant to take Boone and his comrades to the Detroit market. On the 10th of March, accordingly, eleven of the party, including Daniel himself, were despatched for the North, and, after twenty days of journeying, were presented to the English Governor, who treated them, Boone says, with great humanity. To Boone himself Hamilton and several other gentlemen seem to have taken an especial fancy, and offered considerable sums for his release; but the Shawanese also had become enamored of the veteran hunter, and would not part with him. He must go home with them, they said, and be one of them, and become a great chief. So the pioneer found his very virtues becoming the cause

of a prolonged captivity. In April, the red men, with their one white captive, about to be converted into a genuine son of nature, returned from the flats of Michigan, covered with brush-choked forests, to the rolling valley of the Miamis, with its hill-sides clothed in their rich open woods of maple and beech, then just bursting into bloom. And now the white blood was washed out of the Kentucky ranger, and he was made a son in some family, and was loved and caressed by father and mother, brothers and sisters, till he was thoroughly sick of them. But disgust he could not show; so he was kind, and affable, and familiar, as happy as a lark, and as far from thinking of leaving them as he had been of joining them. He took his part in their games and romps; shot as near the centre of a target as a good hunter ought to, and yet left the savage marksmen a chance to excel him, and smiled in his quiet eye when he witnessed their joy at having done better than the best of the Long Knives. He grew into favor with the chief, was trusted, treated with respect, and listened to with attention. No man could have been better calculated than Boone to disarm the suspicions of the red men. Some have called him a white Indian, and, except that he never showed the Indian's blood-thirstiness when excited, he was more akin in his loves, his ways, his instincts, his joys, and his sorrows to the aboriginal inhabitants of the West than to the Anglo-Saxon invaders. Scarce any other white ever possessed in an equal degree the true Indian gravity, which comes neither from thought, feeling, or vacuity, but from a bump peculiar to their own craniums. And so in hunting, shooting, swimming, and other Shawanese amusements, the newly made Indian boy Boone spent the month of May, necessity making all the little inconveniences of his lot quite endurable.

On the 1st of June, his aid was required in the business of salt-making, and for that purpose he and a party of his brethren started for the valley of the Scioto, where he stayed ten days, hunting, boiling brine, and cooking; then the homeward path was taken again. But when Chillicothe was once more reached, a sad sight met our friend Daniel's eyes; four hundred and fifty of the choice warriors of the West, painted in the most exquisite war-style, and armed for the battle. He scarce needed to ask whither they were bound; his heart told him Boonesborough; and already in imagination he saw the blazing roofs of the little borough he had founded; and he saw the bleeding forms of his friends. Could he do nothing? He would see; meanwhile be a good Indian and look

all ease and joy. He was a long way from his own white homestead; one hundred and fifty miles at least, and a rough and inhospitable country much of the way between him and it. But he *had* travelled fast and far, and might again. So, without a word to his fellow prisoners, early in the morning of June the 16th, without his breakfast, in the most secret manner, unseen, unheard, he departed. He left his red relatives to mourn his loss, and over hill and valley sped, forty miles a day, for four successive days, and ate but one meal by the way. He found the station wholly unprepared to resist so formidable a body as that which threatened it, and it was a matter of life and death that every muscle should be exerted to get all in readiness for the expected visiters. Rapidly the white men toiled in the summer sun, and through the summer night, to repair and complete the fortifications, and to have all as experience had shown it should be. But still the foe came not, and in a few days another escaped captive brought information of the delay of the expedition in consequence of Boone's flight. The savages had relied on surprising the stations, and their plans being foiled by their adopted son Daniel, all their determinations were unsettled. Thus it proved the salvation of Boonesborough, and probably of all the frontier forts, that the founder of Kentucky was taken captive and remained a captive as long as he did. So often do seeming misfortunes prove, in God's hand, our truest good.

Boone, finding his late relatives so backward in their proposed call, determined to anticipate them by a visit to the Scioto valley, where he had been at salt-making; and about the 1st of August, with nineteen men, started for the town on Paint Creek. He knew, of course, that he was trying a somewhat hazardous experiment, as Boonesborough might be attacked in his absence; but he had his wits about him, and his scouts examined the country far and wide. Without interruption, he crossed the Ohio, and had reached within a few miles of the place he meant to attack, when his advanced guard, consisting of one man, Simon Kenton, discovered two natives riding one horse, and enjoying some joke as they rode. Not considering that these two might be, like himself, the van of a small army, Simon, one of the most impetuous of men, shot, and run forward to scalp them,—but found himself at once in the midst of a dozen or more of his red enemies, from whom he escaped only by the coming up of Boone and the remainder. The commander, upon considering the circumstances,

and learning from spies whom he sent forward that the town he intended to attack was deserted, came to the opinion that the band just met was on its way to join a larger body for the invasion of Kentucky, and advised an immediate return.

His advice was taken, and the result proved its wisdom; for, in order to reach Boonesborough, they were actually obliged to coast along, go round, and outstrip a body of nearly five hundred savages, led by Canadians, who were marching against his doomed borough, and after all, got there only the day before them.

On the 8th of August, with British and French flags flying, the dusky army gathered around the little fortress of logs, defended by its inconsiderable garrison. Captain Du Quesne, on behalf of his mighty Majesty, King George the Third, summoned Captain Boone to surrender. It was, as Daniel says, a critical period for him and his friends. Should they yield, what mercy could they look for? and he, especially, after his unkind flight from his Shawanese parents? They had almost stifled him with their caresses before; they would literally hug him to death, if again within their grasp. Should they refuse to yield, what hope of successful resistance? And they had so much need of all their cattle to aid them in sustaining a siege, and yet their cows were abroad in the woods. Daniel pondered the matter, and concluded it would be safe, at any rate, to ask two days for consideration. It was granted, and he drove in his cows! The evening of the 9th soon arrived, however, and he must say one thing or another; so he politely thanked the representative of his gracious Majesty for giving the garrison time to prepare for their defence, and announced their determination to fight. Captain Du Quesne was much grieved at this; Governor Hamilton was anxious to save bloodshed, and wished the Kentuckians taken alive; and rather than proceed to extremities, the worthy Canadian offered to withdraw his troops, if the garrison would make a treaty, though to what point the treaty was to aim is unknown. Boone was determined not to yield; but then he had no wish to starve in his fort, or have it taken by storm, and be scalped; and he thought, remembering Hamilton's kindness to him when in Detroit, that there might be something in what the Captain said; and at any rate, to enter upon a treaty was to gain time, and something might turn up. So he agreed to treat; but where? Could nine of the garrison, as desired, safely venture into the open field? It might be all a trick to get possession of some of the leading whites. Upon

the whole, however, as the leading Indians and their Canadian allies must come under the rifles of the garrison, who might with certainty and safety pick them off if treachery were attempted, it was thought best to run the risk; and Boone, with eight others, went out to meet the leaders of the enemy, sixty yards from the fort, within which the sharpest shooters stood with leveled rifles, ready to protect their comrades. The treaty was made and signed, and then the Indians, saying it was their custom for two of them to shake hands with every white man when a treaty was made, expressed a wish to press the palms of their new allies. Boone and his friends must have looked rather queer at this proposal; but it was safer to accede than to refuse and be shot instantly; so they presented each his hand. As anticipated the warriors seized them with rough and fierce eagerness, the whites drew back struggling, the treachery was apparent, the rifle-balls from the garrison struck down the foremost assailants of the little band, and, amid a fire from friends and foes, Boone and his fellow deputies bounded back into the station, with the exception of one, unhurt.

The treaty trick having thus failed, Captain Du Quesne had to look to more ordinary modes of warfare, and opened a fire which lasted during ten days, though to no purpose, for the woodsmen were determined not to yield. On the 20th of August, the Indians were forced unwillingly to retire, having lost thirty-seven of their number, and wasted a vast amount of powder and lead. The garrison picked up from the ground, after their departure, one hundred and twenty-five pounds of their bullets.*

Meanwhile the United States had not lost sight entirely of western affairs. A fort was built early in the summer of this year, upon the banks of Ohio a little below Pittsburgh, near the spot where Beaver now stands. It was built by General McIntosh, who had been appointed in May to succeed General Hand† in the West, and was named with his name.‡ It was the first fort built by the whites north of the Ohio. From this point it was intended to operate in reducing Detroit, where mischief was still brewing. Indeed the natives were now more united than ever against the colonies. In June we find Congress in possession of information, that led them to think a universal frontier war close

* See Butler 534.—Marshal i. Boone's Narrative, &c.

† Sparks' Washington, v. 361, 382.

‡ Doddridge, p. 243.—Silliman's Journal, vol. xxxi. Art. i. p. 18.

at hand.* The Senecas, Cayugas, Mingoes (by which we presume, were meant the Ohio Iroquois, or possibly the Mohawks,) Wyandots, Onandagas, Ottawas, Chippeways, Shawanese, and Delawares, were all said to be more or less united in opposition to America. Congress, learning the danger to be so immediate and great, determined to push on the Detroit expedition, and ordered another to be undertaken by the Mohawk valley against the Senecas, who might otherwise very much annoy and impede the march from Fort Pitt. For the capture of Detroit, three thousand continental troops and two thousand five hundred militia were voted; an appropriation was made of nearly a million of dollars; and General McIntosh was to carry forward the needful operations.†

All the flourish which was made about taking Detroit, however, and conquering the Senecas, ended in the Resolves of Congress, it being finally thought too late in the season for advantageous action, and also too great an undertaking for the weak-handed colonies.‡

This having been settled, it was resolved, that the forces in the West should move up and attack the Wyandots and other Indians about the Sandusky;‖ and a body of troops was accordingly marched forward to prepare a half-way house, or post, by which the necessary connexion might be kept up. This was built upon the Tuscarawas, a few miles south of the present town of Bolivar. In these quiet, commercial days the Ohio canal passes through its midst.§ It was named Fort Laurens, in honor of the President of Congress.

While these warlike measures were pursued on the one hand, the Confederacy on the other by its Commissioners, Andrew and Thomas Lewis of Virginia, formed at Fort Pitt on the 17th of September, a treaty of peace and alliance with the Chiefs of the Delawares, White-Eyes, Kill-Buck, and Pipe.¶

* Journals of the Old Congress, vol. ii. p. 585.

† Washington speaks of McIntosh as having great worth and merit, a firm disposition, love of justice, assiduity, and a good understanding.—Sparks v. 361.

‡ Journals of the Old Congress, vol. ii. p. 633.

‖ Journals of the Old Congress, vol. ii. p. 633.

§ Silliman's Journal, xxxi. 57; where the name as in many treaties, &c. is misprinted Lawrence.

¶ See volume of Indian Treaties Washington, 1837.—It is the first treaty recorded. See also Old Journals, ii. 577.—Do. iii. 81.

# 1779.

We have already noticed the erection of Fort Laurens.—At that point, seventy miles from Fort McIntosh, and exposed to all the fierce north western tribes, Colonel John Gibson had been left with one hundred and fifty men to get through the winter of 1778–9, as he best could, while McIntosh himself returned to Pittsburgh, disappointed and dispirited.* Nor was Congress in a very good humor with him, for already had six months passed to no purpose. Washington was consulted, but could give no definite advice, knowing nothing of those details which must determine the course of things for the winter. McIntosh, at length, in February asked leave to retire from his unsatisfactory command, and was allowed to do so. No blame, however, appears to have fairly attached to him, as he did all in his power; among other things leading a party with provisions to the relief of Colonel Gibson's starving garrison. Unhappily the guns fired as a salute by those about to be relieved, scared the pack-horses and much of the provision was scattered and lost in the woods. The force at Fort Laurens, meantime, had been as we have intimated, suffering cruelly, both from the Indians and famine, and, though finally rescued from starvation, had done, and could do, nothing. The post was at last abandoned in August 1779.

But, while McIntosh was groaning and doing nothing, his fellow General, Clark, was very differently employed. Governor Hamilton, having made his various arrangements, had left Detroit, and moved down to St. Vincent's (or Vincennes,) on the Wabash, from which point he intended to operate in reducing Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and also in conquering Kentucky, and driving the rebels from the West. But in the very process of taking St. Vincent's, he met with treatment that might have caused a more modest man to doubt the possibility of conquering those rebels. Hamilton came upon that post, in December 1778. He came

* Sparks Washington, vol. vi. p. 156.

with a large body of troops, and unexpectedly; so that there was no chance of defence on the part of the garrison, which consisted indeed of only *two men*, Captain Helm, of Fauquier county, Virginia, and one Henry. Helm, however, was not disposed to yield, absolutely, to any odds; so, loading his single cannon, he stood by it with a lighted match, and, as the British came nigh, bade them stand, and demanded to know what terms would be granted the garrison, as otherwise he should not surrender. The Governor, unwilling to lose time and men, offered the usual honors of war, and could scarce believe his eyes, when he saw the threatening garrison to be only one officer and one private. However, even this bold conduct did not make him feel the character of the people with whom he was contending; and so, thinking it too late to operate in such a country, he sent his Indians, of whom he had some four hundred, to prevent troops coming down the Ohio, and to annoy the Americans in all ways, and sat quietly down for the winter.

Information of all these proceedings having reached Clark, he saw, at once, that either he must have Hamilton, or Hamilton would have him; so he cast about him, to see what means of conquest were within his reach. On the 29th of January, 1779, the news of the capture of St. Vincents reached Kaskashia, and, by the 4th of February, a "battoe," as Colonel Bowman writes it, had been repaired, provisioned, manned, and armed, and was on her way down the Mississippi, in order to ascend the Ohio and Wabash, and co-operate with the land forces which were assembling. These forces, on the 5th of February, numbered one hundred and seventy men,* "including artillery, packhorsemen, &c." and with this little band, on the 7th, Clark set forward to besiege the British Governor, who had under him about half as many followers as a garrison.† It was "rain and drizzly weather," and the "roads very bad with mud and water;" but through those prairie ways, and the waters which covered some of the plains, the little rebel band slipped and spattered along, as they best could, and how they did it, cannot be shown better than by copying a portion of Joseph Bowman's Journal, and Clark's own account.

February 7th. Began our march early; made a good day's march

* Bowman. Clark in his letter to Jefferson, says, one hundred and thirty men, but he may not have counted packhorsemen, &c.—(See Jefferson's Writings, i. 451.)

† There were seventy-nine men.—(See Clark's letter to Jefferson.)

for about nine leagues. The road very bad with mud and water. Pitched our camp in a square, baggage in the middle, every company to guard their own square.

8th. Marched early through the waters which we now began to meet in those large and level plains where, from the flatness of the country, the water rests a considerable time before it drains off. Notwithstanding our men were in great spirits, though much fatigued.

9th. Made another day's march. Rain part of the day.

10th. Crossed the river Petit Fort, upon trees which we felled for that purpose, the water being so high there was no fording it. Still raining and no tents. Encamped near the river. Stormy weather.

11th. Crossed the Saline river. Nothing extraordinary this day.

12th. Marched across Cat Plains. Saw and killed numbers of buffaloes. The road very bad from the immense quantity of rain that had fallen. The men much fatigued. Encamped on the edge of the wood. This plain being fifteen or more miles across, it was late in the night before the baggage and troops got together. Now 21 miles from St. Vincents.

13th. Arrived early at the two Wabashes; although a league asunder they are now but one. We set to making a canoe.

14th. Finished the canoe and put her into the river about four o'clock in the afternoon.

15th. Ferried across the Two Wabashes, it being three miles in water, to the opposite hills, where we encamped. Still raining. Ordered not to fire any guns in future, but in case of necessity.

16th. March all day through rain and water. Crossed the Fir River. Provisions begin to be short.

17th. Marched early. Crossed several runs very deep. Sent Mr. Kennedy, our commissary with three men, to cross the river Embarrass, if possible, and proceed to a plantation opposite Post St. Vincents in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About an hour by sun we got near the river Embarrass, and found the country all overflowed with water. We strove to find the Wabash. Travelled till three o'clock in mud and water, but could find no place to encamp on. Still keep marching on, but after some time Mr. Kennedy and his party returned. Found it impossible to pass the Embarrass river. We found the water falling from a small spot of ground. Staid there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and dark weather.

18th. At break of day, heard Governor Hamilton's morning guns. Set off and marched down the river. Saw some fine lands. About two o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash. Made rafts for four men to cross and go up to town and steal boats, but they spent the day and night in the water to no purpose, for there was not a foot of dry land to be found.

19th. Captain McCarty's company set to making a canoe. At three o'clock, the four men returned after spending the night on some old logs in the water. The canoe finished. Captain McCarty with three of his men embarked in the canoe, and made the next attempt to steal boats. But he soon returned, having discovered four large fires about a league distant from our camp, that seemed to him to be fires of whites and Indians. Immediately Colonel Clark sent two men in the canoe down to meet the battoe, with orders to come on day and night, that being our last hope from starving. Many of the men much cast down, particularly the volunteers. No provision of any sort for two days. Hard fortune.

20th. Camp very quiet but hungry.—Many of the Creoles volunteers talking of returning. Fell to making more canoes, when about 12 o'clock our sentry brought too a boat with five Frenchmen from the Port, who told us we were not as yet discovered, that the inhabitants were well pleased towards us, &c.

Captain Willing's brother, who was taken in the Fort, had made his escape to us, and said that one Masonville, with a party of Indians, were then seven days in pursuit of him, with much news, more news in our favor, such as repairs done to the fort, &c. They informed us of two canoes they had seen adrift some distance above us. Ordered Captain Worthington, with a party of men, to go in search of them. Returned late with one only. One of our men killed a deer which was distributed in the camp very acceptably.

21st. At break of day began to ferry our men over in our two canoes, to small hills called mamelles, or breasts. Capt. Williams with two men went to look for a passage; but were discovered by two men in a canoe, but could not bring them to. The whole army being over, we thought to get to town that night, so plunged into the water, sometimes to the neck, for more than a league, when we stopped on the next hill of the same name, there being no dry land on any side for many leagues. Our pilot says we cannot get along — that it was impossible. The whole army being over, we encamped. Rain all this day. No provisions."*

And here we turn to Clark himself.

"This last day's march, [February 21st,] through the water was far superior to any thing the Frenchmen had an idea of: they were backward in speaking—said that the nearest land to us was a small league, called the sugar camp, on the bank of the [river?] A canoe was sent off, and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself, and sounded the water: found it deep as to my neck. I return-

* We take our extracts from a MS copy of the journal: portions may also be found in Dillon, i. 157.

ed with a design to have the men transported on board the canoes to the Sugar camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing night, as the vessels would pass slowly through the bushes. The loss of so much time, to men half starved, was a matter of consequence. I would have given now a great deal for a day's provision, or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops—giving myself time to think. On our arrival, all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me. I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers: the whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for about one minute—whispered to those near me to do as I did—immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the war-whoop, and marched into the water, without saying a word. The party gazed, and fell in, one after another, without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to begin a favorite song of theirs: it soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully. I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water; but when about waist deep one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path. We examined, and found it so; and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did; and by taking pains to follow it, we got to the Sugar camp, without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodging. The Frenchmen that we had taken on the river appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night: they said that they would bring from their own houses provisions, without a possibility of any persons knowing it—that some our men should go with them, as a surety of their good conduct—that it was impossible we could march from that place till the water fell, for the plain was too deep to march. Some of the [officers?] believed that it might be done. I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy, and give satisfactory reasons to myself, or any body else, why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute, and of so much advantage: but something seemed to tell me that it should not be done; and it was not done.

"The most of the weather that we had on this march, was moist and warm, for the season. This was the coldest night we had. The ice in the morning was from one half to three quarters of an inch thick, near the shores, and in still water. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little after sunrise I lectured the whole. What I said to them I forget; but it may be easily imagined by a person that could possess my affections for them at that time:—I concluded by informing them that passing the plain that was then in full view, and reaching the opposite woods, would put an end to their fatigue—that in

a few hours they would have a sight of their long wished for object—and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place. As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered I halted and called to Major Bowman, ordered him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and put to death any man who refused to march; as we wished to have no such person among us. The whole gave a cry of approbation, and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself; and judged from my own feelings what must be that of others. Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about mid-deep, I found myself sensibly failing; and as there were no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared that many of the most weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and play backwards and forwards with all diligence, and pick up the men; and to encourage the party, sent some of the strongest men forward, with orders, when they got to a certain distance, to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow; and when getting near the woods to cry out 'Land!' This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities—the weak holding by the stronger. * * * The water never got shallower, but continued deepening. Getting to the woods where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders: but gaining the woods was of great consequence: all the low men and the weakly hung to the trees, and floated on the old logs, until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore and built fires. Many would reach the shore, and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it.

"This was a delightful dry spot of ground, of about ten acres. We soon found that the fires answered no purpose; but that two strong men taking a weaker one by the arms was the only way to recover him—and, being a delightful day, it soon did. But fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town, and took through part of this plain as a nigh way. It was discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase and took the Indian canoe, on board of which was near half a quarter of a buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, &c. This was a grand prize, and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made and served out to the most weakly, with great care: most of the whole got a little; but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades. This little refreshment and fine weather, by the afternoon gave new life to the whole. Crossing a narrow deep lake in the canoes, and marching some distance, we came to a copse of timber called the Warrior's Island. We were now in full

view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles distance. Every man now feasted his eyes, and forgot that he had suffered any thing—saying, that all that had passed was owing to good policy, and nothing but what a man could bear; and that a soldier had no right to think, &c.—passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases. It was now we had to disply our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting them, within a half mile of us; and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoner, in such a manner as not to alarm the others; which they did. The information we got from this person was similar to that whlch we got from those we took on the river; except that of the British having that evening completed the wall of the fort, and that there was a good many Indians in town.

Our situation was now truly critical—no possibility of retreating in case of defeat—and in full view of a town that had at this time upwards of six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants, and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would have been now a reinforcement of immense magnitude to our little army, (if I may so call it,) but we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man, as they expected nothing but torture from the savages, if they fell into their hands. Our fate was now to be determined, probably in a few hours. We knew that nothing but the most daring conduct would ensure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well—that many were lukewarm to the interest of either—and I also learned that the Grand Chief, the Tobacco's son, had, but a few days before, openly declared in council with the British, that he was a brother and friend to the Big Knives. These were favorable circumstances; and as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants:

*To the inhabitants of Post Vincennes.*

Gentlemen:—Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses.—And those, if any there be, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer General, and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated;

and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat him as an enemy.

[Signed,] G. R. CLARK.

A little before sunset we moved and displayed ourselves in full view of the town—crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction, or success. There was no mid-way thought of. We had but little to say to our men, except inculcating an idea of the necessity of obedience, &c. We knew they did not want encouraging; and that any thing might be attempted with them that was possible for such a number—perfectly cool, under proper subordination, pleased with the prospect before them, and much attached to their officers. They all declared that they were convinced that an implicit obedience to orders was the only thing that would ensure success—and hoped that no mercy would be shown the person that should violate them. Such language as this from soldiers, to persons in our station, must have been exceedingly agreeable. We moved on slowly in full view of the town; but as it was a point of some consequence to us to make ourselves appear as formidable, we, in leaving the covert that we were in, marched and counter-marched in such a manner that we appeared numerous. In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person that set about the business had a set of colors given them, which they brought with them, to the amount of ten or twelve pair. These were displayed to the best advantage; and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent raisings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level, (which was covered with water,) and as these raisings generally run in an oblique direction to the town, we took the advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our being numbered: but our colors showed considerably above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance: and as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers, with their horses, officers were mounted on these horses, and rode about more completely to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved, and directed our march in such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town.

The garrison was soon completely surrounded, and the firing continued without intermission, (except about fifteen minutes a little before day,) until about nine o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by the whole of the troops,—joined by a few of the young men of the town, who got permission—except fifty men kept as a reserve. * * *

I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation of the fort and town, and the parts relative to each. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floors of strong block-houses at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface; and the ports so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them within twenty or thirty yards of the walls. They did no damage except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered: and their musketry, in the dark, employed against woodsmen covered by houses, palings, ditches, the banks of the river, &c., was but of little avail, and did no injury to us except wounding a man or two. As we could not afford to lose men, great care was taken to preserve them sufficiently covered, and to keep up a hot fire in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them. The embrasures of their cannon were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour in such volleys when they were opened that the men could not stand to the guns: seven or eight of them in a short time got cut down. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy, in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannon, that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down with their rifles—fifty of which perhaps would be levelled the moment the port flew open: and I believe that if they had stood at their artillery the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as the greater part of our men lay within thirty yards of the walls; and in a few hours were covered equally to those within the walls, and much more experienced in that mode of fighting.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible, was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual; and a great noise and laughter immediately commenced in different parts of the town, by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement; and as if those continually firing at the fort were only regularly relieved. Conduct similar to this kept the garrison constantly alarmed.

Thus the attack continued, until about nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th. Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the day before, had a considerable number of letters with them, I supposed it an express that we expected about this time, which I knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country: and not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers might be destroyed; to prevent which, I sent a flag, [with a letter,] demanding the garrison.

The following is a copy of the letter* which was addressed by Colonel Clark to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, on this occasion:

Sir:—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now

* Extracted from Major Bowman's MS. Journal.

threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town—for, by Heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

[Signed,] G. R. CLARK.

To this the Governor replied, that he could not think of being "awed into any action unworthy a British subject"; but his true feeling peeped out in his question to Helm, when the bullets rattled about the chimney of the room in which they were playing piquet together, and Helm swore that Clark would have them prisoners. "Is he a merciful man?" said the Governor.

Clark, finding the British unwilling to yield quietly, began "firing very hot." When this came on, Helm cautioned the English soldiers not to look out through the loop-holes; for these Virginia riflemen he said, would shoot their eyes out, if they did. And seven being actually shot by balls which came through the port holes, Hamilton was led to send out a flag with the following letter:

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days; during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe on his part, a like cessation of any defensive work: that is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be; and promises that whatever may pass between them two, and another person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes, that whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

[Signed,] HENRY HAMILTON.

24th February, '79.

I was at a great loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce of three days, on such terms as he proposed. Numbers said it was a scheme to get me into their possession. I had a different opinion, and no idea of his possessing such sentiments; as an act of that kind would infallibly ruin him. Although we had the greatest reason to expect a reinforcement in less than three days that would at once put an end to the siege, I yet did not

think it prudent to agree to the proposals; and sent the following answer:

Colonel Clark's compliments to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church, with Captain Helm.

[Signed,] G. R. C.

February 24th, '79.

We met at the church,* about eighty yards from the fort—Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Captain Helm, their prisoner, Major Bowman and myself. The conference began. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation, signed, that contained various articles, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered, on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article, I rejected the whole. He then wished that I would make some proposition. I told him that I had no other to make, than what I had already made—that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit; that they could not suppose that they would be worse treated in consequence of it; that if he chose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better; that it was in vain to make any proposition to me; that he, by this time, must be sensible that the garrison would fall; that both of us must [view ?] all blood spilt for the future by the garrison as murder; that my troops were already impatient, and called aloud for permission to tear down and storm the fort: if such a step was taken, many of course would be cut down; and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in, must be obvious to him; it would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man. Various altercation took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner, and it was doubtful whether or not he could with propriety speak on the subject. Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was from that moment liberated, and might use his

* During the conference at the church, some Indian warriors who had been sent to the Falls of the Ohio, for scalps and prisoners, were discovered on their return, as they entered the plains near Post Vincennes. A party of the American Troops, commanded by Captain Williams went out to meet them. The Indians, who mistook this detachment for a party of their friends, continued to advance "with all the parade of successful warriors." "Our men," says Major Bowman, "killed two on the spot; wounded three, took six prisoners, and brought them into town. Two of them proved to be whites, we released them, and brought the Indians to the main street, before the fort gate—there tomahawked them, and threw them into the river."—[Major Bowman's MS. Journal.]

pleasure. I informed the Captain that I would not receive him on such terms—that he must return to the garrison, and await his fate. I then told Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums gave the alarm. We took our leave, and parted but a few steps, when Hamilton stopped, and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the garrison on any other terms than those I had offered. I told him I had no objections in giving him my real reasons, which were simply these: that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partizans of Detroit were with him—that I wanted an excuse to put them to death, or otherwise treat them, as I thought proper—that the cries of the widows and the fatherless on the frontiers, which they had occasioned, now required their blood from my hands, and that I did not chose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute commands of their authority, which I looked upon to be next to divine: that I would rather lose fifty men, than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety: that if he chose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes, it was his own pleasure; and that I might perhaps take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed. Major Hay, paying great attention, I had observed a kind of distrust in his countenance, which in a great measure influenced my conversation during this time. On my concluding, "Pray, sir," said he, "who is it that you call Indian partizans?" "Sir," I replied, "I take Major Hay to be one of the principal." I never saw a man in the moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be—pale and trembling, scarcely able to stand. Hamilton blushed—and, I observed was much affected at his behaviour. Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for the one and his sorrow for the other. * * * * Some moments elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment my resolutions changed respecting Hamilton's situation. I told him that we would return to our respective posts; that I would reconsider the matter, and let him know the result: no offensive measures should be taken in the mean time. Agreed to; and we parted. What had passed, being made known to our officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions.

In the course of the afternoon of the 24th, the following articles* were signed, and the garrison capitulated:

I.—Lieutenant Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark, Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, &c.

II.—The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war; and march out with their arms and accoutrements, &c.

III.—The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock, to-morrow.

* Major Bowman's MS. Journal.

IV.—Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

V.—The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, &c.

Signed at Post St. Vincent, [Vincennes,] 24th February, 1779.

Agreed for the following reasons: the remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, &c.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

[Signed,] HENRY HAMILTON,
Lt. Gov. and Superintendent.

The business being now nearly at an end, troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison, and patroled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. The remainder on duty lay on their arms; and, for the first time for many days past, got some rest. * * * During the siege I got only one man wounded: not being able to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Seven were badly wounded in the fort, through ports.* * *

Hamilton's surrender of St. Vincent's, or Fort Sackville, put a stop of course to the proposed purging of the West from the Long Knives. The Governor and some others were sent prisoners to Virginia, where the Council ordered their confinement in jail, fettered and alone, in punishment for their abominable policy of urging barbarians to ultra barbarism, as they surely had done by offering rewards for scalps but none for prisoners, a course which naturally resulted in wholesale and cold-blooded murder; the Indians driving captives within sight of the British forts and then butchering them. As this rigid confinement, however just, was not in accordance with the terms of Hamilton's surrender, General Phillips protested in regard to it, and Jefferson, having referred the matter to the commander-in-chief, Washington gave his opinion decidedly against it, in consequence of which the Council of Virginia released the Detroit "hair-buyer" from his irons.†

Clark returned to Kaskaskias, where, in consequence of the competition of the traders, he found himself more embarrassed from the depreciation of the paper money which had been advanced him by Virginia, than he had been by the movements of the British; and where he was forced to pledge his own credit

* Our extracts from Clark's Journal we owe to Dillon, i. 157 to 173.

† Sparks' Washington, vi. 315.—Almon's Remembrancer for 1779, pp. 337. 340.—Jefferson's Writings, i. 451 to 458.

to procure what he needed, to an extent that influenced vitally his own fortune and life thenceforward.

After the taking of Vincennes, Detroit was undoubtedly within the reach of the enterprising Virginian, had he but been able to raise as many soldiers as were starving and idling at Forts Laurens and McIntosh.* He could not; and Governor Henry having promised him a reinforcement, he concluded to wait for that, as his force was too small to both conquer and garrison the British forts. But the results of what was done were not unimportant; indeed, we cannot estimate those results. Hamilton had made arrangements to enlist the southern and western Indians† for the next spring's campaign; and, if Mr. Stone be correct in his suppositions, Brant and his Iroquois were to act in concert with him.‡ Had Clark, therefore, failed to conquer the Governor, there is too much reason to fear, that the West would have been, indeed, swept, from the Mississippi to the mountains, and the great blow struck, which had been contemplated, from the outset, by Britain. But for his small army of dripping, but fearless Virginians, the union of all the tribes from Georgia to Maine, against the colonies, might have been effected, and the whole current of our history changed.

Turning from the west to the north, we find a new cause of trouble arising there. Of the six tribes of the Iroquois, the Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had been, from the outset, inclining to Britain, though all of these, but the Mohawks, had now and then tried to persuade the Americans to the contrary. During the winter of 1778–9, the Onondagas, who had been for a while nearly neutral, were suspected, by the Americans, of deception; and, this suspicion having become nearly knowledge, a band was sent, early in April, to destroy their towns, and take such of them, as could be taken, prisoners. The work appointed was done, and the villages and wealth of the poor savages were annihilated. This sudden act of severity startled all. The Oneidas, hitherto faithful to their neutrality, were alarmed, lest the next blow should fall on them, and it was only after a full explanation that their fears were quieted. As for the Onondagas,

* Clark in his letter to Jefferson, (Jefferson's Writings, i. 451,) says that with 500 men, when he first reached Illinois, or with 300 after the conquest of St. Vincents, he could have taken Detroit. The people of Detroit had great rejoicings when they heard of Hamilton's capture, and the garrison of the fort was but eighty strong.

† Butler, p. 80. ‡ Stone, vol. i. p. 400.

it was not to be hoped that they would sit down under such treatment; and we find, accordingly, that some hundred of their warriors were at once in the field, and from that time forward, a portion of their nation remained, and, we think, justly, hostile to the United Colonies.*

Those colonies, meanwhile, had become convinced, from the massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, that it was advisable to adopt some means of securing the north-western and western frontiers against the recurrence of such catastrophes; and, the hostile tribes of the Six Nations being the most numerous and deadly foes, it was concluded to begin by strong action against them. Washington had always said, that the only proper mode of defence against the Indians was to attack them, and this mode he determined to adopt on this occasion. Some difference of opinion existed, however, as to the best path into the country of the inimical Iroquois; that most lovely country in the west of New York, which is now fast growing into a granary for millions of men. General Schuyler was in favor of a movement up the Mohawk river; the objection to which route was, that it carried the invaders too near to Lake Ontario, and within reach of the British. The other course proposed was up the Susquehanna, which heads, as all know, in the region that was to be reached. The latter route was the one determined upon by Washington for the main body of troops, which was to be joined by another body moving up the Mohawk, and also by detachments coming from the western army, by the way of the Alleghany and French Creek; upon further thought, however, the movement from the West was countermanded.* All the arrangements for this grand blow were made in March and April, but it was the last of July before General Sullivan got his men under way from Wyoming, where they had gathered; and, of course, information of the proposed movements had been given to the Indians and Tories, so that Brant, the Johnsons, and their followers stood ready to receive the invaders.

They were not, however, strong enough to withstand the Americans; and, having been defeated at the battle of Newtown, were driven from village to village, and their whole country was laid waste. Houses were burned, crops and orchards destroyed, and every thing done that could be thought of, to render the country uninhabitable. Of all these steps Mr. Stone speaks fully. Forty

* Stone, vol. i. p. 405.

* Sparks's *Washington*, vol. vi. pp. 183 *et seq.*

towns, he tell us, were burnt, and more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn. Well did the Senecas name Washington, whose armies did all this, "the Town Destroyer." Having performed this portion of his work, Sullivan turned homeward from the beautiful valley of the Genesee; leaving Niagara, whither the Indians fled, as to the strong hold of British power in that neighborhood, untouched. This conduct, Mr. Stone thinks "difficult of solution,"* as he supposes the conduct of that post to have been one of the main objects of the expedition. Such, however, was not the fact. Originally it had been part of the proposed plan to attack Niagara;† but, early in January, Washington was led to doubt, and then to abandon, that part of the plan, thinking it wiser to carry on, merely, some operations on a smaller scale against the savages."‡

One of the smaller operations was from the West. On the 22d of March, 1779, Washington wrote to Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had succeeded McIntosh at Fort Pitt, that an incursion into the country of the Six Nations was in preparation, and that in connection therewith, it might be advisable for a force to ascend the Alleghany to Kittaning, and thence to Venango, and having fortified both points, to strike the Mingoes and Munceys upon French creek and elsewhere in that neighborhood, and thus aid General Sullivan in the great blow he was to give by his march up the Susquehanna. Brodhead was also directed to say to the western Indians, that if they made any trouble, the whole force of the United States would be turned against them, and they should be cut off from the face of the earth. But on the 21st of April these orders were countermanded, and the western commander was directed to prepare a rod for the Indians of the Ohio and western lakes; and especially to learn the best time for attacking Detroit. Whether this last advice came too late, or was withdrawn again, we have no means of learning; but Brodhead proceeded as originally directed; marched up the Alleghany, burned the towns of the Indians, and destroyed their crops.‖

The immediate results of this and other equally prompt and severe measures, was to bring the Delawares, Shawanese, and even Wyandots, to Fort Pitt, on a treaty of peace. There Brod-

* Vol. ii. p. 36.

† Sparks's *Washington*, vol. vi. pp. 120, 146.

‡ Ibid., pp. 162–166.

‖ Sparks's *Washington*, vi. 205. 224. 384. 387.

head met them, on his return in September, and a long conference was held, to the satisfaction of both parties.

Farther west during this summer and autumn the Indians were more successful. In July, the stations being still troubled, Colonel Bowman undertook an expedition into the country of the Shawanese, acting upon Washington's principle, that to defend yourselves against Indians, you must assail them. He marched undiscovered into the immediate vicinity of the towns upon the Little Miami, and so divided and arranged his forces, as to ensure apparent success; one portion of the troops being commanded by himself, another by Colonel Benjamin Logan; but from some unexpected cause, his division of the whites did not co-operate fully with that led by Logan, and the whole body was forced to retreat, after having taken some booty, including a hundred and sixty horses, and leaving the town of the savages in cinders, but also leaving the fierce warriors themselves in no degree daunted or crippled.*

Nor was it long before they showed themselves south of the Ohio again, and unexpectedly won a victory over the Americans of no slight importance. The facts, so far as we can gather them, are these:

An expedition which had been in the neighborhood of Lexington, where the first permanent improvements were made in April of this year,† upon its return came to the Ohio near the Licking, at the very time that Colonel Rogers and Captain Benham reached the same point on their way up the river in boats. A few of the Indians were seen by the commander of the little American squadron, near the mouth of the Licking; and supposing himself to be far superior in numbers, he caused seventy of his men to land, intending to surround the savages; in a few moments, however he found he was himself surrounded, and after a hard fought battle, only twenty or twenty-five, or perhaps even fewer, of the party were left alive.‡ It was in connection with this skirmish that a coincidence occurred which seems to belong rather to a fanciful story than to sober history, and which yet appears to be well authenticated. In the party of whites was Captain Robert Benham. He was one of those that fell, being shot through both hips, so as to be powerless in his lower limbs; he dragged himself, however, to a tree-top, and there lay concealed from the savages after the contest was over. On the

* Marshall i. 91. See General Ray's opinion, note to Butler, 110.

† Holmes's Annals, ii. 304; note. American Pioneer, ii. 346. Butler, 101. Marshall, i. 89.

‡ Butler, 2d edition, 102. (In this account there is confusion; the Indians are represented as coming on their return from Kentucky, down the Little Miami.) McClung, 148.

evening of the second day, seeing a raccoon, he shot it, but no sooner was the crack of his rifle heard than he distinguished a human voice, not far distant; supposing it to be some Indian, he re-loaded his gun and prepared for defence; but a few moments undeceived him, and he discovered that the person whose voice he had heard was a fellow-sufferer, with this difference, however, that both his arms were broken! Here then, were the only two survivers of the combat, (except those who had entirely escaped,) with one pair of legs and one pair of arms between them. It will be easily believed that they formed a co-partnership for mutual aid and defence. Benham shot the game which his friend drove toward him, and the man with sound legs then kicked it to the spot where he with sound arms sat ready to cook it. To procure water, the one with legs took a hat by the brim in his teeth, and walked into the Licking up to his neck, while the man with arms was to make signals if any boat appeared in sight. In this way they spent about six weeks, when, upon the 27th of November, they were rescued. Benham afterward bought and lived upon the land where the battle took place; his companion, Mr. Butler, tells us, was, a few years since, still living at Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

But the military operations of 1779 were not those which were of the most vital importance to the west. The passage of the Land Laws by Virginia was of more consequence than the losing or gaining of many battles, to the hardy pioneers of Kentucky and to their descendents. Of these laws we can give at best a vague outline, but it may be enough to render the subject in some degree intelligible.

In 1779 there existed claims of very various kinds to the western lands;

1. Those of the Ohio, Walpole, and other companies, who had a title more or less perfect, from the British government: none of these had been perfected by patents, however.

2. Claims founded on the military bounty warrants of 1763: some of these were patented.

3. Henderson's claim by purchase from the Indians.

4. Those based on mere selection and occupancy.

5. Others resting on selection and survey, without occupancy.

6. Claims of persons who had imported settlers; for each such settler, under an old law, fifty acres were to be allowed.

7. Claims of persons who had paid money into the old colonial treasury for land.

8. The claims of the officers and soldiers of the Revolution, to whom Virginia was indebted.

These various claims were in the first place to be provided for, and then the residue of the rich vallies beyond the mountains might be sold to pay the debts of the parent State. In May,* the chief laws relative to this most important and complicated subject were passed, and commissioners were appointed to examine the various claims which might be presented, and give judgment according to the evidence brought forward, their proceedings, however, to remain open to revision until December 1, 1780. And as the subject was a perplexed one, the following principles were laid down for their guidance:

I. All *surveys* (without patents,) made before January 1, 1778, by any county surveyor commissioned by William and Mary College, and founded *(a)* upon charter; *(b)* upon importation rights duly proved; *(c)* upon treasury rights, (money paid into the colonial treasury;) *(d)* upon entries not exceeding four hundred acres, made before October 26, 1763; *(e)* upon acts of the Virginia Assembly resulting from orders in council, &c.; *(f)* upon any warrant from a colonial governor, for military services, &c. were to be good; all other surveys null and void.

II. Those *who had not made surveys*, if claiming *(a)* under importation rights; *(b)* under treasury rights; *(c)* under warrants for military services, were to be admitted to survey and entry.

III. Those who had actually settled, or caused at their cost others to settle, on unappropriated lands, *before January* 1, 1778, were to have four hundred acres, or less, as they pleased, for every family so settled; paying $2.25 for each hundred acres.

IV. Those who had settled in villages *before January* 1, 1778, were to receive for each family four hundred acres, adjacent to the village, at $2.25 per hundred acres; and the village property was to remain unsurveyed until the general assembly could examine the titles to it, and do full justice.

V. To all having settlement rights, as above described, was given also a right of pre-emption to one thousand acres adjoining the settlement, at State prices—forty cents an acre.

VI. To those who had settled *since January* 1, 1778, was given a pre-emption right to four hundred acres, adjoining and including the settlement made by them.

VII. All the region between Green river, the Cumberland moun-

* Morehead, 166.

tains, Tennessee, the river Tennessee, and the Ohio, was reserved, to be used for military claims.

VIII. The two hundred thousand acres granted Henderson and his associates, October, 1778, along the Ohio, below the mouth of Green river, remained still appropriated to them.

Having thus provided for the various classes of claimants, the Legislature offered the remainder of the public lands at forty cents an acre: the money was to be paid into the Treasury and a warrant for the quantity wished taken by the purchaser; this warrant he was to take to the surveyor of the county in which he wished to locate, and an entry was to be made of every location, so special and distinct that the adjoining lands might be known with certainty. To persons unable to pay cash, four hundred acres were to be sold on credit, and an order of the county court was to be substituted for the warrant of the Treasury.

To carry these laws into effect, four Virginians were sent westward to attend to claims; these gentlemen opened their court on the 13th of October, at St. Asaphs, and continued their sessions at various points, until April, 26, 1780, when they adjourned to meet no more, after having given judgment in favor of about three thousand claims. The labors of the commissioners being ended, those of the surveyor commenced; and Mr. George May, who had been appointed to that office, assumed its duties upon the 10th day of that month the name of which he bore.*

* Marshall, i, 82. 97. See also Statutes of Virginia, by B. W. Leigh, ii. 347. 348. 350. 353. 388.

# 1780.

With this year commences the history of those troubles relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, which for so long a time produced the deepest discontent in the West. Spain had taken the American part so far as to go to war with Britain, but no treaty had yet been concluded between Congress and the powers at Madrid. Mr. Jay, however, had been appointed Minister from the United States, at the Spanish court, where he arrived in the spring of this year, and where he soon learned the grasping plans of the Southern Bourbons. These plans indeed, were in no degree concealed, the French Minister being instructed to inform Congress,—

That his most Christian majesty,* being uninformed of the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary to treat of an alliance between the United States and his catholic majesty,† has signified to his minister plenipotentiary to the United States, that he wishes most earnestly for such an alliance; and in order *to make the way more easy*, has commanded him to communicate to the congress, *certain articles*, which his catholic majesty deems of great importance to the interests of his crown, and on which it is *highly necessary* that the United States explain themselves with *precision* and with such *moderation*, as may consist with their essential rights.

That the articles are,

1. A precise and invariable western boundary to the United States.
2. The exclusive navigation of the river Mississippi.
3. The possession of the Floridas; and,
4. The land on the left or eastern side of the river Mississippi.

That on the first article, it is the idea of the cabinet of Madrid, that the United States extend to the westward no farther than settlements were permitted by the royal proclamation, bearing date the 7th day of October, 1763, (that is to say, not west of the Alleghanies.)

On the second, that the United States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the river Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon.

* Of France. † Of Spain.

On the third, that it is probable the king of Spain will conquer the Floridas, during the course of the present war; and in such an event, every cause of dispute relative thereto, betwen Spain and these United States, ought to be removed.

On the fourth, that the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper *objects* against which the arms of Spain may be employed, for the purpose of making a *permanent conquest* for the Spanish crown. That such conquest may, probably, be made during the present war. That, therefore, it would be advisable to *restrain* the *southern* states from making any settlements or conquests in these territories. That the council of Madrid consider the United States, as having no claim to those territories, either as not having had possession of them, before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereignty of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured.*

These extraordinary claims of his Catholic Majesty were in no respect admitted during this year either by Mr. Jay or Congress, and in October a full statement of the views of the United States as to their territorial rights, was drawn up, probably by Mr. Madison, and sent to the Ambassador at Madrid.† Meantime, as Virginia considered the use of the Great Western river very necessary to her children, Governor Jefferson had ordered a fort to be constructed upon the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio. This was done in the spring of the year 1780, by General G. R. Clark, who was stationed at the Falls; and was named by him after the writer of the Declaration of Independence. This fort for some purposes may have been well placed, but it was a great mistake to erect it, without notice, in the country of the Chickasaws, who had thus far been true friends to the American cause. They regarded this unauthorized intrusion upon their lands as the first step in a career of conquest, and as such resented it; while the settlers of Kentucky looked upon the measure with but little favor, as it tended to diminish the available force in their stations, which were still exposed to the ceaseless hostility of the Shawanese and Wyandots. The inhabitants of these stations, meanwhile, were increasing with wonderful rapidity under the inducements presented by the land laws, and although the winter of 1779–80, was one of the most severe ever experienced in the

* See Pitkin's History of the United States, ii. p. 92.

† Pitkin, ii. 512, 91. Life of John Jay, i. 108, &c.

West, the wild animals being starved and frozen in the forest, while the domesticated fared no better in the settlements,—still emigrants crowded over the mountains as soon as spring opened. Three hundred large family boats arrived early in the year at the Falls; and on Beargrass creek was a population containing six hundred serviceable men.*—Nor did the swarming stop with the old settlements; in the southwest part of the State the hunter Maulding, and his four sons, built their outpost upon the Red river which empties into the Cumberland;† while, sometime in the spring of this same year, Dr. Walker, and Colonel Henderson, the first visitor and first colonist of Kentucky, tried to run the line which should divide Virginia from Carolina, (or as things are now named, Kentucky from Tennessee,) westward as far as the Mississippi; an attempt in which they failed.‡ Nor was it to western lands and territorial boundaries alone that Virginia directed her attention at this time; in May we find her Legislature saying that, "Whereas, it is represented to this General Assembly that there are certain lands within the county of Kentucky, formerly belonging to British subjects, not yet sold under the law of escheats and forfeitures, which might at a future day be a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth, AND IT BEING THE INTEREST OF THIS COMMONWEALTH ALWAYS TO PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE EVERY DESIGN WHICH MAY TEND TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MIND AND THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE EVEN AMONG ITS REMOTE CITIZENS, *whose situation in a barbarous neighborhood and a savage intercourse, might otherwise render unfriendly to science:* be it thereenacted, that eight thousand acres of land, within the said county of Kentucky, late the property of those British subjects,‖ should be vested in trustees, 'as a free donation from this Commonwealth for the purpose of a public school, or seminary of learning, to be erected within the said county, as soon as its circumstances and the state of its funds will permit.'"

Such, and so early laid, was the foundation of the first western Seminary of literature; just five years after the forts of Boonesborough and Harrodsburg rose amidst the woods. In May of this year, as already related, St. Louis was attacked by the British and

* Butler, second edition, 99.

† Morehead, p. 83.

‡ Marshall, i. 113. Holmes' Annals, ii. 304, note 3d.

‖ There names were Robert McKenzie, Henry Collins, and Alexander McKee.

Indians.* Nor did they confine their attentions entirely to the Spaniards and the more distant West.

In the summer of 1780, just before the return of Boone to the West, the most formidable invasion of Kentucky took place of which her annals contain any notice. A body of six hundred men, Canadians and Indians, commanded by Colonel Byrd, a British officer, and accompanied by either two or six cannon,† marched up the valley of the Licking. It first appeared, on the 22d of June, before Riddle's station on the south fork of that river, and required instant surrender. The demand could not be resisted, as the Kentucky stockades were powerless against cannon. Martin's station on the same stream was next taken;—and then, from some unexplained cause, the whole body of invaders—whose number was double that of all the fighting men east of the Kentucky river—turned right about face and hurried out of the country with all speed. The only reasonable explanation of the matter is that the British commander, horror-stricken and terrified at the excesses and cruelties of his savage allies, dared not go forward in the task—by no means a hopeless one—of depopulating the woods of Kentucky.‡

This incursion by Byrd and his red friends, little as it had effected, was enough to cause Clark, who had just returned from his labors on Fort Jefferson, and who found at the Falls a letter from the Governor of Virginia, recommending an attack upon the Indian villages north of the Ohio—to take immediate steps for the chastisement of the savages, and especially for the destruction of the store which furnished goods to the natives. This was situated where the post destroyed by the French in 1752 had been, and was known in later days as Loramie's store. When, however, in accordance with his determination, Clark, in July, went to Harrodsburg to enlist recruits, he found the whole population crazy about land entries, Mr. May, the Surveyor, having opened his office but two months previous. The General proposed to him to shut up for a time while the Indians were attended to; the Surveyor in reply expressed a perfect willingness to do so in case General Clark would order it, but said that otherwise he had no authority to take such a step. The order was accordingly given and public notice spread abroad, accompanied by a full statement

* Ante, p. 182.

† Butler, 110.—Marshall i. 107.—Boone's Narrative in Filson, 44.

‡ Butler, 110.—Marshall i. 106.

of the reasons for the proceeding. The result proved, as usual, Clark's sagacity; volunteers flocked to his standard, and soon with a thousand men he was at the mouth of the Licking. Silently and swiftly from that point he proceeded to attack the town known as Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, and then the Pickaway towns on Mad river. In both attacks he succeeded; destroying the towns, burning the crops, and above all annihilating the British store above referred to, with its contents. This expedition, the first efficient one ever undertaken against the Miami nests of enemies—for a time relieved Kentucky from the attack of any body of Indians sufficiently numerous to produce serious alarm.* During this period of comparative quiet those measures which led to the cession of the western lands to the United States began to assume a definite form.

Upon the 25th of June, 1778, when the articles of confederation were under discussion in Congress, the objections of New Jersey to the proposed plan of union were brought forward, and among them was this:

It was ever the confident expectation of this State, that the benefits derived from a successful contest were to be general and proportionate; and that the property of the common enemy, falling in consequence of a prosperous issue of the war, would belong to the United States, and be appropriated to their use. We are therefore greatly disappointed in finding no provision made in the confederation for empowering the Congress to dispose of such property, but especially the vacant and impatented lands, commonly called the crown lands, for defraying the expenses of the war, and for such other public and general purposes. The jurisdiction ought in every instance to belong to the respective states within the charter or determined limits of which such lands may be seated; but reason and justice must decide, that the property which existed in the crown of Great Britain, previous to the present revolution, ought now to belong to the Congress, in trust for the use and benefit of the United States. They have fought and bled for it in proportion to their respective abilities; and therefore the reward ought not to be predilectionally distributed. Shall such States as are shut out by situation from availing themselves of the least advantange from this quarter, be left to sink under an enormous debt, whilst others are enabled, in a short period, to replace all their expenditures from the hard earnings of the whole confederacy.†

* See, for a particular account of this expedition, Stipp's Miscellany, 63 to 70.—Butler 117.—Marshall i. 109.—American Pioneer, i. 346.—Boone's Narrative.—Filson's Map.

† See Secret Journal, i. p. 377.

Nor was New Jersey alone in her views. In January 1779, the Council and Assembly of Delaware, while they authorized their Delegates to ratify the Articles of Confederation, also passed certain resolutions, and one of them was in these words:

*Resolved also*, That this state consider themselves justly entitled to a right, in common with the members of the Union, to that extensive tract of country which lies to the westward of the frontiers of the United States, the property of which was not vested in, or granted to, individuals at the commencement of the present war. That the same hath been, or may be, gained from the king of Great Britain, or the native Indians, by the blood and treasure of all, and ought therefore to be a common estate, to be granted out on terms beneficial to the United States.*

But this protest, however positive, was not enough for Maryland, the representatives of which in Congress, presented upon the 21st of May, 1779, their instructions relative to confirming the much talked-of bond that was to make the colonies one. From those instructions we select the following passages:

Virginia, by selling on the most moderate terms a small proportion of the lands in question, would draw into her treasury vast sums of money; and in proportion to the sums arising from such sales, would be enabled to lessen her taxes. Lands comparatively cheap, and taxes comparatively low, with the lands and taxes of an adjacent State, would quickly drain the State thus disadvantageously circumstanced of its most useful inhabitants; its wealth and its consequence in the scale of the confederated States would sink of course. A claim so injurious to more than one half, if not to the whole of the United States, ought to be supported by the clearest evidence of the right. Yet what evidences of that right have been produced? What arguments alleged in support either of the evidence or the right? None that we have heard of deserving a serious refutation. * * * *

We are convinced, policy and justice require, that a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States, should be considered as a common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress, into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner, and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct.

Thus convinced, we should betray the trust reposed in us by our constituents, were we to authorize you to ratify on their behalf the confede-

* See Secret Journal, i. p. 429.

ration, unless it be farther explained. We have coolly and dispassionately considered the subject; we have weighed probable inconveniences and hardships against the sacrifice of just and essential rights; and do instruct you not to agree to the confederation, unless an article or articles be added thereto in conformity with our declaration. Should we succeed in obtaining such article or articles, then you are hereby fully empowered to accede to the confederation.*

These difficulties toward perfecting the Union were increased by the passage of the laws in Virginia, for disposing of the public lands; this, as we have stated, was done in May, 1779. Apprehensive of the consequences, Congress, upon the 30th of October, in that year, resolved that Virginia be recommended to reconsider her Act opening a land office, and that she and all other States claiming wild lands be requested to grant no warrants during the continuance of the war.† The troubles which thus threatened to arise from the claims of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, to the lands which other colonies regarded as common property, caused New York, on the 19th of February, 1780, to pass an act which gave to the Delegates of that State power to cede the western lands claimed by her for the benefit of the United States. This law was laid before Congress on the 7th of the next month, (March, '80,‡) but no step seems to have been taken until September 6th, 1780, when a resolution passed that body pressing upon the States claiming western lands the wisdom of giving up their claims in favor of the whole country;‖ and to aid this recommendation, upon the 10th of October, was passed the following resolution—§ which formed the basis of all after action, and was the first of those legislative measures which have thus far resulted in the creation of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan,—

No. 9. *Resolved*,—That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, by any particular State, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress of the 6th day of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which shall become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other States: that each State which

* See Secret Journal, i. p. 435.

† Old Journals, iii. 384, 385.

‖ Old Journals, iii. 516.

‡ Old Journals, iii. 582.

§ Old Journal, iii. 535.—Land Laws, 328.

shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit: that the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular state shall have incurred since the commencement of the present war, in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts or garrisons within and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed.

That the said lands shall be granted or settled at such times, and under such regulations, as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled, or in any nine or more of them.*

Such were the steps taken in relation to the great western wilderness during the year of which we are treating.

And soon after, in December of that year, the plan of conquering Detroit was renewed again. In 1779 that conquest might have been effected by Clark had he been supported by any spirit;† in January 1780, the project was discussed between Washington and Brodhead, and given up or deferred, as too great for the means of the Continental establishment:‡ in the following October so weak was that establishment that Fort Pitt itself was threatened by the savages and British, while its garrison, destitute of bread, while there was an abundance in the country, were half disposed to mutiny.‖ Under these circumstances, Congress being powerless for action, Virginia proposed to carry out the original plan of her western General, and extend her operations to the Lakes; we find, in consequence, that an application was made by Jefferson to the Commander-in-chief for aid, and that on the 29th of December, an order was given by him on Brodhead for artillery, tools, stores, and men.§ How far the preparations for this enterprize were carried and why they were abandoned we have not been able to discover; but upon the 25th of April 1781, Washington wrote to General Clark, warning him that Connolly, who had just been exchanged, was expected to go from Canada

* See Land Laws, p. 338.

† See p. 214.

‡ Sparks' Washington, vi. 433.—An attempt upon Natchez was also contemplated and abandoned.—Do. do.

‖ Sparks' Washington, vii. 270.

§ Four field pieces, one howitzer, five hundred spades, two hundred picks, &c. &c. Sparks' Washington, vii. 343.

to Venango, (Franklin, mouth of French creek,) with a force of refugees, and thence to Fort Pitt, with blank Commissions for some hundreds of dissatisfied men believed to be in that vicinity.* From this it would seem probable that the Detroit expedition was not abandoned at that time.

Two other facts close the chronicle of 1780; the one, that upon the 1st of November the county of Kentucky was divided into the three counties of Lincoln, Fayette, and Jefferson;† the other, the passage of an Act in May for establishing the town of Louisville.‡ We have mentioned the survey of the lands at the Falls by Bullitt, in 1773, on account of John Connolly;‖ and also the advertisement of that gentleman and John Campbell, dated April 3, 1774.§ Connolly, however, as a tory, had forfeited his title, and in the present year Virginia proceeded to dispose of his share in the one thousand acres at the Falls of the Ohio. But as Campbell, the apparent joint owner, was in captivity in 1780, final action was delayed until his return. This having taken place, successive acts in May and October, '83, and October '84, were passed protecting and securing his interests while the share of his refugee partner was disposed of.¶

* Sparks' Washington, viii. 25.—This letter is not in the Index to Mr. Sparks' work.

† Marshall, i. 111.—Filson's Map.

‡ Collection of Acts, &c., relative to Louisville.—Louisville, 1837, p. 3.

‖ p. 152, note. § p. Do. ¶ p. 151.—Acts relative to Louisville, pp. 4, 5, 6.

# 1781.

Virginia, in accordance with the recommendation of Congress already noticed, upon the 2d of January of this year, agreed to yield her western lands to the United States, upon certain conditions; among which were these;—1st, no person holding ground under a purchase from the natives to him or his grantors, individually, and no one claiming under a grant or charter from the British crown, inconsistent with the charter or customs of Virginia, was to be regarded as having a valid title: and 2nd, the United States were to guarantee to Virginia all the territory south-east of the Ohio to the Atlantic, as far as the bounds of Carolina. These conditions Congress would not accede to, and the Act of Cession, on the part of the Old Dominion failed, nor was any thing farther done until 1783.*

Early in the same month in which Virginia made her first Act of Cession, a Spanish captain, with sixty-five men, left St. Louis, for the purpose of attacking some one of the British posts of the north-west. Whether this attempt originated in a desire to revenge the English and Indian siege of St. Louis, in the previous year, or whether it was a mere pretence to cover the claims about that time set up by Spain to the western country, in opposition to the colonies† which she claimed to be aiding, it is perhaps impossible to say. But these facts, that the point aimed at, St. Joseph's, was far in the interior—and that this crusade was afterwards looked to by the court of Spain as giving a ground of territorial right—make it probable that the enterprise was rather a legal one against the Americans, than a military one against the English: and this conclusion is made stronger by the fact that the Spaniards having taken the utterly unimportant post of St. Joseph, and having claimed the country as belonging to the King of Spain, by right of conquest, turned back to the quiet west bank of the Mississippi again, and left the Long Knives to prosecute the capture of Detroit, as they best could.‡

* Old Ils. iv. 265 to 267. † See ante p. 221.

‡ Diplomatic Correspondence, iii. 339; viii. 150.—Secret Journals, iv. 64. 74.

Upon the 16th of April in this year, was born at Salem upon the Muskingum river, Mary Heckewelder, daughter of the widely known Moravian missionary—the earliest born of white American children, who first saw the light north of the Ohio; and in her language rather than our own, we now give some incidents relative to the Christian Delawares and their teachers.

Soon after my birth, times becoming very troublesome, the settlements were often in danger from war parties; and finally, in the beginning of September of the same year, we were all made prisoners. First, four of the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners of war; they were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death-song was sung over them. Soon after they had secured them, a number of warriors marched off for Salem and Shoenbrun.* About thirty savages arrived at the former place in the dusk of the evening, and broke open the mission house. Here they took my mother and myself prisoners, and having led her into the street and placed guards over her, they plundered the house of every thing they could take with them and destroyed what was left. Then going to take my mother along with them, the savages were prevailed upon, through the intercession of the Indian females, to let her remain at Salem till the next morning—the night being dark and rainy and almost impossible for her to travel so far—they at last consented on condition that she should be bronght into the camp the next morning, which was accordingly done, and she was safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhutten.

After experiencing the cruel treatment of the savages for some time, they were set at liberty again; but were obliged to leave their flourishing settlements, and forced to march through a dreary wilderness to Upper Sandusky. We went by land through Goseachguenk to the Walholding, and then partly by water and partly along the banks of the river, to Sandusky Creek. All the way I was carried by an Indian woman, carefully wrapped in a blanket, on her back. Our journey was exceedingly tedious and dangerous; some of the canoes sunk, and those that were in them lost all their provisions and every thing they had saved. Those that went by land drove the cattle, a pretty large herd. The savages now drove us along, the missionaries with their families usually in their midst, surrounded by their Indian converts. The roads were exceedingly bad, leading through a continuation of swamps.

Having arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built small huts of logs and bark to screen them from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages

* Moravian Towns.

had by degrees stolen almost every thing, both from the missionaries and Indians, on the journey. We lived here extremely poor, oftentimes very little or nothing to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and the poorest of the Indians were obliged to live upon their dead cattle, which died for want of pasture.*

To this account by one who is, from her age at the time, but a second-hand witness, we may add the following particulars. We have already mentioned the rise of the Christian-Indian towns upon the Muskingum. During the wars between the northwest savages and the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier-men, the quiet converts of Post, Zeisberger, and Heckewelder had any other than a pleasant position. The Wyandots thought they betrayed the red men's interests to their religious white kinsfolk; the pale-faced Indian-haters of the Kenawha, doubted as little that the "praying" Delawares played *them* false, and favored the fierce warriors of the lakes.† Little by little these suspicions and jealousies assumed form, and the missionaries having actually been guilty of the crime of interpreting to the Delaware chiefs, certain letters received from Pittsburgh, measures were taken by the English, as early it seems, as 1779, to remove them from the American borders, and thus prevent their interference. No result followed at that time from the steps alluded to; but in 1780 or '81, the Iroquois were asked at a council held at Niagara to remove the Muskingum Christians, as the settlements were in the country claimed by the Five Nations. The New York savages were perfectly willing the thing should be done, but were not willing to do it themselves, so they sent to the Ottawas and Chippeways‡ a message to the effect that they might have the Moravian congregations to make soup of. The Ottawas in their turn declined the treat and sent the message to the Hurons, or, as they are most commonly called, the Wyandots. These, together with Captain Pipe, the war chief of the Delawares, who was the enemy of the missionaries because they taught peace, carried the wish of the English into execution, in the manner narrated by the daughter of the Moravian leader. At Detroit, whither four of the Europeans were taken in October, Heckewelder and his co-laborers were

* American Pioneer, ii. 224.

† In Oct. 1777, a party of Americans crossed the Ohio to attack the Moravian towns.—Heckewelder's Narrative, 165.

‡ The Ojibbeways or Odjibways, as it is lately written in conformity with the true sound and old writing.—Schoolcraft's Algic Researches.—American State Papers, V. 707. 718.

tried; but as even Captain Pipe could find no other charge against them than that of interpreting the American letters above referred to, they were discharged and returned to their families at Sandusky, toward the close of November.*

While the English and their red allies were thus persecuting the poor Moravians and their disciples on the one hand, the Americans were preparing to do the same thing, only, as the event proved, in a much more effectual style. In the spring of 1781, Colonel Brodhead led a body of troops against some of the hostile Delawares, upon the Muskingum. This, a portion of his followers thought, would be an excellent opportunity to destroy the Moravian towns, and it was with difficulty he could withhold them. He sent word to Heckewelder, and tried to prevent any attack upon the members of his flock. In this attempt he appears to have succeeded; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent the slaughter of the troops taken from the hostile Delawares. First, sixteen were killed, and then nearly twenty. A chief, who came under assurances of safety to Brodhead's camp, was also murdered by a noted partisan, named Wetzel.† From that time, the Virginians rested, until autumn, when the frontier men, led by Colonel David Williamson, marched out expressly against the towns of the christian Delawares; but they found that the Hurons had preceded them, and the huts and fields of the friends of peace were deserted.‡

The particular cause of this attempt on the part of the Americans was the series of attacks made during this year by small bands of Indians, along the whole range of stations, from Laurel Hill to Green river. The details of these incursions may be found in Withers' Border Warfare, 225, and Marshall's Kentucky, I. 115. Among these details, the mass of which we, of necessity, omit, is the following, which seems worthy of especial notice. Squire Boone's station, near Shelbyville, being very much exposed, those within it determined to seek a place of greater security: while on their way to the Beargrass settlements they were attacked by the Indians. Colonel Floyd, hearing of this,

* See a full account in Heckewelder's Narrative, 230—299.

† Heckewelder's Narrative, 214.—Doddridge, 291, (the date is in this account 1780, but we presume wrongly.)—Border Warfare, 219; Withers follows Doddridge, but both draw from Heckewelder, who says 1781.—For a full acceunt of Lewis Wetzel, the very embodiment of the most reckless class of frontier men, see Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 121, 161, 169, 177.

‡ Border Warfare, 229. Doddridge, 262.

hastened with twenty-five men against the enemy, but fell into an ambuscade of two hundred savages, and lost half his men. Among those in his party was Captain Samuel Wells, with whom Floyd had been for some time at feud. This gentleman, as he retreated, saw his superior officer, but personal foe, on foot, nearly exhausted, and hard pressed by the invaders, on the point of falling a sacrifice to their fury; instantly dismounting, he forced Colonel Floyd to take his place in the saddle, and being himself fresh, ran by the side of the horse, supporting the fainting rider, and saved the lives of both. It will readily be believed their enmity closed with that day.*

In addition to the incursions by the northern Indians, this year witnessed the risings of the Chickasaws against Fort Jefferson, which, as we have said, had been unwisely built in their country, without leave asked. The attack was made under the direction of Colbert, a Scotchman, who had acquired great influence with the tribe, and whose descendants have since been among their influential chiefs. The garrison were few in number, sickly, and half starved; but some among them were fool-hardy and wicked enough to fire at Colbert, when under a flag of truce, which provoked the savages beyond all control, and had not Clark arrived with reinforcements, the Chickasaws would probably have had all the scalps of the intruders. As it was, the fort was relieved, but was soon after abandoned, as being too far from the settlements, and of very little use at any rate.†

Meantime the internal organization of Kentucky was proceeding rapidly. Floyd, Logan, and Todd were made county Lieutenants of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Fayette, with the rank of Colonel; while William Pope, Stephen Trigg, and Daniel Boone, were made Lieutenant Colonels, to act for the others in case of need. Clark was made Brigadier General, and placed at the head of military affairs, his head quarters being at the Falls, between which point and the Licking he kept a row galley going, to intercept parties of Indians, though to very little purpose. George May, who had been surveyor for the whole county of Kentucky, after the division had Jefferson assigned him; while Thomas Marshall was appointed to the same post in Fayette, and James Thompson in Lincoln. Of the three, however, only the last

* Butler, 2d edition, 115.—Marshall, i. 115.—Marshall, says this took place in April, Butler in September, and refers to Colonel F.'s MS. letters.

† Butler, 2d edition, 119.

opened his office during this year, and great was the discontent of those waiting to enter the fertile lands of the two counties which were thus kept out of their reach; a discontent ten-fold the greater in consequence of the laws of Virginia in relation to her depreciated currency, the effect of which was to make land cost in specie only half a cent an acre.*

One other event will close the western annals of 1781, and no more important event has yet been chronicled: it was the large emigration of young unmarried women, into a region abounding in young unmarried men; its natural result was the rapid increase of population.† And here, in imitation of the first historian of Kentucky, we may properly introduce some notice of the modes of life prevailing at that early period.

Then, the women did the offices of the household; milked the cows, cooked the mess, prepared the flax, spun, wove, and made the garment of linen or linsey; the men hunted, and brought in the meat; they planted, ploughed, and gathered in the corn; grinding it into meal at the hand-mill, or pounding it into hominy in the mortar, was occasionally the work of either, or the joint labor of both. The men exposed themselves alone to danger; they fought the Indians, they cleared the land, they reared the hut, or built the fort, in which the women were placed for safety. Much use was made of the skins of deer for dress; while the buffalo and bear skins were consigned to the floor, for beds and covering. There might incidentally, be a few articles brought to the country for sale, in a private way; but there was no store for supply. Wooden vessels, either *turned* or *coopered*, were in common use as table furniture. A tin cup was an article of delicate luxury, almost as rare as an iron fork. Every hunter carried his knife; it was no less the implement of a warrior: not unfrequently the rest of the family was left with but one or two for the use of all. A like workmanship composed the table and the stool; a slab, hewed with the axe, and sticks of a similar manufacture, set in for legs, supported both, When the bed was by chance or refinement, elevated above the floor, and given a fixed place, it was often laid on slabs placed across poles, supported on forks, set in the earthen floor; or where the floor was puncheons, the bedstead was hewed pieces, pinned on upright posts, or let into them by auger holes. Other utensils and furniture, were of a corresponding description, applicable to the time.

The food was of the most wholesome and nutritive kind. The richest milk, the finest butter, and best meat, that ever delighted man's palate, were here eaten with a relish which health and labor only

* Marshall, i. 124. † Ibid, 122.

know. Those were shared by friend and stranger in every cabin, with profuse hospitality.

Hats were made of the native fur; and the buffalo wool employed in the composition of cloth, as was also the bark of the wild nettle.

There was some paper money in the country, which had not depreciated one half nor even a fourth as much as it had at the seat of government. If there was any gold or silver its circulation was suppressed. The price of a beaver hat, was five hundred dollars.*

The hunting shirt was universally worn. This was a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves, open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large, and sometimes handsomely fringed with a ravelled piece of cloth of a different color from that of the hunting shirt itself. The bosom of his dress served as a wallet to hold a chunk of bread, cakes, jerk, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other necessary for the hunter or warrior. The belt which was always tied behind answered several purposes, besides that of holding the dress together. In cold weather the mittens, and sometimes the bullet-bag occupied the front part of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping knife in its leathern sheath. The hunting shirt was generally made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deer skins. These last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket were of the common fashion. A pair of drawers or breeches and leggins, were the dress of the thighs and legs, a pair of moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes. These were made of dressed deer skin. They were mostly made of a single piece, with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another from the bottom of the heel, without gathers, as high as the ankle joint or a little higher. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the leg by thongs of deer skin, so that no dust, gravel, or snow, could get within the moccasin.

The moccasins in ordinary use cost but a few hours labor to make them. This was done by an instrument denominated a moccasin awl, which was made of the back spring of an old clasp-knife. This awl, with its buck-horn handle, was an appendage of every shot pouch strap, together with a roll of buckskin for mending the moccasins. This was the labor of almost every evening. They were sewed together and patched with deerskin thongs, or whangs as they were commonly called.

In cold weather the moccasins were well stuffed with deers' hair, or

* See Marshall's History of Kentucky, i. p. 123.

dry leaves, so as to keep the feet comfortably warm; but in wet weather it was usually said that wearing them was "a decent way of going barefooted;" and such was the fact, owing to the spongy texture of the leather of which they were made.

Owing to this defective covering of the feet, more than to any other circumstance, the greater number of our hunters and warriors were afflicted with the rheumatism in their limbs. Of this disease they were all apprehensive in cold or wet weather, and therefore always slept with their feet to the fire to prevent or cure it as well as they could. This practice unquestionably had a very salutary effect, and prevented many of them from becoming confirmed cripples in early life.

The fort consisted of cabins, blockhouses and stockades. A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions, or partitions of logs separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors, the greater part were earthen.

The blockhouses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stories were about eighteen inches every way larger in dimension than the under one, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment under their walls. In some forts instead of blockhouses, the angles of the fort were furnished with bastions. A large folding gate, made of thick slabs, nearest the spring closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins, and blockhouse walls were furnished with port holes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet proof.

It may be truly said that necessity is the mother of invention; for the whole of this work was made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron, and for this reason, such things were not to be had.

In some places, less exposed, a single blockhouse, with a cabin or two constituted the whole fort.

For a long time after the first settlement of this country, the inhabitants in general married young. There was no distinction of rank, and very little of fortune. On these accounts the first impression of love resulted in marriage; and a family establishment cost but a little labor and nothing else.

In the first years of the settlement of this country, a wedding engaged the attention of a whole neighborhood, and the frolic was anticipated by old and young with eager expectation. This is not to be wondered at, when it is told that a wedding was almost the only gathering which was not accompanied with the labor of reaping, log rolling, building a cabin, or planning some scout or campaign.

In the morning of the wedding day, the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials; which for certain must take place before dinner.

Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people, without a store, tailor, or mantuamaker within an hundred miles; and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen dressed in shoepacks, moccasins, leather breeches, leggings, linsey hunting shirts, and all home-made. The ladies dressed in linsey petticoats and linsey or linen bed gowns, coarse shoes, stockings, handkerchiefs and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons, or ruffles, they were the relics of old times, family pieces from parents or grand-parents. The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles or halters, and pack-saddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them: a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

The march, in double file, was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstructions of our horse paths, as they were called, for we had no roads: and these difficulties were often increased sometimes by the good, and sometimes by the ill will of neighbors, by falling trees and tying grape vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the way-side, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so as to cover the wedding company with smoke. Let the reader imagine the scene which followed this discharge: the sudden spring of the horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. Sometimes, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, some were thrown to the ground. If a wrist, elbow, or ankle happened to be sprained it was tied with a handkerchief, and little more was thought or said about it.

Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached the house of the bride, after the practice of making whisky began, which was at an early period; whnn the party were about a mile from the place of their destination, two young men would single out to run for the bottle; the worse the path, the more logs, brush, and deep hollows the better, as these obstacles afforded an opportunity for the greater display of intrepidity and horsemanship. The English fox chase, in point of danger to the riders and their horses, is nothing to this race for the bottle. The start was announced by an Indian yell; logs, brush, muddy hollows, hill and glen, were speedily passed by the rival ponies. The bottle was always filled for the occasion, so that there was no use for judges; for the first who reached the door was presented with the prize, with which he returned in triumph to the company. On approaching them, he announced his victory over his rival by a shrill whoop. At the head of the troop, he gave the bottle first to the groom and his

attendants, and then to each pair in succession to the rear of the line, giving each a dram; and then putting the bottle in the bosom of his hunting shirt took his station in the company.

The ceremony of the marriage preceded the dinner, which was a substantial backwoods feast of beef, pork, fowls, and sometimes venison and bear meat, roasted and boiled, with plenty of potatoes, cabbage, and other vegetables. During the dinner the greatest hilarity always prevailed; although the table might be a large slab of timber, hewed out with a broad axe, supported by four sticks set in auger holes, and the furniture some old pewter dishes, and plates, the rest wooden bowls and trenchers; a few pewter spoons, much battered about the edges, were to be seen at some tables. The rest were made of horns. If knives were scarce, the deficiency was made up by the scalping knives which were carried in sheaths suspended to the belt of the hunting shirt.

After dinner the dancing commenced, and generally lasted till the next morning. The figures of the dances were three and four handed reels, or square sets, and jigs. The commencement was always a square four, which was followed by what was called jigging it off; that is, two of the four would single out for a jig, and were followed by the remaining couple. The jigs were often accompanied with what was called cutting out; that is, when either of the parties became tired of the dance, on intimation the place was supplied by some one of the company without any interruption of the dance. In this way a dance was often continued till the musician was heartily tired of his situation. Toward the latter part of the night, if any of the company, through weariness, attempted to conceal themselves, for the purpose of sleeping they were hunted up, paraded on the floor, and the fiddler ordered to play "Hang on till to-morrow morning."

About nine or ten o'clock, a deputation of the young ladies stole off the bride, and put her to bed. In doing this, it frequently happened that they had to ascend a ladder instead of a pair of stairs, leading from the dining and ball room to the loft, the floor of which was made of clapboards lying loose and without nails. This ascent, one might think, would put the bride and her attendants to the blush; but as the foot of the ladder was commonly behind the door, which was purposely opened for the occasion, and its rounds at the inner ends were well hung with hunting shirts, petticoats, and other articles of clothing, the candles being on the opposite side of the house, the exit of the bride was noticed but by few. This done, a deputation of young men in like manner stole off the groom, and placed him snugly by the side of his bride. The dance still continued; and if seats happened to be scarce, which was often the case, every young man, when not engaged in the dance, was obliged to offer his lap as a seat for one of the girls; and the offer

was sure to be accepted. In the midst of this hilarity the bride and groom were not forgotten. Pretty late in the night, some one would remind the company that the new couple must stand in need of some refreshment: black Betty, which was the name of the bottle, was called for, and sent up the ladder, but sometimes black Betty did not go alone, I have many times seen as much bread, beef, pork and cabbage sent along with her, as would afford a good meal for half a dozen hungry men. The young couple were compelled to eat and drink, more or less, of whatever was offered them.

It often happened that some neighbors or relations, not being asked to the wedding, took offence; and the mode of revenge adopted by them on such occasions, was that of cutting off the manes, foretops, and tails of the horses of the wedding company.

I will proceed to state the usual manner of settling a young couple in the world.

A spot was selected on a piece of land of one of the parents, for their habitation. A day was appointed, shortly after their marriage, for commencing the work of building their cabin. The fatigue party consisted of choppers, whose business it was to fell the trees and cut them off at proper lengths. A man with a team for hauling them to the place, and arranging them, properly assorted, at the sides and ends of the building, a carpenter, if such he might be called, whose business it was to search the woods for a proper tree for making clapboards for the roof. The tree for this purpose must be straight grained and from three to four feet in diameter. The boards were split four feet long, with a large frow, and as wide as the timber will allow. They were used without planing or shaving. Another division were employed in getting puncheons for the floor of the cabin; this was done by splitting trees, about eighteen inches in diameter, and hewing the faces of them with a broad axe. They were half the length of the floor they were intended to make.

The materials for the cabin were mostly prepared on the first day and sometimes the foundation laid in the evening. The second day was allotted for the raising.

In the morning of the next day the neighbors collected for the raising. The first thing to be done was the election of four corner men, whose business it was to notch and place the logs. The rest of the company furnished them with the timbers. In the meantime the boards and puncheons were collecting for the floor and roof, so that by the time the cabin was a few rounds high the sleepers and floor began to be laid. The door was made by sawing or cutting the logs in one side so as to make an opening about three feet wide. This opening was secured by upright pieces of timber about three inches thick, through which holes were bored into the ends of the logs for the purpose of pinning

them fast. A similar opening, but wider, was made at the end for the chimney. This was built of logs and made large to admit of a back and jambs of stone. At the square, two end logs projected a foot or eighteen inches beyond the wall to receive the butting poles, as they were called, against which the ends of the first row of clapboards was supported. The roof was formed by making the end logs shorter until a single log formed the comb of the roof, on these logs the clapboards were placed, the ranges of them laping some distance over those next below them and kept in their places by logs, placed at proper distances upon them.

The roof, and sometimes the floor, were finished on the same day of the raising. A third day was commonly spent by a few carpenters in leveling off the floor, making a clapboard door and a table. This last was made of a split slab, and supported by four round legs set in auger holes. Some three legged stools were made in the same manner. Some pins stuck in the logs at the back of the house supported some clapboards which served for shelves for the table furniture. A single fork, placed with its lower end in a hole in the floor, and the upper end fastened to a joist served for a bedstead, by placing a pole in the fork with one end through a crack between the logs of the wall. This front pole was crossed by a shorter one within the fork, with its outer end through another crack. From the front pole, through a crack between the logs of the end of the house, the boards were put on which formed the bottom of the bed. Sometimes other poles, were pinned to the fork a little distance above these, for the purpose of supporting the front and foot of the bed, while the walls were the supports of its back and head. A few pegs around the walls for a display of the coats of the women, and hunting shirts of the men, and two small forks or bucks' horns to a joist for the rifle and shot pouch, completed the carpenter work.

In the mean time masons were at work. With the heart pieces of the timber of which the clapboards were made, they made billets for chunking up the cracks between the logs of the cabin and chimney, a large bed of mortar was made for daubing up those cracks; a few stones formed the back and jambs of the chimney.

The cabin being finished, the ceremony of house-warming took place, before the young couple were permitted to move into it.

The house-warming was a dance of a whole night's continuance, made up of the relations of the bride and groom, and their neighbors. On the day following the young couple took possession of their new mansion.

At house raisings, log rollings, and harvest parties, every one was expected to do his duty faithfully. A person who did not perform his share of labor on these occasions, was designated by the epithet of "Lawrence," or some other title still more opprobious; and when it

came to his turn to require the like aid from his neighbors, the idler soon felt his punishment, in their refusal to attend to his calls.

Although there was no legal compulsion to the performance of military duty, yet every man of full age and size was expected to do his full share of public service. If he did not do so he was "Hated out as a coward." Even the want of any article of war equipments, such as ammunition, a sharp flint, a priming wire, a scalping knife or tomahawk, was thought highly disgraceful. A man, who without a reasonable cause failed to go on a scout or campaign when it came to his turn, met with an expression of indignation in the countenances of all his neighbors, and epithets of dishonor were fastened upon him without mercy.

Debts, which make such an uproar in civilized life were but little known among our forefathers at the early settlement of this country. After the depreciation of the continental paper they had no money of any kind; every thing purchased was paid for in produce or labor. A good cow and calf was often the price of a bushel of alum salt. If a contract was not punctually fulfilled, the credit of the delinquent was at an end.

Any petty theft was punished with all the infamy that could be heaped on the offender. A man on a campaign stole from his comrade a cake out of the ashes, in which it was baking: he was immediately named "The bread rounds." This epithet of reproach was bandied about in this way, when he came in sight of a group of men, one of them would call "Who comes there?" Another would answer, "The bread rounds." If any one meant to be more serious about the matter, he would call out "Who stole a cake out of the ashes?" Another replied, by giving the name of the man in full; to this a third would give confirmation, by exclaiming, "That is true and no lie." This kind of "tongue-lashing" he was doomed to bear, for the rest of the campaign, as well as for years after his return home.

If a theft was detected, in any of the frontier settlements, a summary mode of punishment was always resorted to. The first settlers, as far as I knew of them, had a kind of innate, or hereditary detestation of the crime of theft, in any shape or degree, and their maxim was, that "a thief must be whipped." If the theft was of something of some value, a kind of jury of the neighborhood, after hearing the testimony, would condemn the culprit to Moses Law, that is to forty stripes, save one. If the theft was of some small article, the offender was doomed to carry on his back the flag of the United States, which then consisted of thirteen stripes. In either case, some able hands were selected to execute the sentence, so that the stripes were sure to be well laid on.

This punishment was followed by a sentence of exile. He then was

informed that he must decamp in so many days, and be seen there no more on penalty of having the number of his stripes doubled.

If a woman was given to tattling and slandering her neighbors, she was furnished by common consent, with a kind of patent-right to say whatever she pleased, without being believed. Her tongue was then said to be harmless, or to be no scandal.

With all their rudeness, these people were given to hospitality, and freely divided their rough fare with a neighbor, or stranger, and would have been offended at the offer of pay. In their settlements and forts, they lived, they worked, they fought, and feasted, or suffered together, in cordial harmony. They were warm and constant in their friendships. On the other hand they were revengeful in their resentments. And the point of honor sometimes led to personal combats. If one man called another a liar, he was considered as having given a challenge which the person who received it must accept, or be deemed a coward, and the charge was generally answered on the spot, with a blow. If the injured person was decidedly unable to fight the aggressor, he might get a friend to do it for him. The same thing took place on a charge of cowardice, or any other dishonorable action, a battle must follow, and the person who made the charge must fight, either the person against whom he made the charge or any champion who choose to espouse his cause. Thus circumstanced, our people in early times were much more cautious of speaking evil of their neighbors than they are at present.

Sometimes pitched battles occurred, in which time, place and seconds, were appointed beforehand. I remember having seen one of those pitched battles in my father's fort, when a boy. One of the young men knew very well beforehand that he should get the worst of the battle, and no doubt repented the engagement to fight; but there was no getting over it. The point of honor demanded the risk of battle. He got his whipping; they then shook hands and were good friends afterwards.

The mode of single combats in those days was dangerous in the extreme; although no weapons were used, fists, teeth, and feet were employed at will, but above all, the detestable practice of gouging, by which eyes were sometimes put out, rendered this mode of fighting frightful indeed; it was not however, so destructive as the stiletto of an Italian, the knife of a Spaniard, the small sword of the Frenchman, or the pistol of the American or English duelist.

Instances of seduction and bastardy did not frequently happen in our early times. I remember one instance of the former, in which the life of the man was put in jeopardy by the resentment of the family to which the girl belonged. Indeed, considering the chivalrous temper of our people, this crime could not then take place without great personal danger from the brothers, or other relations of the victims of seduction, family honor being then estimated at an high rate.

I do not recollect that profane language, was much more prevalent in our early times than at present.

Among the people with whom I was most conversant, there was no other vestige of the Christian religion than a faint observation of Sunday, and that merely as a day of rest for the aged, and a play day for the young.*

## 1782.

The sufferings of the Moravians did not close with 1781. In the following spring, some of them who had been literally starving through the winter, returned to their old places of abode, to gather what they could of the remainder of their property, and busied themselves in collecting the corn which had been left in the fields. About the time they returned for that purpose, parties of Wyandots came down upon the settlements, and slew many. This excited the frontier-men, and believing a connection to exist between the acts of the Wyandots and the late movements of the Moravians, it was determined to attack and extirminate the latter, or at least to waste their lands and destroy their towns. Eighty or ninety men met for the purpose of effecting the objects just named, and marched in silence and swiftness upon the devoted villages. They reached them; by threats and lies got hold of the gleaners scattered among them, and bound their prisoners, while they deliberated upon their fate. Williamson, the commander of the party, put the question; Shall these men, women and children be taken to Pittsburg, or be killed? Of the eighty or ninety men present, sixteen or eighteen only were for granting their lives; and the prisoners were told to prepare for death. They prepared for death, and soon were dead; slaughtered, some say in one way, and some in another; but thus much is certain, that eighty or ninety American men murdered, in cold blood, about forty men, twenty women, and and thirty-four children,—all defenceless and innocent fellow Christians.*

* See Doddridge's Notes, Part Second.

† Heckewelder's Narrative, 313. 328. Doddridge, 248. 255. Withers' Border Warfare, 232. 239. American Pioneer, ii. 425. 432.

It was in March of 1782, that this great murder was committed. And as the tiger, having once tasted blood, longs for blood, so it was with the frontier-men; and another expedition was at once organized, to make a dash at the towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky.* No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die.† The commander of the expedition was Colonel William Crawford, Washington's old agent in the west. He did not want to go, but found it could not be avoided. The troops, numbering nearly five hundred men, marched in June to the Sandusky uninterrupted. There they found the towns deserted and the savages on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat many left the main body, and nearly all who did so perished. Of Crawford's own fate we have the following account by Dr. Knight, his companion.‡

Monday morning the tenth of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant; they had eleven prisoners of us and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

Colonel Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simon Girty, who lived with the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Colonel had turned out his horse, that they might, if possible, find him. The rest of us were taken as far as the old town, which was within eight miles of the new.

Tuesday morning, the eleventh, Colonel Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Colonel if he had seen Mr. Girty? He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe, one of the chiefs; he likewise told me that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law, Colonel Harrison, and his nephew, William Crawford, were made prisoners by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned. This Captain Pipe had come from the town about an hour before Colonel Crawford, and had painted all the prisoners' faces black. As he was painting me he told me I should go to the Shawa-

* On the 20th of May of this year, advertisements are said to have been made at Wheeling, of a new state to be founded on the Muskingum: the plan was headed by a certain J. who had been in England. See Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, p. 80.

† From Heckewelder (Narrative, 342.) we learn that the Indians knew this determination; their spies, who were constantly abroad—having found it written with coal upon the peeled trees of the camp, near the Ohio. All such writings they copied and took to some one who could read them.

‡ See American Pioneer, ii. 282, a statement derived from the Wyandots, to the effect that Girty wished to save Crawford; not from mercy, however, but on speculation.

nese towns and see my friends, When the Colonel arrived he painted him black also, told him he was glad to see him, and that he would have him shaved when he came to see his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched the Colonel and I were kept back between Pipe and Wyngenim, the two Delaware chiefs; the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of Indians. As we went along we saw four of the prisoners lying by the path tomahawked and scalped, some of them were at the distance of half a mile from each other. When we arrived within half a mile of the place where the Colonel was executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive; the Indians had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did also the Colonel and me at some distance from them. I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow to be taken to the Shawanese towns.

In the place where we were now made to sit down, there was a number of squaws and boys, who fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them. There was a certain John McKinly amongst the prisoners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whose head an old squaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fellows came often where the Colonel and I were, and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Colonel was afterwards executed; when we came within about half a mile of it, Simon Girty met us, with several Indians on horseback; he spoke to the Colonel, but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind, could not hear what passed between them.

Almost every Indian we met struck us either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited till I was brought up and asked, was that the Doctor? I told him yes, and went towards him reaching out my hand, but he bid me begone, and called me a damned rascal, upon which the fellows who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

When we went to the fire the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Colonel's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice, and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Girty and asked if they intended to burn him? Girty answered, yes. The Colonel said he would take it all patiently. Upon this, Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz: about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his

neck. I think that not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears; when the throng had dispersed a little, I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied; it was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards, upon which they would carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty and begged of him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer, he called to him again. Girty, then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d I need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its extremities.

He then observed that some prisoners had given him to understand, that if our people had him they would not hurt him; for his part, he said, he did not believe it, but desired to know my opinion of the matter, but being at that time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill will for Colonel Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose, to all which I paid very little attention.

Colonel Crawford at this period of his sufferings besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last, being almost exhausted, he lay down on his belly; they then scalped him, and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me, "that was my great captain." An old squaw (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain of the Devil,) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes and laid them on his back and head, after he had been scalped, he then raised himself upon his

feet and began to walk round the post; they next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

The Indian fellow who had me in charge, now took me away to Captain Pipe's house, about three-quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel's execution. I was bound all night, and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid spectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese town, which he told me was somewhat less than forty miles distant from that place. We soon came to the spot where the Colonel had been burnt, as it was partly in our way; I saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire, almost burnt to ashes; I suppose after he was dead they laid his body on the fire. The Indian told me that was my big Captain, and gave the scalp halloo.

In strange but pleasant contrast to the treatment of the Christian Indians upon the Muskingum, we have to record next the conduct of the British toward their religious leaders during this same spring. Girty, who early in the season had led a band of Wyandots against the American frontiers, had left orders to have Heckewelder and his comrades driven like beasts from Sandusky, where they had wintered, to Detroit; specially enjoining brutality toward them. But his agents, or rather those of the English commandant in the west, together with the traders who were called upon to aid in their removal, distinguished themselves by kindness and consideration, aiding the missionaries on their march, defending the captives from the outrageous brutality of Girty, who overtook them at Lower Sandusky, and who swore he would have their lives, and at length re-uniting them to their surviving disciples at a settlement upon the river Huron.*

It was in March that Williamson's campaign took place, and during the same month the Moravians were taken to Michigan. It was in that month also † that an event took place in Kentucky, near the present town of Mt. Sterling, in Montgomery county, which has been dwelt upon with more interest by her historians, than almost any other of equal unimportance; we refer to Estell's defeat by a party of Wyandots. The interest of this skirmish arose from the equality of numbers on the two sides; the supposed cowardice of Miller, Estill's lieutenant, who was sent to outflank

* Heckewelder's Narrative, 308. 329–349.

† Marshall (i. 126) says May; we follow Chief Justice Robertson, quoted by Butler (124 note) who says March 22. See also Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 3. This is a detailed account.

the savages; and the consequent death of the leader, a brave and popular man. Its effect upon the settlers was merely to excite a deeper hostility toward the Indian races.

Nor did the red men on their part show any signs of losing their animosity. Elliot, McKee and Girty urged them on with a fury that it is not easy to account for.

Again the woods teemed with savages, and no one was safe from attack beyond the walls of a station. The influence of the British, and the constant pressure of the Long Knives upon the red-men, had produced a union of the various tribes of the north-west, who seemed to be gathering again to strike a fatal blow at the frontier settlements, and had they been led by a Philip, a Pontiac, or a Tecumthe, it is impossible to estimate the injury they might have inflicted.

June and July passed, however, and August was half gone, and still the anticipated storm had not burst upon the pioneers in its full force, when, upon the night of the 14th of the latter month, the main body of the Indians, five or six hundred in number, gathered, silent as the shadows, round Bryant's station, a post on the bank of the Elkhorn, about five miles from Lexington. The garrison of this post had heard on the evening of the 14th, of the defeat of a party of whites not far distant, and during that night were busy in preparations to march with day-break to the assistance of their neighbors. All night long their preparations continued, and what little sound the savages made as they approached, was unheard amid the comparative tumult within. Day stole through the forest; the woodsmen rose from their brief slumbers, took their arms, and were on the point of opening their gates to march, when the crack of rifles, mingled with yells and howls, told them in an instant how narrowly they had escaped captivity or death. Rushing to the loop-holes and crannies, they saw about a hundred red-men firing and gesticulating in full view of the fort. The young bloods, full of rage at Estill's sad defeat, wished instantly to rush forth upon the attackers, but there was something in the manner of the Indians so peculiar that the older heads at once suspected a trick, and looked anxiously to the opposite side of the fort, where they judged the main body of the enemy were probably concealed. Nor were they deceived. The savages were led by Simon Girty. This white savage had proposed by an attack upon one side of the station with a small part of his force, to draw out the garrison, and then intended, with the main body

to fall upon the other side and secure the fort; but his plan was defeated by the over-acting of his red allies, and the sagacity of his opponents. These opponents, however, had still a sad difficulty to encounter; the fort was not supplied with water, and the spring was at some distance, and in the immediate vicinity of the thicket in which it was supposed the main force of the Indians lay concealed. The danger of going or sending for water was plain, the absolute necessity of having it was equally so; and how it could be procured was a question which made many a head shake, many a heart sink. At length a plan equally sagacious and bold was hit upon, and successfully carried into execution by as great an exertion of womanly presence of mind as can, perhaps, be found on record. If the savages were, as was supposed, concealed near the spring, it was believed they would not show themselves until they had reason to believe their trick had succeeded, and the garrison had left the fort on the other side. It was therefore proposed to all the females to go with their buckets to the spring, fill them, and return to the fort, before any sally was made against the attacking party. The danger to which they must be exposed was not to be concealed, but it was urged upon them that this must be done or all perish; and that if they were steady, the Indians would not molest them; and to the honor of their sex be it said, they went forth in a body, and directly under five hundred rifles, filled their buckets, and returned in such a manner as not to suggest to the quick-sighted savages that their presence in the thicket was suspected.* This done, a small number of the garrison were sent forth against the attackers, with orders to multiply their numbers to the ear by constant firing, while the main body of the whites took their places to repel the anticipated rush of those in concealment. The plan succeeded perfectly. The whole body of Indians rushed from their ambuscade as they heard the firing upon the opposite side of the fort, and were received by a fair, well-directed discharge of all the rifles left within the station. Astonished and horror-stricken, the assailants turned to the forest again as quickly as they had left it, having lost many of their number.

In the morning, as soon as the presence of the Indians was ascertained, and before their numbers were suspected, two messengers had broken through their line, bearing to Lexington tidings of the seige of Bryant's station, and asking succors. These

* We have it on the best authority, however, that Simon Kenton said this was all romance, by his account there was a covered way to the spring.

succors came about two in the afternoon; sixteen men being mounted, and thirty or more on foot. The savages expected their arrival, and prepared to destroy them, but the horsemen, by rapid riding, and enveloped in dust,* reached the fort unharmed, and of the footmen, after an hour's hard fighting, only two were killed and four wounded. The Indian's courage rarely supports him through long continued exertion; and Girty found his men so far disheartened by their failures, that of the morning in the attempt to take the fort, and that in the afternoon to destroy the troops from Lexington, that before night they talked of abandoning the siege. This their leader was very unwilling to have done: and thinking he might scare the garrison into surrender, he managed to get within speaking distance, and there from behind a large stump, commenced a parley. He told the white men who he was; assured them of his great desire that they should not suffer; and informing them that he looked hourly for reinforcements with cannon, against which they could not hope to hold out, begged them to surrender at once; if they did so, no one should be hurt, but if they waited till the cannon came up, he feared they would all fall victims. The garrison looked at one another with uncertainty and fear; against cannon they could do nothing, and cannon had been used in 1780. Seeing the effect of Girty's speech, and disbelieving every word of it, a young man named Reynolds took it upon himself to answer the renegade. "You need not be so particular," he cried, "to tell us your name; we know your name, and you too. I've had a villanous, untrustworthy cur-dog, this long while, named Simon Girty, in compliment to you; he's so like you—just as ugly and just as wicked. As to the cannon, let them come on; the country's roused, and the scalps of your red cut-throats and your own too, will be drying on our cabins in twenty-four hours. And if by any chance, you or your allies do get into the fort, we've a big store of rods laid in on purpose to scourge you out again."

The method taken by Reynolds was much more effectual than any argument with his comrades would have been, and Girty had to return to the Indian council-fire unsuccessful. But he and the chiefs well knew that though their reinforcements and cannon were all imaginary, the expected aid of the whites was not. Boone, Todd, and Logan would soon be upon them; the ablest

* Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 238. The account is by E. E. Williams, who was a boy in the station at the time of the attack.

and boldest of the pioneers would cut them off from a retreat to the Ohio, and their destruction would be insured. On the other hand, if they now began to retire and were pursued, as they surely would be, they could choose their own ground, and always fight with their way home clear behind them. All night they lay still, their fires burning, but when day broke, the whole body of savages was gone.*

By noon of the 18th of August, about one hundred and eighty men had gathered at Bryant's station; among them were Boone and his youngest son. They had nominal commanders but no true discipline, and after a disorderly discussion, determined upon immediate pursuit, without waiting for the arrival of General Logan; accordingly, in the afternoon of the 18th, the whole body set forward, Colonel John Todd acting as leader. The trail of the savages was as plain as could be wished; indeed, to Boone and the more reflecting, it was clear that the retiring army had taken pains to make it so, and our sagacious woodsmen at once concluded that a surprise at some point was intended, and that point Boone was confident was the Lower Blue Licks, where the nature of the ground eminently favored such a plan. With great caution the little army proceeded until, upon the following day, they reached the Licking river, at the point designated by Boone as the one where an attack might be expected; and as they came in sight of the opposite bank, they discovered upon its bare ridge a few Indians, who gazed at them a moment and then passed into the ravine beyond. The hills about the Blue Licks are even now almost wholly without wood, and the scattered cedars which at present lend them some green, did not exist in 1782. As you ascend the ridge of the hill above the spring, you at last reach a point where two ravines, thickly wooded, run down from the bare ground to the right and left, affording a place of concealment for a very large body of men, who could thence attack on front, flank,

* The difficulty of telling any thing about details in our western border stories, is well shown by the uncertainty which exists as to how long the Indians were before Bryant's station.—Butler says they came on the evening of the 14th, and left on the morning of the fourth day, or 18th.—McClung says they came on the night of the 14th, and implies that they left on the morning of the 15th.—Governor Morehead agrees with McClung.—Boone's Sketches says the investment took place on the 15th, and that they retired the third day, or 17th; though his letter to the Governor of Virginia, dated August 30th, 1782, says the attack was on the 16th, and the retreat *about ten o'clock* the next day; while the account in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 236, by one present, makes the attack on the 16th, and the retreat *before daylight* on the 17th. Boone's letter is in the appendix to Governor Moorehead's address at Boonesboro.

and rear, any who were pursuing the main trace along the higher ground: in these ravines, Boone, who was looked to by the commanders for counsel, said that the Indians were probably hidden. He proposed, therefore, that they should send a part of their men to cross the Licking farther up, and fall upon the Indians in the rear, while the remaining troops attacked them in front. While Boone's plan was under discussion by the officers of the pursuing party, Major Hugh McGary, according to the common account, "broke from the council," (to use the words of one present,*) "and called upon the troops who were not cowards to follow him, and thus collecting a band, went without order, and against orders, into the action, and in consequence of this act a general pursuit of officers and men took place, more to save the desperate men that followed McGary, than from a hope of a successful fight with the Indians." It is to be noticed, however, that Boone in his letter to the Governor of Virginia, dated August 30th, 1782, not only fails to mention McGary's conduct, but mentions circumstances which seem wholly at variance with such a sudden and disorderly charge† as that described by Colonel Cooper and the common tradition. His words are these:—on discovering the enemy—"We formed our columns into one single line, and marched up in their front within about forty yards before there was a gun fired. Colonel Trigg commanded on the right, myself on the left, Major McGary in the centre, and Major Harlan the advance party in the front. From the manner in which we had formed, it fell to my lot to bring on the attack. This was done with a very heavy fire on both sides, and extended back of the line to Col. Trigg, where the enemy was so strong that they rushed up and broke the right wing at the first fire. Thus the enemy got in our rear, and we were compelled to retreat with the loss of seventy-seven of our men and twelve wounded." Nor is the impression of this passage altered by the statement of the same keen pioneer, as given in his account of his adventures. There he says: "The savages observing us, gave way, and we, being ignorant of their numbers,‡ passed the river. When the

* Benjamin A. Cooper's certificate in Frankfort Commonwealth, of January 15th, 1846 · taken from St. Louis Era, and furnished that paper by Mann Butler.

† See Marshall, i. 138. He speaks of the whites advancing without any regular order, McGary at the head. The same account is given in Stipp.

‡ Col. Cooper says he was with Boone when by counting the Indian fires, (query, before Bryant's station?) he concluded there were at least 500 savages. Boone's letter says, "by the signs we thought the Indians had exceeded four hundred"—but this he says as though the calculation had been made after the battle.

enemy saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in situation, they formed the line of battle, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceeding fierce battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat with the loss of sixty-seven men, seven of whom were taken prisoners." Governor Morehead, however, has derived from the accounts of eye-witnesses, received through R. Wickliffe, some particulars, which, if correct, will reconcile most of the common story with Boone's statement, and these we give in the words of his address; leaving our readers to judge, 1st, as to the probability that Boone would entirely omit all reference to the conduct of McGary; and 2d, as to the likelihood of McGary and his followers pausing when once under way. It is also to be noticed that Colonel Cooper, Marshal, and Stipp say nothing of the pause alluded to.

Scarcely had Boone submitted his opinions, when Major McGary "raised the war-whoop," and spurring his horse into the river, called vehemently upon all who were not cowards to follow *him*, and *he* would show them the enemy. Presently the army was in motion. The greater part suffered themselves to be led by McGary—the remainder, perhaps a third of the whole number, lingered a while with Todd and Boone in council. All at length passed over, and at Boone's suggestion, the commanding officer ordered another halt. The pioneer then proposed, a second time, that the army should remain where it was, until an opportunity was afforded to reconnoitre the suspected region. So reasonable a proposal was acceded to, and two bold but experienced men were selected, to proceed from the lick along the buffalo trace to a point half a mile beyond the ravines, where the road branched off in different directions. They were instructed to examine the country with the utmost care on each side of the road, especially the spot where it passed between the ravines, and upon the first appearance of the enemy to repair in haste to the army. The spies discharged the dangerous and responsible task. They crossed over the ridge—proceeded to the place designated beyond it, and returned in safety without having made any discovery. No trace of the enemy was to be seen. The little army of one hundred and eighty two men* now marched forward—Colonel Trigg was in command of the right wing, Boone of the left, McGary in the centre, and Major Harlan with the party in front.†

After the disastrous defeat of the Blue Licks, the Kentuckians

* Butler, 125, on the authority of General Clark.
† Morehead's Address, p. 99.

retired until they met Logan who had advanced, Colonel Cooper says, but six miles north-east of Bryant's station; and from the same source we learn that the common story is wrong, in respect to the expectation of Todd, Boone, and others, before the battle, of a reinforcement. In this short, but severe action, Todd, Trigg, Harland, and Boone's son, all fell. It was a sad day for Kentucky. The feelings and fears of the Fayette county settlers may be guessed from the following extract from Boone's letter to Virginia; when he felt anxiety, what must they have suffered!

By the signs we thought the Indians had exceeded four hundred; while the whole of this militia of the county does not amount to more than one hundred and thirty. From these facts your Excellency may form an idea of our situation. I know that your own circumstances are critical, but are we to be wholly forgotten? I hope not. I trust about five hundred men may be sent to our assistance immediately. If these shall be stationed as our county lieutenants shall deem necessary, it may be the means of saving our part of the country; but if they are placed under the direction of General Clark, they will be of little or no service to our settlement. The Falls lie one hundred miles west of us, and the Indians north-east; while our men are frequently called to protect them. I have encouraged the people in this county all that I could, but I can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thoughts of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case, it will break up these settlements. I hope, therefore, your Excellency will take the matter into your consideration, and send us some relief as quick as possible.*

Clark, of course, soon learned how severe a blow had been struck by the northern savages, and determined, as soon as possible, again to lead an expedition into the Miami valleys. It was the last of September, however, before a thousand men could be gathered at the mouth of the Licking, whence they marched northward. But their coming, though expeditious and secret, was discovered by the natives, and the towns on the Miamies and Mad River abandoned to their fate. The crops were again destroyed, the towns burned, the British store, (Loramie's) with its goods, annihilated, and a few prisoners taken, but no engagement of any consequence took place.† Such, however, appears to have been

* See Morehead's Address, p. 173.

† Clark's letter in Butler, 2d edition, 536; also in Almon's Remembrancer, for 1783, part ii. p. 93.

the impression made by Clark upon the Shawanese, that no large body of Indians thenceforward invaded the territory south of the Ohio.

In November, after the return of the Kentucky troops, Messrs. May and Marshall opened their land offices, and the scramble for choice locations began again, and in a way which laid the foundation for infinite litigation and heartburning.

## 1783.

Upon the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles of peace had been arranged at Paris between the Commissioners of England and her unconquerable colonies. Upon the 20th of the January following hostilities ceased; on the 19th of April,—the anniversary of the battle of Lexington,—peace was proclaimed to the army of the United States, and on the 3d of the next September, the definite treaty which ended our revolutionary struggle was concluded.—Of that treaty we give so much as relates to the boundaries of the West.

"The line on the *north* was to pass along the middle of Lake Ontario, to the Niagara river; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake, to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward to the isles Royal and Philipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake, to the most northwestern point thereof; and, from thence, on a due west course, to the river Mississippi;

thence, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. *South* by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Appalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river; and, thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic Ocean."

But the cessation of hostilities with England was not, necessarily, the cessation of warfare with the native tribes; and while all hoped that the horrors of the border contests in the West were at an end, none competent to judge, failed to see the probability of a continued and violent struggle. Virginia, at an early period, (in October 1779,) had by law discouraged all settlements on the part of her citizens northwest of the Ohio;* but the spirit of land speculation was stronger than law, and the prospect of peace gave new energy to that spirit;—and how to throw open the immense region beyond the mountains, without driving the natives to desperation, was a problem which engaged the ablest minds. Washington, upon the 7th of September 1783, writing to James Duane in Congress, enlarged upon the difficulties which lay before that body in relation to the public lands. He pointed out the necessity which existed for making the settlements compact; and proposed that it should be made even felony to settle or survey lands west of a line to be designated by Congress; which line, he added, might extend from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river, thence to Fort Miami on the Maumee, and thence northward so as to include Detroit; or, perhaps, from the Fort down the river to Lake Erie. He noticed the propriety of excluding the Indian Agents from all share in the trade with the red men, and showed the wisdom of forbidding all purchases of land from the Indians except by the sovereign power,— Congress or the State Legislature as the case might be.—Unless some such stringent measures were adopted he prophecied renewed border wars, which would end only after great expenditure of money and of life.† But before the Congress of the freed Colonies could take any efficient steps to secure the West, it was necessary that those measures of cession which commenced in 1780–81, should be

* Revised Statutes of Virginia, by B. Watkins Leigh, ii. 378.

† Sparks' Washington, viii. 477.

completed. New York had conditionally given up her claims upon the 1st of March, 1781,* and Congress had accepted her deed, but Virginia, as we have said, had required from the United States a guarantee of the territories retained by her, which they were not willing to give, and no acceptance of her provision to cede had taken place. Under these circumstances, Congress, upon the 18th of April, again pressed the necessity of cessions,† and upon the 13th of September,—six days after Washington's letter above referred to,—stated the terms upon which they would receive the proposals of the Ancient Dominion.‡ To these terms the Virginians acceded, and upon the 20th of December authorized their delegates to make a deed to the United States of all their right in the territory northwest of the river Ohio,—

Upon condition that the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into States, containing a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit: and that the States so formed shall be distinct republican States, and admitted members of the Federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other States.

That the reasonable and necessary expenses incurred by this State in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons within, and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States; and that one commissioner shall be appointed by Congress, one by this Commonwealth, and another by those two commissioners, who, or a majority of them, shall be authorized and empowered to adjust and liquidate the account of the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by this State, which they shall judge to be comprised within the intent and meaning of the act of Congress of the tenth of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, respecting such expenses. That the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That a quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by this State, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskies and St. Vincents were reduced, and to the officers

* Land Laws, 95.

† Old Journals, iv. 267.

‡ Old Journals, iv. 189.

and soldiers that have been since incorporated into the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place, on the north-west side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterwards divided among the said officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia. That in case the quantity of good land on the south-east side of the Ohio, upon the waters of the Cumberland river, and between the Green river and Tennessee river, which have been reserved by law for the Virginia troops upon Continental establishment, should, from the North Carolina line, bearing in further upon the Cumberland lands than was expected, prove insufficient for their legal bounties, the deficiency should be made up to the said troops, in good lands, to be laid off between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami, on the north-west side of the river Ohio, in such proportions as have been engaged to them by the laws of Virginia. That all the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved for, or appropriated to, any of the before mentioned purposes, or disposed of in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the American army, shall be considered a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said states, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever.*

And, in agreement with these conditions a deed was made March 1, 1784. But it was not possible to wait the final action of Virginia, before taking some steps to soothe the Indians, and extinguish their title. On the 22d of September, therefore, Congress forbade all purchases of, or settlements on, Indian lands,† and on the 15th of October, the Commissioners to treat with the natives were instructed,

1st. To require the delivery of all prisoners:

2d. To inform the Indians of the boundaries between the British possessions and the United States:

3d. To dwell upon the fact that the red men had not been faithful to their agreements:

4th. To negotiate for all the land east of the line proposed by Washington, namely, from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river, thence to Fort Miami on the Maumee, and thence down the Maumee to the Lake:

* See Land Laws, p. 98.

† Old Journals, iv. 275.

5th. To hold, if possible, *one Convention with all the tribes;*

* * * * * * *

7th. To learn all they could respecting the French of Kaskaskia, &c.

8th. To confirm no grants by the natives to individuals; and,

9th. To look after American stragglers beyond the Ohio, to signify the displeasure of Congress at the invasion of the Indian lands, and to prevent all further intrusions. Upon the 19th of the following March, the 4th and 5th of these instructions were entirely changed at the suggestion of a committee headed by Mr. Jefferson; the western boundary line being made to run due north from the lowest point of the Falls of the Ohio, to the northern limits of the United States, and the Commissioners being told to treat with the nations at *various* places and *different* times.*

Meanwhile steps had been taken by the Americans to obtain possession of Detroit and the other western posts, but in vain. Upon the 12th of July Washington had sent Baron Steuben to Canada for that purpose, with orders, if he found it advisable, to embody the French of Michigan into a militia and place the fort at Detroit in their hands. But when the Baron presented himself near Quebec, General Haldimand, while he received him very politely, refused the necessary passports, saying that he had received no orders to deliver up the posts along the Lakes. This measure failing, one Cassaty, a native of Detroit, was sent thither in August to learn the feelings of the people and do what he might to make the American side popular.† About the same time Virginia, having no longer any occasion for a western army, and being sadly pressed for money, withdrew her commission from George Rogers Clark, with thanks however, "for his very great and singular services."‡ He and his soldiers in the distribution of lands were not forgotten either, and in October a tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land was granted them north of the Ohio, to be located where they pleased; they chose the region opposite the Falls, and the town of Clarksville was then founded.‖

* Secret Journals, i. 255, 261. April 16th, in order to expedite matters, the times and places of meeting were left to the Commissioners.—Secret Journals, i. 264.

† Sparks' Washington, viii. 463, 470.—Marshall, (i. 175,) gives the letters of Steuben and Haldimand.

‡ See Governor Harrison's letter. Butler, 490.

‖ Revised Statutes of Virginia, by G. W. Leigh, ii. 405.

While these various steps, bearing upon the interests of the whole west, were taken by Congress, Washington, and the Assembly of Virginia, Kentucky was organizing herself upon a new basis, Virginia having united the three counties, with their separate courts, into one District, having a court of common law and chancery for the whole territory that now forms the State, and to this District restored the for-a-time-discarded name, Kentucky.—The sessions of the court thus organized resulted in the foundation of Danville, which in consequence for a season became the centre and capital of the District.*

## 1784.

It might have been reasonably hoped that peace with the mother country would have led to comparative prosperity within the newly formed nation. But such was not the case. Congress had no power to compel the States to fulfil the provisions of the treaty which had been concluded, and Britain was not willing to comply on her side with all its terms, until evidence was given by the other party that no infraction of them was to be feared from the rashness of democratic leaders. Among the provisions of that treaty were the following:

Art. 4. It is agreed that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

Art. 5, It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his Majesty's

* Marshall, i. 159.

arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States. And that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months, unmolested in their endeavors to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail, And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights, and properties, of such last mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession, the bona fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation. And it is agreed, that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

ART. 6. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for, or by reason of, the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall, on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ART. 7. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore, all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall from henceforth cease: all prisoners, on both sides, shall be set at liberty; and his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor, within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which, in the course of the war, may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong.*

* See Land Laws, p. 11.

That these stipulations were wise and just, none, perhaps doubted; but they opened a door for disputes and troubles, through which troubles enough swarmed in; and we may now, with as much propriety as at any time, say the little that our limits will allow us to say, in reference to those disagreements between England and America, which for so long a time kept alive the hopes and enmities of the Indians, contending as they were, for their native lands and the burial places of their fathers. The origin of the difficulty was an alleged infraction of the provisional treaty, signed November 30th, 1782, on the part of the British, who showed an intention to take away with them from New York certain negroes claimed as the "property of the American inhabitants," none of which, by the terms both of that and the definitive treaty, was to be removed. Against this intention Washington had remonstrated, and Congress resolved in vain: in reply to all remonstrances it was said that the slaves were either booty taken in war, and as such, by the laws of war, belonged to the captors, and could not come within the meaning of the treaty; or were freemen and could not be enslaved.* It was undoubtedly true in regard to many of the negroes, that they were taken in war, and as such, (if property at all,) the booty of the captors; but it was equally certain that another portion of them consisted of runaways, and by the terms of the treaty, as the Americans all thought, should have been restored or paid for.† It was in April, 1783, that the purposes of England in relation to the negroes became apparent; in May the Commander-in-chief and Congress tried, as we have said, ineffectually, to bring about a different course of action. Upon the 3d of September, the definitive treaty was signed at Paris; on the 25th of November the British left New York carrying the negroes claimed by the Americans with them; while upon the 4th of the following January, 1784, the treaty was ratified by the United States, and on the 9th of April by England. Under these circumstances Virginia and several other States saw fit to decline compliance with the article respecting the recovery of debts; refused to repeal the laws previously existing against British creditors; and upon the 22d of next June, after the ratification of peace by both parties, the Old Dominion expressly declined to ful-

* Marshall, i. 173.

† See Mr. Jay's excellent statement of facts and principles. Secret Journals, iv. 275. Washington thought the British unfair and dishonest in their retention of the western posts, and considered the non-payment of their debts by the Americans, as used by them for a mere excuse. Sparks' Washington, iv. 163. 179.

fil the treaty in its completeness. This refusal, or neglect, which was equivalent to a refusal, on the part of the States to abide strictly by the treaty, caused England, on the other hand, to retain possession of the western posts, and threatened to involve the two countries again in open warfare.

The dispute, therefore, originated in a difference of opinion between the parties as to the meaning of that part of the seventh article which relates to the "carrying away negroes:" this was followed by a plain infraction of the fourth article on the part of the States; and that by an equally plain violation of the provision in regard to evacuating the posts (article 7) on the side of Great Britain.

In March, 1785, John Adams was sent to England to "require" the withdrawal of his Majesty's armies from the posts still held by them. This requisition he made on the 8th of the following December; and was told in reply that when the fourth article was respected by the States, the seventh would be by England. These facts having been laid before Congress, that body, in March, 1787, pressed upon the States the necessity of repealing all laws violating the treaty; but Virginia, in substance, refused to comply with the requisition respecting British creditors, until the western forts were evacuated, and the slaves that had been taken, returned or paid for.*

From what has been said, it will be easily surmised that, to the request of Governor Clinton of New York, relative to the abandonment of the western posts within that state, Niagara, Oswego, &c. — as well as to the demand of Congress in the following July, for the possession of all the strongholds along the lakes — General Haldimand replied, as he had done to Baron Steuben, "I have received no orders from his Majesty to deliver them up."†

While the condition of the western frontier remained thus uncertain, settlers were rapidly gathering about the inland forts. In the spring of this year, Pittsburgh, which had been long settled and once before surveyed, was regularly laid out under the direction of Tench Francis, agent for the Messrs. Penn; who, as adherents to England in the revolutionary struggle, had forfeited a large part of their possessions in America. The lots were soon sold, and improvements immediately began; though, as would appear from the following extract from Arthur Lee's journal, who

* Secret Journals, iv. 185 to 287.—Pitkin, ii. 192 to 200.—Marshall, i. 167 to 188.

† Marshall, i. 177, &c.

passed through Pittsburgh on his way to the Indian council at Fort McIntosh, it was not, late in its first year, very prepossessing or promising in its appearance:

"Pittsburgh is inhabited ALMOST ENTIRELY by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as if in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per hundred, from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take, in the shops, money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had within thirty years of his memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable."*

The detention of the western fortresses, however, though of little moment to Pennsylvania, was a very serious evil to the more distant settlers of Kentucky. The northern savages again prepared their scalping knives, and the traders from Canada, if not the agents of the British government, urged them to harass the frontiers. Although Kentucky, therefore, grew rapidly during 1784, the emigrants numbering twelve,† and the whole population thirty thousand;‡—although a friendly meeting was held by Thomas J. Dalton, with the Piankeshaws, at Vincennes, in April;‖ and though trade was extending itself into the clearings and among the canebrakes—Daniel Brodhead having opened his store at Louisville the previous year, and James Wilkinson having come to Lexington in February as the leader of a large commercial company, formed in Philadelphia;§—still the cool and sagacious mind of Logan led him to prepare his fellow citizens for trial and hardship. He called, in the autumn of 1784, a meeting of the people at Danville, to take measures for defending the country, and at this meeting the whole subject of the position and danger of Kentucky was examined and discussed, and it was agreed that a convention should meet in December to adopt some measures

* American Pioneer, i. 304. † Imlay, 44.

‡ Filson, 22. Filson's work was prepared this year (1784) and the first edition printed at Wilmington, (query, North Carolina or Delaware?)

‖ Filson, 49.

§ Marshall i. 161. 165. In 1784 Louisville contained 63 houses finished, 37 partly finished, 22 raised but not covered, and more than 100 cabins. (Letters of an American Planter, from 1770 to 1786. Vol. iii. p. 422.)

for the security of the settlements in the wilderness. Upon the 27th of that month it met, nor was it long before the idea became prominent that Kentucky must ask to be severed from Virginia, and left to her own guidance and control. But as no such conception was general, when the delegates to this first convention were chosen, they deemed it best to appoint a second, to meet during the next May, at which was specially to be considered the topic most interesting to those who were called on to think and vote — a complete separation from the parent state; — political independence.*

It was during 1784, also, that the military claimants of land, under the laws of Virginia, began their locations. All the territory between the Green and Cumberland rivers, excepting that granted to Henderson & Co., was to be appropriated to soldiers of the parent state; and when that was exhausted, the lands north of the Ohio, between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers. In 1783, the Continental Line had chosen Colonel Richard C. Anderson principal surveyor on their behalf, and on the 17th of December in that year, concluded with him a contract, under which, upon the 20th of the following July, he opened his office near Louisville; and entries at once began. The first entry north of the Ohio, however, was not made until August 1, 1787.†

Two subjects which in order of time belong to this year, we defer, the one to 1787, the other to 1785: the former is the measure adopted by Congress for the government of the new territory; the latter the first treaty with the Indians relative to the West.

* Marshall, i. 190 to 195.

† McDonald's Sketches, 22 to 24. He gives the contract. Also letter of W. M. Anderson. (American Pioneer, i. 438.) The number of soldiers in the Virginia Continental Line proved to be 1124. (American State Papers, xviii. 535.)

# 1785.

In speaking of Pittsburgh, we referred to the passage of Arthur Lee through that place late in 1784, to attend a council with the Indians at Fort McIntosh. Upon the 22d of the previous October, this gentleman, in connection with Richard Butler and Oliver Wolcott, had met the hostile tribes of the Iroquois,* at Fort Stanwix, and had there concluded a treaty of peace, among the articles of which was the following:

ART. 3. A line shall be drawn, beginning at the mouth of a creek, about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnston's Landing Place, upon the lake, named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path, between Lake Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo Creek, or Lake Erie; thence south, to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west, to the end of the said north boundary; thence south, along the west boundary of the said State, to the river Ohio; the said line, from the mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations; so that the Six Nations shall, and do, yield to the United States, all claims to the country west of the said boundary; and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands they inhabit, east and north of the same, reserving only six miles square, round the fort of Oswego, to the United States, for the support of the same.†

The old indefinite claim of the great northern confederacy to the west, being thus extinguished, Mr. Lee, together with Richard Butler and George Rogers Clark, proceeded to treat with the Western Indians themselves at Fort McIntosh, upon the 21st of January, 1785. The nations represented were the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippeways, and Ottoways; and among the represen-

* Of the Six tribes, the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, had joined England; the Oneidas, and Tuscaroras had not.

† See Land Laws, p. 122.

tatives, it is said, was the celebrated war chief of the Delawares, Buckongahelas.* The most important provisions of the treaty agreed up were the seven following,—

Art. 3. The boundary line between the United States and the Wyandot and Delaware nations, shall begin at the mouth of the river Cayahoga, and run thence, up the said river, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; then, down the said branch, to the forks at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence, [Laurens;] then, westerly, to the portage of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; then, along the said portage, to the Great Miami or Ome River, and down the south-east side of the same to its mouth; thence, along the south shore of Lake Erie, to the mouth of Cayahoga, where it began.

Art. 4. The United States allot all the lands contained within the said lines to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to live and to hunt on, and to such of the Ottowa nation as now live thereon; saving and reserving, for the establishment of trading posts, six miles square at the mouth of Miami or Ome River, and the same at the portage on that branch of the Big Miami which runs into the Ohio, and the same on the Lake of Sandusky where the fort formerly stood, and also two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of Sandusky River; which posts, and the lands annexed to them, shall be to the use, and under the Government of the United States.

Art. 5. If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, in this treaty, except on the lands reserved to the United States in the preceding article, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him as they please.

Art. 6. The Indians who sign this treaty, as well in behalf of all their tribes as of themselves, do acknowledge the lands east, south, and west, of the lines described in the third article so far as the said Indians formerly claimed the same, to belong to the United States; and none of their tribes shall presume to settle upon the same, or any part of it.

Art. 7. The post of Detroit with a district beginning at the mouth of the River Rosine, on the west end of Lake Erie, and running west six miles up the southern bank of the said river, thence, northerly, and

*So says Dawson, (life of Harrison, 82, note,) and Thatcher and Butler follow him; but the name of the Chief does not appear in the proceedings.—He did, however, sign the treaty of the Great Miami, in January 1786, as a witness.—(Dillon, i. 432, 440. Indian Treaties, Washington, 1837.) Did not he there meet Clark and not at Fort McIntosh?

always six miles west of the strait, till it strikes the Lake St. Clair, shall be also reserved to the sole use of the United States.

ART. 8. In the same manner, the post at Michilimackinac, with its dependencies, and twelve miles square about the same, shall be reserved to the use of the United States.

ART. 9. If any Indian or Indians shall commit a robbery or murder on any citizen of the United States, the tribe to which such offenders may belong, shall be bound to deliver them up at the nearest post, to be punished according to the ordinances of the United States.

Thus were the first steps taken for securing to the United States the Indian titles to the vast realm beyond the Ohio; and a few months later the legislation was commenced, that was to determine the mode of its disposal, and the plan of its settlements.

In April of the previous year Congress had adopted certain resolutions in relation to the number and size of the States to be formed from the Western Territory, and sketched the great features of an Ordinance for its organization, but as all these things were afterwards modified in 1787, we have deferred the subject of that organization to the last named year. But though the details of the government of the West were not as yet settled, Congress, upon the 20th of May, 1785,† passed an ordinance relative to surveys which determined a plan for the division of the ceded lands, and the main principles of which still remain in force. This was not done, however, until Massachusetts, as well as New York and Virginia, had ceded her claims to the Union; which she did upon the 19th of April in this year, the Act authorizing the cession having been passed upon the 13th of the previous November.‡

By the ordinance above referred to, the territory purchased of the Indians was to be divided into townships, six miles square,‖ by north and south lines crossed at right angles by others: the first north and south line to begin on the Ohio at a point due north of the western termination of the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and the first east and west line to begin at the same point

* See Land Laws, p. 148.

† There was an ordinance reported May 28, 1784, (Old Journals, iv. 416;) a second, April 26th, 1785, (Old Journals, iv. 507:) that of May 20th differed in several respects.

‡ Old Journals, iv. 500 to 504. Land Laws, 102.

‖ By the first ordinance these were to have been ten miles, and by the second seven miles square.—See Journals.

and extend throughout the territory. The ranges of townships thus formed were to be numbered from the Pennsylvania line westward; the townships themselves from the Ohio northward. Each township was to be subdivided into thirty-six parts or sections, each, of course, one mile square. When seven ranges of townships had been thus surveyed, the Geographer was to make a return of them to the Board of Treasury, who were to take therefrom one-seventh part, by lot, for the use of the late Continental army; and so of every seven ranges as surveyed and returned: the remaining six-sevenths were to be drawn for by the several States, in the proportion of the last requisition made on them; and they were to make public sale thereof in the following manner: range 1st, township 1st, was to be sold entire, township 2d in sections, and so on alternately; while in range 2d, township 1st, was to be sold in sections, and township 2d entire, retaining throughout both as to the ranges and townships the principle of alternation. The price was to be at least one dollar per acre in specie, "loan office certificates reduced to specie value," or "certificates of liquidated debts of the United States." Five sections in each township were to be reserved, four for the United States and one for schools. All sales thus made by the States were to be returned to the Board of Treasury. This ordinance also gave the mode for dividing, among the Continental soldiers, the lands set apart to them; reserved three townships for Canadian refugees; secured to the Moravian Indians their rights; and excluded from sale the territory between the Little Miami and Scioto, in accordance with the provisions made by Virginia in her deed of cession in favor of her own troops. Many points in this law were afterwards changed, but its great features remained.*

It had been anticipated that so soon as the treaty of Fort McIntosh was known, settlers and speculators would cross the Ohio, and to prevent the evil which it was foreseen would follow any general movement of the kind the Indian Commissioners were authorized in June, to issue a Proclamation commanding all persons northwest of the river to leave without loss of time, or stay at their peril, and announcing the intention of government as soon as possible to sell the soil as fast as surveyed.† The peril to be

* Land Laws, 349 to 354.—Old Journals, iv. 520 to 522.

† Land Laws, 354.—Old Journals iv. 538.

apprehended from the weak hands of the confederacy might not have deterred fearless men from filling the forbidden land, but there were those near by who executed the laws they made in a manner which was by no means to be disregarded; and, as we learn from the honorable George Corwin of Portsmouth, when four families from Redstone attempted a settlement at the mouth of the Scioto in April 1785, they received such a notice to quit from the natives in the shape of rifle-balls, that the survivors, (for two of the men were killed,) were glad enough to abandon their enterprize, and take refuge at Limestone or Maysville.† Farther west the experiment succeeded better, and some years before the time of which we are writing, in 1781, a settlement was made in the neighborhood of the old French forts by emigrants from Western Virginia, who were joined during the present year by several other families from the same region. Upon the American stations thus unlawfully commenced the Kickapoos began to commit hostilities in '86, the Osages joined them in '90, and from that time until after the treaty of Greenville the few inhabitants of Illinois led the same life of danger and excitement,—of hair-breadth escapes and miraculous deliverances, which the frontier men of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, had led for twenty or thirty years previous:—the details may be found in an article by J. M. Peck, read before the Illinois State Lyceum in 1832, and published in the Western Monthly Magazine, vol. i. p. 73, (February 1833.)

In Kentucky during 1785 events were of a different character from any yet witnessed in the West. Hitherto to live and resist the savages had been the problem, but now the more complicated questions of self-rule and political power presented themselves for discussion and answer. The Convention which met late in 1784, finding a strong feeling prevalent in favor of separation from Virginia, and unwilling to assume too much responsibility, had proposed, as we have stated, a *second* Convention to meet in the following May. It met upon the 23d of that month, and the same spirit of self dependence being dominant, an address to the Assembly of Virginia and one to the people of Kentucky, together with five resolutions, all relative to separation, and in favor of it, were unanimously carried. Two of these resolutions deserve especial notice; one of them recognized, what the Constitution of Virginia

* American Pioneer, i. 56.

did not, the principle of equal representation, or a representation *of the people living in a certain territory*, and not the square miles contained in it: the other referred the whole matter again, to a *third* Convention, which was to meet in August and continue its sessions by adjournment until April 1786. As the members of the body which passed this resolve had been chosen, it is believed, on the basis of equal representation,* and for the very purpose of considering the question of independence, it is by no means clear why this reference to a third assembly was made. It may have been from great precaution, or it may have been through the influence of James Wilkinson, who, though not a member of the *second* Convention exercised great power in it; and who being chosen a member of the *third* became its leader and controller, by the combined influence of his manners, eloquence, intellect, and character. This gentleman, there appears to be reason to think, deemed the tone of the petition to Virginia too humble, and wished another meeting to speak both to the Parent State and the people of the District in more rousing and exciting words. And his wish, if such was his wish, was fulfilled. Upon the 8th of August, a *third* Convention met, adopted a new form of address to the Old Dominion, and called upon the people of Kentucky to "arm, associate, and embody," "to hold in detestation and abhorrence, and treat as enemies to the community, every person who shall withhold his countenance and support, of such measures as may be recommended for [the] common defence;" and to prepare for offensive movements against the Indians, without waiting to be attacked.†

That Wilkinson in this address to the people of Kentucky somewhat exaggerated the danger of Indian invasion is probable; and the propriety of his call upon his countrymen to invade the lands beyond the Ohio, at the time that Congress was treating with the natives owning them, and seeking to put a stop to warfare, is more than questionable: but still his expressions of anxiety lest the whites should be found unprepared, were not wholly without cause. In August an Indian Council was held upon the Wabash clearly hostile in its character:‡ in October the southern savages were engaged in hostilities;‖ and through the whole season small

* Marshall, i. 195.

† Marshall, i. 196 to 220; where are all the original papers at length.

‡ Dillon's Indiana, i. 201. ‖ Marshall, i. 220.

parties of red men were doing mischief among the settlements.* But the proper source of action in the matter at this time was the confederation, and Wilkinson and his associates in proposing to invade the northwest territory, should have sought to act under its sanction, and not as leaders of a sovereign power. Nor was the confederation at this very time unmindful of the West: in the autumn of '85 Major Doughty descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum, and upon the point north of the former, and west of the latter, river, began Fort Harmar.†

## 1786.

The address or petition, though the last name seems scarcely applicable, which the Third Kentucky Convention had sent to the Assembly of the parent State, was by that body duly received and listened to, and the reasons for an early separation appearing cogent, Virginia, in January, 1786, passed a law by which Kentucky might claim independence, provided she were willing to accept certain conditions,‡ which conditions were to be submitted to a

* Border Warfare, 272. Marshall, i. 195.

† American Pioneer, i. 25 to 30, and frontispiece.

‡ The following extract of a letter, dated December 9th, 1785, from Madison to Washington, will explain these conditions, and the feeling of Kentucky. (Sparks' Washington, ix. 510.)

"Kentucky made a formal application for independence. Her memorial has been considered, and the terms of separation fixed by a committee of the whole. The substance of them is, that all private rights and interests, derived from the laws of Virginia, shall be secured; that the unlocated lands shall be applied to the objects to which the laws of Virginia have appropriated them; that the Ohio shall be a common highway for the citizens of the United States, and the jurisdiction of Kentucky and Virginia, as far as the remaining territory of the latter will be thereon, be concurrent only with the new States on the opposite shore; that the proposed State shall take its due share of our State debts; and that the separation shall not take place unless these terms shall be approved by a convention to be held to decide the question, nor until Congress shall assent thereto, and fix the terms of their admission into the Union. The limits of the proposed State are to be the same with the present limits of the district. The apparent coolness of the representatives of Kentucky, as to a separation, since these terms have been defined, indicates that they had some views, which will not be favored by them. They dislike much to be hung upon the will of Congress."

*Fourth* convention to be held in the following September. If those were agreed to, the convention was to select a day posterior to September 1st, 1787, after which the laws of Virginia were to cease forever to be of force within the western district; for which, meanwhile, a constitution and laws were to be prepared by a *Fifth* convention to be called for that purpose: it being provided that this act was to be effective only when in substance approved by the United States.* This act was not, however, altogether pleasant to the more zealous of the advocates of self-rule, and an attempt was made by Wilkinson and his friends to induce the people of the district to declare themselves independent of Virginia before the comparatively distant period fixed by the law in question. The attempt, however, was opposed and defeated; the election of members from the Fourth convention took place without disturbance, and in September it would undoubtedly have met to attend to the business confided to it, had not the Indian incursions led to a movement against the tribes on the Wabash, at the very time appointed for the assembly at Danville.

Before we come to this movement beyond the Ohio, however, it is necessary to mention the steps taken by Congress during the early part of this year to secure and perpetuate peace with the north-western tribes. The treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois, was upon the 22d of October, 1784; that of Fort McIntosh, with the Delawares, Wyandots, &c., upon the 21st of January, 1785; upon the 18th of March following it was resolved that a treaty be held with the Wabash Indians at Post Vincent on the 20th of June, 1785, or at such other time and place as might seem best to the commissioners.† Various circumstances caused the time to be changed to the 31st of January, 1786, and the place to the mouth of the Great Miami, where, upon that day a treaty was made by George R. Clark, Richard Butler, and Samuel H. Parsons,—not, however, with the Piankishaws and others named in the original resolution, but with the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese.‡ That treaty, in addition to the usual articles, contained the following.‖

* Marshall, i. 222.

† Old Journals, iv. 487.

‡ Those first named were the Potawatama, Twightwees, Piankishaw and other western nations. See Old Journals, iv. 528. 533. 538. 542. The resolution on the page last cited (June 29, 1785) changes the *place* to the mouth of the Great Miami or the Falls.

‖ Old Journals, iv. 627. Land Laws, 299.

Art. 2. The Shawanee nation do acknowledge the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty of peace, made between them and the king of Great Britain, the fourteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.*

Art. 6. The United States do allot to the Shawanee nation, lands within their territory to live and hunt upon, beginning at the south line of the lands allotted to the Wyandots and Delaware nations, at the place where the main branch of the Great Miami, which falls into the Ohio, intersects said line; then, down the River Miami, to the fork of that river, next below the old fort which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; thence, due west, to the River De la Panse; then, down that river, to the river Wabash; beyond which lines none of the citizens of the United States shall settle, nor disturb the Shawanees in their settlement and possessions. And the Shawanees do relinquish to the United States, all title, or pretence of title, they ever had to the lands east, west, and south, of the east, west, and south lines before described.†

The absence of the Wabash Indians from this council was not the result of any change of plans on the part of the Americans, but solely of a growing spirit of hostility among the savages, fostered, there is too much reason to think, by the sub-agents of England. The temper of the Indians who first met the commissioners, is thus referred to by General Parsons, in a letter to Captain Hart at Fort Harmar, dated "Fort Finney," (mouth of Great Miami, where Major Finney was stationed for the time,‡) December 20th, 1785."

Since we have been here, every measure has been taken to bring in the Indians. The Wyandots and Delawares are here; the other nations were coming, and were turned back by the Shawanese. These at last sent two of their tribe to examine our situation and satisfy themselves of our designs. With these men we were very open and explicit. We told them we were fully convinced of their designs in coming; that we were fully satisfied with it; that they were at liberty to take their own way and time to answer the purposes they came for; that we were desirous of living in peace with them; and for that purpose had come with offers of peace to them, which they would judge of, and whether peace or war was most for their interest; that we very well knew the measures the British agents had taken to deceive them. That if they

* Alluding to the definitive treaty of peace.

† See Land Laws, 299.

‡ Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 33. He was witness to the treaty. See the treaty in the Washington Collection of 1837.

came to the treaty, any man who had filled their ears with those stories was at liberty to come with them and return in safety. But if they refused to treat with us, we should consider it as a declaration of war on their part, &c. These men stayed about us eight days, and then told us they were fully convinced our designs were good; that they had been deceived; that they would return home, and use their influence to bring in their nation, and send out to the other nations. Last night we received a belt of Wampum and a twist of tobacco, with a message that they would be in when we had smoked the tobacco. From our information we are led to believe these people will very generally come in and heartily concur with us in peace. I think it not probable the treaty will begin sooner than January.

The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced are all opposed to a treaty, and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have very convincing proofs of its reality. The causes I can assign, but they are too many for the compass of a letter. Notwithstanding all treaties we can make, I am convinced we shall not be in safety until we have posts established in the upper country.*

The various tribes of the north-west therefore had been invited to the mouth of the Miami, but owing to counter influence, neither attended nor took any notice of the messages sent them;† and those who did finally attend, came, if tradition tells truly, in no amicable spirit, and but for the profound knowledge possessed by Clark of the Indian character, and the high rank he held in the estimation of the natives, the meeting of January 31st might very probably have terminated in the murder of the commissioners.‡

From a late work by Judge Hall we take the following passage, descriptive of the scene which is said to have taken place. The Indians had entered in a disorderly and disrespectful manner, "the commissioners, without noticing the disorderly conduct of the other party, or appearing to have discovered their meditated

* See North American Review, October, 1841, p. 330.

† Old Journals, iv. 657.

‡ The following account of a meeting between Clark and the great Delaware chief, Buckongahelas, took place, we presume, at this time, and not as commonly said, (Butler, 153. Dawson's Harrison, 82, note. Thatcher's Indians, ii. 180,) at Fort McIntosh, in 1785. His name does not appear in the treaty of Fort McIntosh, but does in that of Fort Finney. (Dillon's Indiana, i. 432. 440. Indian Treaties, Washington, 1837.) "When the peace chiefs had addressed the commissioners, Buckongahelas, not deigning to notice the colleagues of Clark, took the latter by the hand, and said, "I thank the Great Spirit for having this day brought together two such great warriors as Buckongahelas and General Clark."

treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace-pipe, and after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs who received it. Colonel Clark then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command, and an easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanese; that the President had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify; and, if the red men desired peace, they could have it on reasonable terms. 'If such be the will of the Shawanese,' he concluded, 'let some of their wise men speak.'

"A chief arose, drew up his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eye contemptuously over the commissioners and their small retinue, as if to measure their insignificance, in comparison with his own numerous train, and then stalking to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum, of different colors — the war and the peace belt.

"'We come here,' he exclaimed, 'to offer you two pieces of wampum; they are of different colors; you know what they mean: you can take which you like!' and turning upon his heel, he resumed his seat.

"The chiefs drew themselves up, in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They offered an insult to the renowned leader of the Long Knives, to which they knew it would be hard for him to submit, while they did not suppose he dare resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside. Those fierce wild men gazed intently at Clark. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived; they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed, and were disposed to use it; and a common sense of danger caused each eye to be turned on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed and apparently careless until the chief who had thrown the belts upon the table had taken his seat; then with a small cane which he held in his hand, he reached as if playfully, towards the war belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it towards him, and then with a switch of the cane threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in the council, of each party sprang to his feet, the savage with a loud exclamation of astonishment 'Hugh!' The Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict, against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon.

"Clark alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness and his eye flashed, but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was perceptible upon his compressed lips, as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely and in horrid exultation upon him as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay thirsting for blood, and ready to rush upon him whenever one bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the secret springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him and sway them at his will.

Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him—none that could return the fierce glance of his eye. Raising his arm and waving his hand toward the door, he exclaimed: '*Dogs! you may go!*' The Indians hesitated for a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council room."*

* Hall in Wiley and Putnam's Library. — The original of the above is we presume, the following from the Encyclopædia Americana:

"The Indians came in to the treaty at Fort Washington in the most friendly manner, except the Shawanees, the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines, the first in at a battle, and the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors set off in all their paint and feathers, and filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States' stockade mustered seventy men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat the commissary-general Clark, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders, General Richard Butler and Mr. Parsons. There was also present a Captain Denny, who, I believe, is still alive, and can attest this story. On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a boisterous and threatening speech, which operated effectually on the passions of the Indians, who set up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify they were prepared for either event, peace or war. Clark exhibited the same unaltered and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, and his elbow resting upon the table. He raised his little cane, and pushed the sacred wampum off the table, with very little ceremony. Every Indian at the same time started from his seat with one of those sudden, simultaneous, and peculiarly savage sounds, which startle and disconcert the stoutest heart, and can neither be described nor forgotten. At this juncture Clark rose. The scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrate and insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, apparently involuntarily. They were heard all that night, debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned chief was for war, the old sachem for peace. The latter prevailed, and the next morning they came back and sued for peace." (Notes of an old officer. See Encyclopædia Americana, iii. 232.)

Judge Hall says General Harrison confirmed the tale, but it is a strange matter that neither Marshall nor any of the other early historians know any thing about it. Is it also a "myth?"

But the tribes more distant than the Shawanese were in no way disposed to cease their incursions, and upon the 16th of May the Governor of Virginia was forced to write upon the subject to Congress, which at once sent two companies down the Ohio to the Falls, and upon the 30th of June authorized the raising of militia in Kentucky, and the invasion of the country of the mischief-makers under the command of the leading United States officer.* We do not learn that it was nominally under this resolution that General Clark's expedition of the ensuing fall was undertaken; but at any rate this act on the part of Congress justified offensive measures on the part of the Kentuckians when they became necessary; and it being thought necessary to act upon the Wabash before winter, a body of a thousand men or more gathered at the Falls, and marched thence toward Vincennes, which place they reached some time in September,† 1786.

Here the army remained inactive during nine days, waiting the arrival of their provisions and ammunition, which had been sent down to the mouth of the Wabash in boats, and were delayed by the low water. This stay, so different from Clark's old mode of proceeding, was in opposition to his advice,‡ and proved fatal to the expedition. The soldiers became restive, and their confidence in the General being destroyed, by discovering the fact that his clear mind was too commonly confused and darkened by the influence of ardent spirits, they at last refused obedience; a body of three hundred turned their faces homeward, and the rest soon followed in their track.

Another expedition conducted by Colonel Logan against the Shawanese, who in spite of their treaty had resumed hostilities, terminated very differently from that under the conqueror of Illinois, their towns were burned and their crops wasted.

It was the gathering of the men of Kentucky for these expeditions, which prevented the meeting of the convention that was to have come together in September. So many were absent on military duty that a quorum could not be had, and those who came to the point of assembly, were forced, as a committee merely, to prepare a memorial for the Virginia legislature, setting

* Old Journals, iv. 657 to 660.

† Butler (p. 151) says in October, but they remained at Vincennes nine days, and yet the meeting after the expedition was abandoned, was on October 8th. (Secret Journals, iv. 311.)

‡ Marshall, i. 250.—Butler, 153.

forth the causes which made a convention at that time impossible, and asking certain changes in the Act of Separation.* This done, they continued their meetings by adjournment during the remainder of the year, hoping a quorum might still be gathered; which was not done, however, until the ensuing January.†

Meanwhile, beyond the Alleghanies, events were taking place which produced more excitement in Kentucky than Indian wars, or Acts of Separation even: we refer to the Spanish negotiations, involving the navigation of the Mississippi. In 1780, as we have stated, Spain expressed her determination to claim the control of the great western river: in January, 1781, she attacked the fort of St. Joseph's, and took possession of the north-west in the name of his Catholic Majesty: on the 15th of the next month, Congress, at the instance of the Virginia Delegates, instructed Mr. Jay, then at Madrid, not to insist on the use of the Mississippi by the Americans, if a treaty could not be effected without giving it up. Through 1782, the court of Madrid labored, not only to induce the United States to give up the stream of the West, but a great part of the West itself, and France backed her pretensions;‡ and thus matters rested. In July, 1785, Don Diego Gardoqui, appeared before Congress as the representative of Spain;‖ on the 20th of the same month, Mr. Jay, the Secretary of foreign affairs, was authorised to negotiate with him; and in May of the year of which we are writing, negotiations begun between them, were brought to the notice of Congress. This was done in consequence of the fact that in these transactions Mr. Jay asked the special guidance of that body, and explained his reasons for doing so at length.§ He pointed out the importance of a commercial treaty with Spain, and dwelt upon the two difficulties of making such a treaty; one of which was the unwillingness of Spain to permit the navigation of the Mississippi, the other, the question of boundaries. Upon the first point Mr. Jay was, and always had been, opposed to yielding to the Spanish claim; but that claim was still as strenuously urged as in 1780; and the court of Madrid, their ambassador said, would never abandon it. Under these circumstances, the interests of the whole Union demanding the conclusion of the Spanish commercial treaty, while that treaty could apparently be secured only by giving up the right to navigate the

* Marshall, i. 251. † Ibid, 253.

‡ Secret Journals, iv. 63 to 80. Diplomatic Correspondence.

‖ Old Journals, iv. 544. § Secret Journals, iv. 43. 45.

Mississippi, which was in a manner sacrificing the West, Mr. Jay proposed, as a sort of compromise, to form a treaty with Spain for twenty-five or thirty years, and during that time to yield the right of using the Mississippi below the boundaries of the United States. To this proposition, the southern members in Congress were vehemently opposed, and an attempt was made by them to take the whole matter out of Mr. Jay's hands, the delegates from Virginia offering a long and able argument in opposition to his scheme; but the members of the eastern and middle states outvoted the south, and the Secretary was authorised to continue his negotiations, without being bound to insist at all hazards upon the immediate use of the river.* The discussions in Congress relative to the Spanish claims, took place during August, and the rumor of them and of the Secretary's proposal in due time reached the West; but, as is common, the tale spread by report, differed from the truth, by representing the proposition as much more positive than it really was, and as being made by John Jay, without any sanction of Congress. This story, which circulated during the winter of 1786–7, produced among those who dwelt upon the western waters great indignation; and prepared the people to anticipate a contest with Spain, or a union with her, and in either case, action independent of the old Atlantic colonies. And the conduct of Clark, after the failure of the Wabash expedition, was well calculated to cause many to think that the leading minds were already prepared for action. On the 8th of October, a board of field officers at Vincennes, determined to garrison that point, to raise supplies by impressment, and to enlist new troops. Under this determination, Spanish property was seized, soldiers were embodied, and steps were taken to hold a peace council with the natives; all under the direction of General Clark. Soon after this, in December, Thomas Green wrote from Louisville to the Goverernor, Council and Legislature of Georgia — which State was involved in the boundary quarrel with Spain — that Spanish property had been seized in the north-west as a hostile measure, and not merely to procure necessaries for the troops, which Clark afterward declared was the case; and added that the General was ready to go down the river with "troops sufficient" to take possession of the lands in dispute, if Georgia would countenance him. This letter Clark said he never saw, but as he paid equally with

* Secret Journals, iv. 81 to 132.

Green towards the expenses of the messenger who was to take it to the south, it was natural enough to think him privy to all the plans relative to the disputed territory, whatever they may have been. And what they were, in some minds at least, may perhaps, be judged by the following extract from a letter, also written from Louisville, professedly to some one in New England, and very probably by Green; and which was circulated widely in Frankland, Tennessee. It is dated December 4, '86.

Our situation is as bad as it possibly can be, therefore every exertion to retrieve our circumstances must be manly, eligible and just.

We can raise twenty thousand troops this side the Alleghany and Apalachian Mountains; and the annual increase of them by emigration, from other parts, is from two to four thousand.

We have taken all the goods belonging to the Spanish merchants of post Vincennes and the Illinois, and are determined they shall not trade up the river, provided they will not let us trade down it. Preparations are now making here (if necessary) to drive the Spaniards from their settlements, at the mouth of the Mississippi. In case we are not countenanced and succored by the United States (if we need it) our allegiance will be thrown off, and some other power applied to. Great Britain stands ready with open arms to receive and support us. They have already offered to open their resources for our supplies. When once re-united to them, "farewell, a long farewell to all your boasted greatness." The province of Canada and the inhabitants of these waters, of themselves, in time, will be able to conquer you. You are as ignorant of this country as Great Britain was of America. These are hints, if rightly improved, may be of some service; if not, blame yourselves for the neglect.*

Wells, Green's messenger, on his way to Georgia, showed his papers to various persons at Danville; copies were at once taken of them, and inclosed in a letter written on the 22d of December to the executive of Virginia, by fifteen of the leading citizens of Kentucky, among whom was James Wilkinson. In February, 1787, the Council of Virginia acted upon the subject; condemned General Clark's conduct, disavowed the powers assumed by him, ordered the prosecution of the persons concerned in the seizure of property, and laid the matter before Congress. It was presented in detail to that body upon the 13th of April,† and upon the 24th

* Secret Journals, iv. 323.

† Secret Journals, iv. 301 to 323.

of that month, it was resolved that the troops of the United States be employed to dispossess the unauthorised intruders who had taken possession of St. Vincents.*

All these things naturally tended to excite speculation, inquiry and fear throughout the West; and though no action was had in reference to the Mississippi question beyond the mountains, until the next spring, we may be sure there was talking and feeling enough in the interval.

But in giving the history of 1786, we must not omit those steps which resulted in the formation of the New England Ohio Company, and the founding of the first colony, authorised by government, north-west of the Belle Riviere.

Congress, by the Resolutions of September 16, 1776, and August 12, 1780, had promised land bounties to the officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, who should continue in the service till the close of the war, or until discharged by Congress; and to the representatives of those who should be slain by the enemy.† In June, 1783, peace having been proclaimed, General Rufus Putnam forwarded to Washington a memorial from certain of those having claims under these Resolutions; which Washington transmitted to Congress, together with General Putnam's letter.‡ But as the States claiming the western territory had not then made their final cessions, Congress was forced, on the 29th of October, 1783, to announce their inability to make any appropriation of land.‖ From that time, nothing further was done until, upon the 18th of July, 1785, Benjamin Tupper, a Revolutionary officer belonging to Massachusetts, was appointed a surveyor of western lands, in the place of General Putnam, who had been before chosen, but was otherwise engaged. He, in the course of that year, visited the West, going, however, no farther than Pittsburgh, as the Indian troubles prevented surveys.§ On his return home, he conferred with his friend, Putnam, as to a renewal of their memorial of 1783, and a removal westward; which conference resulted in a publication, dated January 10, 1786, in which was proposed the formation of a company to settle the Ohio lands; and those taking an interest in the plan, were invited to meet in Feb-

* Old Journals, iv. 740.

† Land Laws, 337.

‡ The letters relating to this petition were sent by Mr. Sparks to the Committee for the Celebration of the Settlement of Ohio, 1835; and were published by them.

‖ Land Laws, 339.

§ Nye's Address, Transactions Ohio Historical Society, p. 317.

ruary and choose, for each county of Massachusetts, one or more delegates; these delegates were to assemble, on the 1st of March, at the Bunch of Grapes tavern in Boston, there to agree upon a system of association. On the day named, eleven persons appeared at the place agreed upon; and by the 3d of March, the outline of the company was drawn up, and subscriptions under it at once commenced. The leading features of that outline were these: a fund of a million dollars, mainly in continental certificates, was to be raised for the purpose of purchasing lands in the western territory; there were to be a thousand shares of one thousand dollars each, and upon each share ten dollars in specie were to be paid, for contingent expenses. One year's interest was to be appropriated to the charges of making a settlement and assisting those unable to remove without aid. The owners of every twenty shares were to choose an agent to represent them, and attend to their interests; and these agents were to choose the Directors.* The plan was approved, and in a year from that time the company was organized; and, before its organization, the last obstacle to the purposed grant from the United States, was done away by the cession of most of her territorial claims on the part of Connecticut. In October, 1780, soon after the first action of Congress relative to the western lands, that State had passed an Act respecting the cession of her claims to the United States. This, on the 31st of January, 1781, was referred, together with the Resolutions of New York and Virginia, to a Committee.† Various reports were made, and discussions had, relative to the matter, but it was not till May 26, 1786, that the views of the State and the Union could be brought to a coincidence. This being done by a Resolution of Congress, dated upon that day, the delegates of Connecticut, upon the 14th of September, made the deed of cession by which all her claims to the country west of a line, one hundred and twenty miles beyond the Western boundary of Pennsylvania and parallel thereto,‡ were given up to the confederation.‖

* See Nye's Address in Transactions of Ohio Historical Society, Part 2d. Also, an article on Ohio, in North American Review, for October, 1841; vol. liii. 320 to 359: this article is full of original matter.

† Old Journals, iii. 571.

‡ Old Journals. iv. 645 to 648. 697.—Land Laws. 103.—Connecticut claimed nothing south of parallel 41 deg., or north of parallel 42 deg. 2m.

‖ By this transfer, Connecticut retained both the soil and jurisdiction of what is now known as the Connecticut or Western Reserve. The compromise with her was disapproved by Washington and others. See Sparks' Washington, ix. 178 and note. Virginia, in her cession, (see p. 258) had resigned her jurisdiction, and her "reserve" was merely of the lands necessary to recompense her soldiers.

# 1787.

We mentioned some pages back, that a minority of the Convention called in Kentucky, to meet in September, 1786, was adjourned from time to time until January of this year; when, at length, a quorum attended. Upon a vote being then taken relative to separation, the feeling was still as before, strongly in favor of it. But scarce had this been ascertained when a second Act upon the subject, passed by Virginia in October, 1786,* reached the West, and the whole question was again postponed, to be laid before a *fifth* convention, which was to meet in September; while the time when the laws of Virginia should cease to be of force, was changed to the close of the year 1788. There were many, beyond no doubt, to whom this delay was a source of vexation and anger, but the people of the district generally evinced no such feelings; the elections took place in August, and the Convention assembled upon the 17th of September, all in perfect harmony and quietness. The vote was again unanimous in favor of separation, and the Act of Virginia was agreed to; to form a constitution, a *sixth* convention was to be chosen in the ensuing April, and to complete the work of independence, Congress was to assent to the formation of Kentucky into a state before July 4, 1788.†

Nor was the spirit of moderation shown this year by the Kentuckians in relation to self-government, confined to that subject; in regard to the vexatious affair of the Spanish claims, there was a like temper manifested. Mr. Jay, as already related, had been authorised by Congress to abandon the right of using the Mississippi for a term of years, but not to yield the pretensions of the United States to its navigation, after that period closed. In October, 1786, under these instructions, he resumed his negotiations with Don Gardoqui, but without success, as Spain required an

* Morehead, 124.

† Marshall, i. 253 to 256. 274 to 278. The date "July 4, 1788" is misprinted "1787" in Marshall, 256.

entire relinquishment of the American claim.* In November of that year, also, Virginia had passed several Resolutions against giving up the use of the river, even for a day, and had instructed her delegates to oppose every attempt of the kind.† When, therefore, the people of Kentucky met at Danville, early in May, 1787, to act in relation to the subject,—having been called together by Messrs. Muter, Innis, Brown and Sebastian, for that purpose,‡—they found that little or nothing was to be done; the plan of the Secretary was not likely to succeed, and had been most fully protested against:—the assembly at Danville, having been informed of these things, quietly adjourned.‖

What connection, if any, existed between this calmer spirit in Kentucky and General Wilkinson's absence, during a part of the year, it is impossible to say; but it is probable that had not his attention at that time been drawn to the advantages of a trade with New Orleans, he would have exerted during 1787, a much greater influence upon his fellow citizens than he seems to have done. In June, we find him on his way to the south; nor did he appear in Kentucky again until the following February; and then it was that he commenced those connections with the Spanish government of Louisiana, which were afterwards brought in question, and by means of which his character became involved in doubts that have never entirely been done away.§

At that period, the feeling expressed in the extract from a letter which we have already quoted on p. 282, that the West would separate from the East, seems to have been growing even among those who, in December, 1786, denounced Green and Clark to the Governor of Virginia. Harry Innis, Attorney-General of the district, and one of those who gave information of the Vincennes proceedings, in July, 1787, writes to the executive of the State, (Virginia,) that he cannot prosecute those guilty of aggressions on the Indians, and adds: "I am decidedly of opinion that this western country will in a few years act for itself, and erect an independent government."¶ This opinion was based partially upon the failure, on the part of Virginia and the confederation, to protect the frontiers, which, during this whole year, suffered both from the northern and southern Indians; and partly in the uncertain state of the navigation question, in respect to which the western men had reason, perhaps, to think that some of the

* Secret Journals, iv. 297 to 301. † Marshall, i. 261. ‡ Ibid 259. ‖ Ibid, 267.
§ See post, 1788 and index. ¶ Marshall, i. 270.

leaders in the Old Dominion were leagued against them. We find, for example, Washington expressing his willingness that the Mississippi should be closed for a time, because, as he thought, its closure would knit the new colonies of the West more closely to the Atlantic States, and lead to the realization of one of his his favorite projects, the opening of lines of internal navigation connecting the Ohio with the Potomac and James River.* In these sentiments both Henry Lee and Richard Henry Lee agreed.† How far these views of the great Virginians were known, we cannot discover; but more or less distinct rumors respecting them, we may presume were prevalent, so that it was by no means strange that the very foremost men of the West wavered in their attachment to the powerless, almost worthless confederation. Nor did the prospect of a new government at first help the matter. The view which Patrick Henry and others took of the proposed federal constitution, was the favorite view of the western Virginians; so that of fourteen representatives from the District of Kentucky, in the convention called in 1788, to deliberate upon that constitution, but three voted in favor of it: one of these three was Humphrey Marshall, the historian.‡ And this rejection of the instrument under which our Union has since so greatly prospered, was not the result of hasty action, or strong party influence. The first point is proved by the fact that it was made known through the press, to the people of the West, upon the 27th of October, 1789, having been on that day printed in the Kentucky Gazette;‖ That mere party influence did not govern the opponents of the constitution of the United States, is proved, both by the character of the men, and the debates in the convention. We have mentioned the Kentucky Gazette; the publication of this paper was commenced in Lexington, in August of this year, by Mr. John Bradford; his press being the second established beyond the mountains, the first having been the Pittsburgh Gazette, which appeared in July, 1786.§

While, south of the Ohio, more or less of dissatisfaction with the Federal Union was spreading,—not secretly and in a spirit of

* Sparks' Wa'hington ix. 119, 172, 261. For Washington's views on internal improvements, see 30. 291, 471, 301. 326. 80, &c.

† For Henry Lee's views, see Sparks, ix. 173, note, 205, note, Richard Henry Lee's, Washington's letter to him, Sparks, ix. 261.

‡ Marshall i. 287. ‖ Butler, 166, note.

§ Marshall, i. 274.—Butler, 163.—Butler's Chronology, 30—The Pittsburgh Gazette was established by John Scull and Joseph Hall, two poor young men; the first number appeared July 29.—American Pioneer, i. 305.

treason, but openly and as the necessary consequence of free thought and unfettered choice,—the New England associates for settling the northwest, were by degrees reducing their theories to practice. In March 1786, it will be remembered, they began their subscription, on the 8th of that month 1787, a meeting of Agents chose General Parsons, General Putnam, and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, Directors for the Company; and these Directors appointed Dr. Cutler to go to New York and negotiate with Congress for the desired tract of country. On the 5th of July that gentleman reached the temporary Capital of the Union, and then began a scene of management worthy of more degenerate days. Full extracts from Dr. Cutler's Journal showing how things went may be found in the North American Review for October, 1841.* Of these we can give but a few paragraphs. The first relates to the choice of the Muskingum valley as the spot for settlement.

July 7. Paid my respects to Dr. Holton and several other gentlemen. Was introduced, by Dr. Ewings and Mr. Rittenhouse, to Mr. Hutchins, Geographer of the United States. Consulted with him where to make our location.

Monday, July 9. Waited this morning, very early, on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to the Illinois, and advised me by all means to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole western country. Attended the committee before Congress opened, and then spent the remainder of the forenoon with Mr. Hutchins.

Attended the committee at Congress chamber; debated on terms, but were so wide apart, there appears little prospect of closing a contract.

Called again on Mr. Hutchins. Consulted him further about the place of location.

The opinion thus given by Hutchins, who had been long and familiarly acquainted with the West, agreed with that formed by General Parsons who had visited the Ohio valley once at least, if not twice; the result of his observations will be found in the letter referred to on page 275 and given at length in the article of the North American Review, just quoted.† The other extracts which we take from the Doctor's Journal, refer to the "manœuvres," as

* Vol. liii. 334 to 343.

† In 1782 a plan for a settlement on the Muskingum had been formed.—See Ante, p. 245.—Note.

he terms them, by which was effected a contract at least as favorable to the Union as it was to the Company.

Colonel Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city, *to extend our contract, and take in another company;* but that it should be kept a profound secret. He explained the plan they had concerted and offered me generous conditions if I would accomplish the business for them. The plan struck me agreeably; Sargent insisted on my undertaking; and both urged me not to think of giving the matter up so soon.

I was convinced it was best for me to hold up the idea of giving up a contract with Congress, and making a contract with some of the States, which I did in the strongest terms, and represented to the committee and to Duer and Sargent the difficulties I saw in the way, and the improbability of closing a bargain when we were so far separated; and told them I conceived it not worth while to say any thing further to Congress on the subject. This appeared to have the effect I wished. The committee were mortified and did not seem to know what to say; but still urged another attempt. I left them in this state, but afterwards explained my views to Duer and Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Promised Duer to consider his proposals.

I spent the evening (closeted) with Colonel Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if terms could be obtained, for another company, which will probably forward the negotiation.

*Saturday, July* 21. Several members of Congress called on me early this morning. They discovered much anxiety about a contract, and assured me that Congress, on finding I was determined not to accept their terms, and had proposed leaving the city, had discovered a much more favorable disposition; and believed, if I renewed my request I might obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired. I was very indifferent and talked much of the advantages of a contract with one of the States. This I found had the desired effect. At length I told them that if Congress would accede to the terms I proposed, I would extend the purchase to the tenth township from the Ohio to the Scioto inclusively; by which Congress would pay more than four millions of the public debt; that our intention was, an *actual, large,* and *immediate settlement,* of the most robust and industrious people in America, and that it would be made systematically, which would instantly advance the price of the Federal lands, and prove an important acquisition to Congress. On these terms, I would renew the negotiation, if Congress was disposed to take the matter up again.

I spent the evening with Mr. Dane and Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Congress had taken up my business again.

*July* 23. My friends had made every exertion, in private conversa-

tion to bring over my opponents in Congress. In order to get at some of them so as to work more powerfully on their minds, were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them. In some instances we engaged one person who engaged a second, and he a third, before we could effect our purpose. In these manœuvres I am much beholden to Colonel Duer and Major Sargent.

* * * * * * *

Having found it impossible to support General Parsons, as a candidate for Governor, after the interest that General Arthur St. Clair had secured, I embraced this opportunity to declare, that if General Parsons could have the appointment of first judge and Sargent secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his Excellency General St. Clair might be the Governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members in his favor. This I found rather pleasing to southern members.

* * * * * * * * *

I am fully convinced that it was good policy to give up Parsons and openly appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed governor.—Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the eastern members in favor of his appointment. I immediately went to Sargent and Duer, and we now entered into the true spirit of negotiation with great bodies. Every machine in the city that it was possible to work we now put in motion. Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is hope; but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney, I think is beyond our power.

Friday, July 27. I rose very early this morning, and, after adjusting my baggage for my retnrn, for I was determined to leave New York this day, I set out on a general morning visit, and paid my respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of my intention to leave the city that day. My expectations of obtaining a contract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I should, however, wait the decision of Congress; and if the terms I had stated,—and which I conceived to be very advantageous to Congress, considering the circumstances of that country,—were not acceded to, we must turn our attention to some other part of the country. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and give us exclusive privileges beyond what we have asked of Congress. The speculating plan, concerted between the British of Canada, was now well known. The uneasiness of the Kentucky people, with respect to the Mississippi, was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement in that

country, conducted by men thoroughly attached to tho federal government, and composed of young, robust and hardy laborers, who had no idea of any other than the Federal Government, I conceived to be an object worthy of some attention.

The perseverance of Dr. Cutler and his friends was rewarded with success, and an Order, dated July 27th,* was obtained, of which he says:

By this ordinance we obtained the grant of near five million of acres of land, amounting to three million and a half of dollars; one million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters of America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company.†

Messrs. Cutler and Sargent, the latter of whom the Doctor had associated with himself some days before, at once closed a verbal contract with the Board of Treasury, which was executed in form on the 27th of the following October.‡ By this contract, the vast region bounded south by the Ohio, west by the Scioto, east by the seventh range of townships then surveying, and north by a due west line drawn from the north boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio direct to the Scioto, was sold to the Ohio associates and their secret co-partners, for one dollar per acre, subject to a deduction of one third for bad lands and other contingencies. The whole tract, however, was not paid for, or taken by the Company — even their own portion of a million and a half of acres, and extending west to the eighteenth range of townships,‖ was not taken; and in 1792 the boundaries of the purchase proper were fixed as follows: the Ohio on the south, the seventh range of townships on the east, the sixteenth range on the west, and a line on the north so drawn as to make the grant seven hundred and fifty thousand (750,000) acres, besides reservations; this grant being the portion which it was originally agreed the Company might enter into possession of at once. In addition to this, two

* On the 23d the Board of Treasury were authorized to contract; on the 26th, Messrs. Cutter and Sargent stated in writing their conditions; on the 27th Congress referred their letter to the Board to take order upon.—See Land Laws 262 to 264.—Old Journals, iv. Appendix, 17, 18.

† North American Review, vol. liii. 343.

‡ North American Review, liii. 343. Land Laws, 364.

‖ North American Review, liii. 344.

hundred and fourteen thousand, two hundred and eighty-five (214,285) acres of land were granted as army bounties, under the the Resolutions of 1779 and 1780; and one hundred thousand (100,000) as bounties to actual settlers; both of the latter tracts being within the original grant of 1787, and adjoining the purchase as above defined.*

While Dr. Cutler was preparing to press his suit with Congress, that body was bringing into form an ordinance for the political and social organization of the lands beyond the Ohio. Virginia made her cession March 1, 1784, and during the month following a plan for the temporary government of the newly acquired territory came under discussion.† On the 19th of April Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike from that plan, which had been reported by Mr. Jefferson, a provision for prohibiting slavery north-west of the Ohio, after the year 1800,—and this motion prevailed.‡ From that day until the 23d the plan was debated and altered, and then passed unanimously, with the exception of South Carolina.‖ By this proposition the territory was to have been divided into States by parallels of latitude and meridian lines;§ this, it was thought, would have made ten States, which were to have been named as follows, beginning at the north-west corner and going southwardly;—Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illenoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia.¶ Surely the hero of Mount Vernon must have shuddered to find himself in such company.

But a more serious difficulty existed to this plan than its catalogue of names—namely, the number of states which it was proposed to form, and their boundaries. The root of this evil was in the resolution passed by Congress, October 10th 1780, which fixed the size of the States to be formed from the ceded lands, at one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles square; and the terms of that resolution had been referred to both by Virginia and Massachusetts in their grants, so as to make a further legislation at least by the former, needful to change them. Upon the 7th of July, 1786, this subject was taken up in Congress, and a resolution

* Land Laws, 364 to 368.—North American Review. liii. 344.

† See in Old Journals, iv. 293, a proposition to organize a western District, made October 14. 1783.

‡ Old Journals, iv. 373.

‖ Old Journals, iv. 380.

§ Old Journals, iv. 379. Land Laws, 347.

¶ Sparks' Washington, ix. 48.

passed in favor of a division of not less than three nor more than five States, which resolution, Virginia, at the close of 1788 assented to.* On the 29th of September, 1786, Congress, having thus changed the plan for dividing the north-western territory into ten States, proceeded again to consider the terms of an ordinance for the government of that region; and this was taken up from time to time, until July 13th of the year of which we are writing, when it was finally passed, having been somewhat changed just before its passage, at the suggestion of Dr. Cutler.† We give it entire as it is the corner-stone of the constitutions of our north-western states.

No. 32. An ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States north-west of the River Ohio.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among, their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grand child, to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and, among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half-blood; saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law, relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And, until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be, (being of full age,) and attested by three witnesses: and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered, by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers, shall be appointed for that purpose; and

* Land Laws, 338. 100. 101.

† Old Journals, iv. 701, &c., 746, &c., 751, &c. North American Review, liii. 336.

personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 1000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 500 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his Executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the Secretary of Congress: There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law juristion, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in 500 acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but, afterwards, the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commismissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same: After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers, shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or

made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal, and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

So soon as there shall be 5000 free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships to represent them in the General Assembly: *Provided*, That, for every 500 free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: *Provided*, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, 200 acres of land within the same: *Provided, also*, That a freehold in 50 acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The General Assembly, or Legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum: and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together; and when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in 500 acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid: and, whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term. And every five years, four

months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating but not of voting during this temporary government.

And, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory: to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall

be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, *bona fide*, and without fraud, previously formed.

ART. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ART. 4. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made: and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes, for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers.* No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and, in no case, shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common high-ways, and forever free, as well

* Act of 25th February, 1811, provides the same in Louisiana; and, also, that lands sold by Congress shall not be taxed for five years after sale—Post, No. 160—in Mississippi, by act of 1st March, 1817, Post, 396, and so of all others.

to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the Confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty, therefor.

Art. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post St. Vincent's due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and, by the said territorial line, to the lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post St. Vincent's, to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line, drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: *Provided, however*, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And, whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: *Provided*, the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty-thousand.

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby, repealed and declared null and void. Done, &c.*

* Land Laws, p. 356.

The passage of this ordinance and the grant to the New England associates was soon followed by an application to government by John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, for the country between the Miamis.* This gentleman had been led to visit that region by the representations of Benjamin Stites, of Red Stone, (Brownsville,) who had examined the valleys of the Shawanese soon after the treaty of January 1786.† Symes found them all and more than all they had been represented to be, and upon the 29th of August, 1787, wrote to the President of Congress, asking that the Treasury Board might be empowered to contract with him for the district above named. This petition, on the 2d of October was referred to the board, with power to act, and a contract was concluded the next year. Upon the 18th of the month last named, another application was made by Royal Flint and Joseph Parker, for lands upon the Wabash and Mississippi;‡ this was also referred to the Board of Treasury.

During this autumn the directors of the company organized in New England were preparing for an actual settlement in the ensuing spring, and upon the 23d of November made arangements for a party of forty-seven men, under the superintendance of General Rufus Putnam, to set forward. Six boat-builders were to leave the next week; on the 1st of January, 1788, the surveyors and their assistants, twenty-six in number, were to meet at Hartfort and go westward; and the remainder to follow as soon as possible. Congress, meantime, upon the 3d of October, had ordered seven hundred troops for the defence of the western settlers, and to prevent unauthorized intrusions; and two days later appointed St. Clair governor of the north-western territory.‖

* Land Laws, 372. See also Burnet's Letters in the Ohio Historical Transactions, p. 335 to 147.

† Cincinnati Directory, 1819, p. 16. The Historical sketch in this volume was compiled from the statements of the earliest settlers. The Miami country had been entered in 1785, and some "improvements" made. Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 33.

‡ Old Journals, iv. Appendix 19.

‖ North American Review, liii. 344. Old Journals, iv. 785. 786.

# 1788.

The two leading causes of disquiet to the western people through 1787, the Indian incursions, and the Spanish possession of the Mississippi did not cease to irritate them during the next year also.

When Clark took his unauthorized possession of Vincennes, in October, 1786, he had asked the savages of the north-west to meet him in council in November; they replied that it was to late in the year, and the proposed meeting was postponed till April. Of this meeting Messrs. Marshall, Muter and others, when writing to Virginia, gave information, and suggested that the government should take Clark's place in it. The council of Virginia coincided with the suggestion, and recommended to Congress James Wilkinson, Richard C. Anderson and Isaac Shelby,* as commissioners on behalf of the United States. Congress, however, received notice of Clark's movements too late † for the proposed treaty, and nothing seems to have been done until July 21st, when the superintendant of Indian affairs in the north, or if he could not go, Colonel Harmar was instructed to proceed to Vincennes, or some other convenient place, and there hold a council with the Wabash Indians and Shawanese, for the purpose of putting an end to warfare.† Favorable notice was also taken of a council which had been held at the mouth of Detroit river, in December, 1786, by the Iroquois, Wyandots and others, the purpose of which was pacific, and from which an address relative to the Indian troubles had been sent to Congress. This was considered, and upon the 5th of October it was resolved that a treaty should be held early in the year 1788, with these tribes, by the governor of the new territory, who was instructed on the subject on the 26th of the month last mentioned.‖ At tbe same time, however, that measures were thus taken to pre-

* Secret Journals, iv. 313. 314. 309. 306.

† April 12th. Secret Journals, iv. 301.

‡ Old Journals, iv. 761.

‖ Lanman's History of Michigan, 149. Old Journals, iv. 762. 763. 786. Secret Journals, 276.

serve peace, troops were placed at Venango, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, the Muskingum, the Miami, Vincennes, and Louisville, and the governor of Virginia was requested to have the militia of Kentucky in readiness for any emergency.* All these measures, however, produced no results during 1788; the Indians were neither over-awed, conquered nor satisfied; from May until the middle of July they were expected to meet the whites upon the Muskingum,† but the point which had been selected, and where goods had been placed, being at last attacked by the Chippeways,‡ it was thought best to adjourn the meeting and hold it at fort Harmar, where it was at length held, but not until January, 1789.

These Indian uncertainties, however, did not prevent the New England associates from going forward with their operations. During the winter of 1787–8, their men were pressing on over the Alleghanies by the old Indian path which had been opened into Braddock's road, and which has since been followed by the national turnpike from Cumberland westward. Through the dreary winterdays they trudged on, and by April were all gathered on the Yohiogany,‖ where boats had been built, and started for the Muskingum. On the 7th of April they landed at the spot chosen, and became the founders of Ohio, unless we regard as such the Moravian missionaries.

As St. Clair, who had been appointed governor the preceding October, had not yet arrived, it became necessary to erect a temporary government for their internal security; for which purpose a set of laws was passed, and published by being nailed to a tree in the village, and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. It is a strong evidence of the good habits of the people of the colony, that during three months, but one difference occurred, and that was compromised.§ Indeed a better set of men altogether, could scarce have been selected for the purpose, than Putnam's little band. Washington might well say, "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has first commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the

* Old Journals, iv. 762.

† Until this meeting was held, it was understood that no settlement, strictly speaking, should take place. See the letter of a settler in Imlay, p. 598. (Ed. 1797.)

‡ Carey's Museum, iv. 203.

‖ A list of the forty-eight is given, North American Review, liii. 346.

§ Western Monthly Magazine, 1833. vol. i. p. 395.

settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."*

On the 2d of July a meeting of the directors and agents was held on the banks of the Muskingum, for the purpose of naming the new born city and its public squares.† As yet the settlement had been merely "The Muskingum,"‡ but the name Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoniette; the square upon which the block-houses stood was christened "*Campus Martius;* the square No. 19, *Capitolium;* the square No. 61, *Cecilia;* and the great road through the covert way, *Sacra Via.*‖

On the 4th of July an oration was delivered by James M. Varnum,§ who, with S. H. Parsons and John Armstrong,¶ had been appointed to the judicial bench of the territory, on the 16th of October, 1787. Five days later the governor arrived, and the colony began to assume form. The ordinance of 1787 provided two district grades of government for the north-west territory, under the first of which the whole power was in the hands of the governor and the three judges, and this form was at once organized upon the governor's arrival. The first law, which was "for regulating and establishing the militia," was published upon the 25th of July; and, the next day, appeared the governor's proclamation, erecting all the country that had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto river into the county of Washington.**

From that time forward, notwithstandinf the doubt yet existing as to the Indians, all at Marietta went on prosperously and pleasantly. On the 2d of September the first court was held, with becoming ceremonies.

The procession was formed at the Point, (where most of the settlers resided,) in the following order: — 1st, The high Sheriff, with his drawn sword; 2d, the citizens; 3d, the officers of the garrison at Fort Harmar; 4th, the members of the bar; 5th, the Supreme judges; 6th, the Gov-

* Sparks' Washington, ix. 384.

† American Pioneer, i. 83.

‡ Some of the settlers called it the city of Adelphi: See a letter dated May 16th, 1788, to the Massachusetts Spy in Imlay (Ed. 1797) p. 595.

‖ Carey's Museum, vol. iv. p. 390. In the fifth volume (March, 1789) of that periodical, page 284, is an account of the city of Athens, which the Spaniards at this time proposed to build at the mouth of the Missouri. "On the very point" where the rivers joined, was to be Fort Solon; not for defence, however, "but for the retirement of the governor from the busy scenes of public employment!"

§ See this oration in Carey's Museum for May, 1789, 453 to 455.

¶ Mr. Armstrong declined serving. John Cleves Symmes was chosen in his stead, February 19th, 1788.

** Chase, vol. i. p. 92. Carey's Museum, iv. 433.

ernor and clergyman; 7th, the newly appointed judges of the court of common pleas, generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

"They marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall, (stockade,) where the whole countermarched, and the judges, (Putnam and Tupper) took their seats. The clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, then invoked the divine blessing. The sheriff, colonel Ebenezer Sproat, (one of nature's nobles) proclaimed with his solemn 'O yes,' that a court is opened for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without a trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case.' Although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the state, few ever equalled it in the dignity and exalted character of its principal participators. Many of them belong to the history of our country, in the darkest as well as the most splendid periods of the revolutionary war. To witness this spectacle, a large body of Indians was collected, from the most powerful tribes then occupying the almost entire West. They had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. Whether any of them entered the hall of justice, or what were their impressions we are not told." (American Pioneer, vol. i, p. 165.)

"The progress of the settlement, says a letter from the Muskingum, "is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are faster than we can possibly provide convenient covering. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as any I have ever seen in the old States. I mention this to show the progress of society in this new world; where I believe we shall vie with, if not excel, the old States, in every accomplishment necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

The emigration westward, even at this time, was very great; the commandant at Fort Harmar reporting four thousand five hundred persons as having passed that post between February and June, 1788; many of whom would have stopped on the purchase of the Associates, had they been ready to receive them.

During the following year, and indeed until the Indians, who, in spite of treaties, had been committing small depredations all the time, stealing horses and sinking boats, went fairly and openly to war, the settlement on the Muskingum grew slowly, but steadily, and to good purpose.*

* The first Indian attack on the Muskingum settlements was on January 2, 1791. *See post.*

Neither were Symmes and his New Jersey friends idle during this year, though his purchase was far more open to Indian depradation than that of the Massachusetts men. His first proposition had been referred, as we have said, to the Board of Treasury, with power to contract, upon the 2nd of October, 1787.

Upon the 26th of the next month Symmes issued a pamphlet, addressed "to the respectable public," stating the terms of his contract, and the scheme of sale which he proposed to adopt.* This was, to issue his warrants for not less than a quarter section (a hundred and sixty acres,) which might be located any where, except, of course, upon reservations, and spots previously chosen. No section was to be divided, if the warrant held by the locator would cover the whole. The price was to be sixty cents and two-thirds till May, 1788; then one dollar till November; and, after that time, was to be regulated by the demand for land. Every locator was bound to begin improvements within two years, or forfeit one-sixth of his purchase to whomsoever would settle thereon and remain seven years. Military bounties might be taken in this as in the purchase of the Associates. For himself Symmes retained one township at the mouth of the Great Miami, at the junction of which stream with the Ohio he proposed to build his great city; to help the growth of which he offered each alternate lot to any one that would build a house and live therein three years.

As Continental certificates were rising, in consequence of the great land purchases then making with them, and as difficulty was apprehended in procuring enough to make his first payment, Symmes was anxious to send forward settlers early, that the true value of his purchase might become known at the east. He had, however, some difficulty in arranging with the Board of Treasury the boundaries of the first portion he was to occupy.†

In January, 1788, Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, took an interest in Symmes' purchase, and located, among other tracts, the section and fractional section upon which Cincinnati has been built.‡ Retaining one-third of this particular locality, he sold another third to Robert Patterson, and the remainder to John Filson; and the three, about August, 1788, agreed to lay out a town on the

* See Land Laws and *post* for the terms, and final settlement of Symmes contract.

† Manuscript Letters of Symmes. See Burnet's Letters, 136.

‡ Many facts relative to the settlement of Cincinnati, we take from the depositions of Denman, Patterson, Ludlow, and others, contained in the report of the chancery trial of *City of Cincinnati* vs. *Joel Williams*, in 1807.

spot, which was designated as being opposite Licking river, to the mouth of which they proposed to have a road cut from Lexington, Kentucky, to be connected with the northern shore by a ferry. Mr. Filson, who had been a schoolmaster, was appointed to name the town; and, in respect to its situation, and as if with a prophetic perception of the mixed race that were in after days to inhabit there, he named it Losantiville, which, being interpreted, means *ville*, the town *anti*, opposite to, *os*, the mouth, *L*, of Licking.* This may well put to the blush the *Campus Martius* of the Marietta scholars, and the Fort Solon of the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, in July, Symmes got thirty people and eight four-horse wagons under way for the West. These reached Limestone (now Maysville) in September, where they find Mr. Stites with several persons from Red Stone. But the mind of the chief purchaser was full of trouble. He had not only been obliged to relinquish his first contract, which was expected to embrace two millions of acres, but had failed to conclude one for the single million which he now proposed taking. This arose from a difference between him and the government, he wishing to have the whole Ohio front between the Miamies, while the Board of Treasury wished to confine him to twenty miles upon the Ohio. This proposition, however, he would not for a long time agree to, as he had made sales along nearly the whole Ohio shore.† Leaving the bargain in this

* Cincinnati Directory, for 1819, p. 18.

† It may be as well to give here a sketch of the changes made in Symmes' contract. His first application was for all the country between the Miamies, running up to the north line of the Ohio Company's purchase, extending due west. On the 23d of October, 1787, Congress resolved, that the Board of Treasury be authorized to contract with any one for tracts of not less than a million acres of western lands, the front of which, on the Ohio, Wabash and other rivers, should not exceed one third the depth. On the 15th of May, 1788, Dayton and Marsh, as Symmes' agents, concluded a contract with the Commissioners of the Treasury for two millions of acres in two equal tracts. In July, Symmes concluded to take only one tract, but differed with the Commissioners on the grounds stated in the text. After much negotiation, upon the 15th of October, 1788, Dayton and Marsh concluded a contract with government bearing date May 15th, for one million of acres, beginning twenty miles up the Ohio from the mouth of the Great Miami, and to run back for quantity between the Miami and a line drawn from the Ohio parallel to the general course of that river. In 1791, Symmes found this would throw his purchase too far back from the Ohio, and applied to Congress to let him have all between the Miamies, running back so as to include a million acres, which that body, on the 12th of April, 1792, agreed to do. When the lands between the Miamies were surveyed, however, it was found that the tract south of a line drawn from the head of the Little, due west to the Great Miami, would include less than six hundred thousand acres; but even this Symmes could not pay for, and, when his patent issued upon the 30th of September, 1794, it gave him and his associates but two hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and forty acres, exclusive of reservations, which amounted to sixty-three thousand one hundred and forty-

unsettled state, Congress considered itself released from its obligation to sell; and, but for the representations of some of his friends, our adventurer would have lost his bargain, his labor, and his money. Nor was this all. In February, 1788, he had been appointed one of the judges of the North-west Territory, in the place of Mr. Armstrong, who declined serving. This appointment gave offence to some; and others were envious of the great fortune which it was thought he would make. Some of his associates complained of him, also, probably because of his endangering the contract to which they had become parties. With these murmurs and reproaches behind him, he saw before him danger, delay, suffering, and, perhaps, ultimate failure and ruin and, although hopeful by nature, apparently he felt discouraged and sad. However, a visit to his purchase, where he landed upon the 22d of September, revived his spirits, and upon his return to Maysville, he wrote to Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, who had become interested with him, that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar the acre in its present state."

But though this view of the riches now almost within his grasp, somewhat re-assured Symmes' mind, he had still enough to trouble him. The Indians were threatening; in Kentucky, he says, "they are perpetually doing mischief; a man a week, I believe, falls by their hands; but still government gave him little help toward defending himself; for, while three hundred men were stationed at Muskingum, he had "but one ensign and seventeen men for the protection and defence of 'the slaughter-house.'" as the Miami valley was called by the dwellers upon the "dark and bloody ground" of "Kentucke." And when Captain Kearny and forty-five soldiers came to Maysville in December, they came without provisions, and but made bad worse. Nor did their coming answer any purpose; for when a little band of settlers were ready to go, under their protection, to the mouth of the Miami, the grand city of Symmes that was to be, the ice stove their boats, their cattle were drowned, and their provisions lost, and so the settlement was prevented. But the fertile mind of a man like our adventurer could, even under these circumstances, find comfort in the antici-

two acres. This tract was bounded by the Ohio, the two Miamies, and a due east and west line, run so as to comprehend the desired quantity. As Symmes made no farther payments after this time, the rest of his purchase reverted to the United States, who gave those that had bought under Symmes ample pre-emption rights. See *Land Laws*, pp. 372-382, *et seq and post.*

pation of what was to come. In the words of Return Jonathan Meigs, the first Ohio poet with whom we have any acquaintance,

> "To him glad Fancy brightest prospects shows,
> Rejoicing Nature all around him glows;
> Where late the savage, hid in ambush, lay,
> Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey,
> Her hardy gifts rough Industry extends,
> The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
> And see the spires of towns and cities rise,
> And domes and temples swell unto the skies."*

But alas! so far as his pet city was concerned, "glad Fancy" proved but a gay deceiver; for there came "an amazing high freshet," and "the Point," as it was, and still is called, was fifteen feet under water.

But, before Symmes left Maysville, which was upon the 29th of January, 1789, two settlements had been made within his purchase. The first was by Mr. Stites, the original projector, of the whole plan; who, with other Redstone people, had located themselves at the mouth of the Little Miami, where the Indians had been led by the great fertility of the soil to make a partial clearing. To this point, on the 18th of November, 1788, came twenty-six persons, who built a block-house, named their town Columbia, and prepared for a winter of want and hard fighting.† But they were agreeably disappointed; the Indians came to them, and though the whites answered, as Symmes says, "in a blackguarding manner," the savages sued for peace. One, at whom a rifle was presented, took off his cap, trailed his gun, and held out his right hand, by which pacific gestures he induced the Americans to consent to their entrance into the block-houses. In a few days this good understanding ripened into intimacy, the "hunters frequently taking shelter for the night in the Indian camps;" and the red men and squaws "spending whole days and nights" at Columbia, "regaling themselves with whiskey." This friendly demeanor on the part of the Indians was owing to the kind and just conduct of Symmes himself; who, during the preceding September, when examining the country about the Great Miami, had prevented some Kentuckians, who were in his company, from injuring a band of

* A poem delivered at Marietta, July 4th, 1789, slightly altered.

† Cincinnati Directory for 1819, and Symmes' Letters. The land at this point was so fertile that from nine acres were raised nine hundred and sixty-three bushels of Indian corn.

the savages that came within their power; which proceeding, he says, "the Kentuckians thought unpardonable."

The Columbia settlement was, however, like that proposed at the Point, upon land that was under water during the high rise in January, 1789. "But one house escaped the deluge." The soldiers were driven from the ground-floor of the block-house into the loft, and from the loft into the solitary boat which the ice had spared them.

This flood deserves to be commemorated in an epic; for, while it demonstrated the dangers to which the three chosen spots of all Ohio, Marietta, Columbia, and the Point, must be ever exposed, it also proved the safety, and led to the rapid settlement of Losantiville. The great recommendation of the spot upon which Denman and his comrades proposed to build their "Mosaic" town, as it has been called, appears to have been the fact that it lay opposite the Licking; the terms of Denman's purchase having been, that his warrants were to be located, as nearly as possible, over against the mouth of that river; though the advantage of the noble and high plain at that point could not have escaped any eye. But the freshet of 1789 placed its superiority over other points more strongly in view than any thing else could have done.

We have said that Filson was killed in September, or early in October, 1788. As nothing had been paid upon his third of the plat of Losantiville, his heirs made no claim upon it, and it was transferred to Israel Ludlow, who had been Symmes' surveyor. This gentleman, with Colonel Patterson, one of the other proprietors, and well known in the Indian wars, with about fourteen others, left Maysville upon the 24th of December, 1788, "to form a station and lay off a town opposite Licking." The river was filled with ice "from shore to shore;" but, says Symmes, in May, 1789, "perseverance triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which *populates* considerably."

It is a curious fact, and one of many in western history, that may well tend to shake our faith in the learned discussions as to dates and localities with which scholars now and then amuse the world, that the date of the settlement of Cincinnati is unknown, even though we have the testimony of the very men that made the settlement. Judge Symmes says in one of his letters, "On the 24th of December, 1788, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of Licking

river, sailed from Limestone," &c. Some, supposing it would take about two days to make the voyage, have dated the being of the Queen City of the West from December 26th. This is but guess-work, however; for, as the river was full of ice, it might have taken ten days to have gone the sixty-five miles from Maysville to the Licking. But, in the case in chancery to which we have referred, we have the evidence of Patterson and Ludlow, that they landed opposite the Licking "in the month of January, 1789;" while William McMillan testifies that he "was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati on the 28th day of December, 1788." As we know of nothing more conclusive on the subject than these statements, we must leave this question in the same darkness that we find it.

The settlers of Losantiville built a few log huts and blockhouses, and proceeded to lay out the town; though they placed their dwellings in the most exposed situation, yet, says Symmes, they "suffered nothing from the freshet."

South of the Ohio, during this year, matters were in scarce as good a train as upon the "Indian" side of the river. The savages continued to annoy the settlers, and the settlers to retaliate upon the savages, as Judge Symmes' letters have already shown. But a more formidable source of trouble to the district than any attack the red men were capable of making, was the growing disposition to cut loose from the Atlantic colonies, and either by treaty or warfare obtain the use of the Mississippi from Spain. We have already mentioned Wilkinson's trip to New Orleans, in June, 1787;* but as that voyage was the beginning of the long and mysterious Spanish intrigue with the citizens of the west, it seems worth while to quote part of a paper, believed to be by Daniel Clark, the younger, whose uncle of the same name was the agent and partner† of Wilkinson, in New Orleans, and who was fully acquainted with the government officers of Louisiana.‡

About the period of which we are now speaking, in the middle of the year 1787, the foundation of an intercourse with Kentucky and the settlements on the Ohio was laid, which daily increases. Previous to that time, all those who ventured on the Mississippi had their property seized

* Ante, p. 286.

† Wilkinson says the partnership was formed for him without his knowledge or consent. (Memoirs, ii. 113.)

‡ American State Papers, xx. 704.

by the first commanding officer whom they met, and little or no communication was kept up between the countries. Now and then, an emigrant who wished to settle in Natchez, by dint of entreaty, and solicitation of friends who had interests in New Orleans, procured permission to remove there with his family, slaves, cattle, furniture and farming utensils; but was allowed to bring no other property, except cash. An unexpected incident, however, changed the face of things, and was productive of a new line of conduct. The arrival of a boat, belonging to General Wilkinson, loaded with tobacco and other productions of Kentucky, is announced in town, and a guard was immediately sent on board of it. The general's name had hindered this being done at Natchez, as the commandant was fearful that such a step might be displeasing to his superiors, who might wish to show some respect to the property of a general officer; at any rate, the boat was proceeding to Orleans, and they would then resolve on what measures they ought to pursue, and put in execution. The government, not much disposed to show any mark of respect or forbearance towards the general's property, he not having at that time arrived, was about proceeding in the usual way of confiscation, when a merchant in Orleans, who had considerable influence there, and who was formerly acquainted with the general, represented to the governor that the measures taken by the Intendant would very probably give rise to disagreeable events; that the people of Kentucky were already exasperated at the conduct of the Spaniards in seizing on the property of all those who navigated the Mississippi; and, if this system was pursued, they would very probably, in spite of Congress and the Executive of the United States, take upon themselves to obtain the navigation of the river by force, which they were well able to do; a measure for some time before much dreaded by this government, which had no force to resist them, if such a plan was put in execution. Hints were likewise given that Wilkinson was a very popular man, who could influence the whole of that country; and probably that his sending a boat before him, with a wish that she might be seized, was but a snare at his return to influence the minds of the people, and, having brought them to the point he wished, induce them to appoint him their leader, and then like a torrent, spread over the country, and carry fire and desolation from one end of the province to the other.

Governor Miro, a weak man, unacquainted with the American Government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky with respect to his own province, but alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men, whom he feared without knowing their strength, communicated his wishes to the Intendant that the guard might be removed from the boat, which was accordingly done; and a Mr. Patterson, who was the agent of the general, was permitted to take charge of the property on board, and to sell it free of duty. The general, on his arrival in Or-

leans, some time after, was informed of the obligation he lay under to the merchant who had impressed the government with such an idea of his importance and influence at home, waited on him, and, in concert with him, formed a plan for their future operations. In his interview with the governor, that he might not seem to derogate from the character given of him by appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat-load of tobacco, hams, and butter, he gave him to understand that the property belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who, availing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States, by way of Orleans, wished to make a trial of the temper of this government, as he, on his arrival, might inform his own what steps had been pursued under his eye, that adequate measures might be afterwards taken to procure satisfaction. He acknowledged with gratitude the attention and respect manifested by the governor towards himself in the favor shown to his agent; but at the same time mentioned that he would not wish the governor to expose himself to the anger of his court by refraining from seizing on the boat and cargo, as it was but a trifle, if such were the positive orders from court, and that he had not a power to relax them according to circumstances. Convinced by this discourse that the general rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs than sought to avoid it, the governor became more alarmed. For two or three years before, particularly since the arrival of the commissioners from Georgia, who had come to Natchez to claim that country, he had been fearful of an invasion at every annual rise of the waters, and the news of a few boats being seen was enough to alarm the whole province. He revolved in his mind what measures he ought to pursue (consistent with the orders he had from home to permit the free navigation of the river) in order to keep the Kentucky people quiet; and, in his succeeding interviews with Wilkinson, having procured more knowledge than he had hitherto acquired of their character, population, strength, and dispositions, he thought he could do nothing better than hold out a bait to Wilkinson to use his influence in restraining the people from an invasion of this province till he could give advice to his court, and require further instructions. This was the point to which the parties wished to bring him; and, being informed that in Kentucky two or three crops were on hand, for which, if an immediate vent was not to be found, the people could not be kept within bounds, he made Wilkinson the offer of a permission to import, on his own account, to New Orleans, free of duty, all the productions of Kentucky, thinking by this means to conciliate the good-will of the people, without yielding the point of navigation, as the commerce carried on would appear the effect of an indulgence to an individual, which could be withdrawn at pleasure. On consultation with his friends, who well knew what further concessions Wilkinson would extort from the fears of the Spaniards, by the promise of his good

offices in preaching peace, harmony, and good understanding with this government, until arrangements were made between Spain and America, he was advised to insist that the governor should insure him a market for all the flour and tobacco he might send, as, in the event of an unfortunate shipment, he would be ruined whilst endeavoring to do a service to Louisiana. This was accepted. Flour was always wanted in New Orleans, and the king of Spain had given orders to purchase more tobacco for the supply of his manufactories at home than Louisiana at that time produced, and which was paid for at about $9.50 per cwt. In Kentucky it costs but $2, and the profit was immense. In consequence, the general had appointed his friend Daniel Clark his agent here, returned by way of Charleston in a vessel, with a particular permission to go to the United States, even at the very moment of Gardoqui's information; and, on his arrival in Kentucky, bought up all the produce he could collect, which he shipped and disposed of as before mentioned; and for some time all the trade for the Ohio was carried on in his name, a line from him sufficing to ensure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection he could desire.*

Whatever Wilkinson's views may have been, (and we should never forget that there was no treachery or treason against the United States in leaving the old colonies and forming an alliance with Spain at that period,—) such a reception as he had met with at New Orleans, was surely calculated to make him and his friends feel that by either intimidation, or alliance, the free trade they wished might be had from Spain, could the Act of Independence but be finally made binding by the consent of Congress, which was to be given before July 5th, 1788. It is not to be doubted that this agreement on the part of the Union was looked for as a matter of course almost;—Kentucky had spoken her wishes over and over again, and Virginia had acquiesced in them. When John Brown, therefore,—who in December 1787, had been sent as the first Western representative to Congress, brought the subject of admitting Kentucky as a Federal State before that body upon the 29th of February,† it was hoped the matter would soon be disposed of. But such was not the case; from February to May, from May to June, from June to July, the admission of the District was debated, and at length the whole subject, on the 3d of July, was referred to the new government about to be

* See American State Papers, xx. p. 707.—Clark's memoir is said by Wilkinson to be substantially correct. (Memoirs, ii. 110.)

† Old Journals, iv. 811, 819, 828, 829, 830.

organized, and once more the Pioneers found themselves thwarted, and self-direction withheld.

On the 28th of July the sixth Convention met at Danville to proceed with the business of Convention-making, when news reached them* that their coming together was all to no purpose, as the Legislature of the Union had not given the necessary sanction to the act of Virginia. This news amazed and shocked them, and being accompanied or followed by intimations from Mr. Brown that Spain would make easy terms with the West, were the West once her own mistress, we surely cannot wonder that the leaders of the "Independence" party were disposed to act with decision and show a spirit of self-reliance. Wilkinson, on the one hand, could speak of his vast profits and the friendly temper of the southwestern rulers, while Brown wrote home such sentiments as these,—

The eastern states would not, nor do I think they ever will assent to the admission of the district into the union, as an independent State, unless Vermont, or the province of Maine, is brought forward at the same time. The change which has taken place in the general government is made the ostensible objection to the measure; but, the jealousy of the growing importance of the western country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition. The question which the district will now have to determine upon, will be—whether, or not, it will be more expedient to continue the connexion with the state of Virginia, or to declare their independence and proceed to frame a constitution of government?

In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, at this place, I have been assured by him in the most explicit terms, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he has authority, and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege never can be extended to them while part of the

* The difficulty of communicating news to the West may be judged of by the following extract from a letter by John Brown to Judge Muter.

"An answer to your favor of the 16th of March was together with several other letters, put into the hands of one of General Harmar's officers, who set out in May last for the Ohio, and who promised to forward them to the district; but I fear they have miscarried, as I was a few days ago informed that his orders had been countermanded, and that he had been sent to the garrison at West Point. Indeed I have found it almost impracticable to transmit a letter to Kentucky, as there is scarce any communication between this place and that country. A post is now established from this place to Fort Pitt, to set out once in two weeks, after the 20th instant; this will render the communication easy and certain." — (Marshall, i. 304.)

United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe.

As there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, I have thought proper to communicate it to a few confidential friends in the district, with his permission, not doubting but that they will make a prudent use of the information—which is in part confirmed by despatches yesterday received by Congress, from Mr. Carmichal, our minister at that court, the contents of which I am not at liberty to disclose.*

But even under the excitement produced by such prospects offered from abroad, and such treatment at the hands of their fellow-citizens, the members of the July Convention took no hasty or mischievous steps. Finding their own powers legally at an end in consequence of the course pursued by Congress, they determined to adjourn, and in doing so advised the calling of a *seventh* Convention to meet in the following November, and continue in existence until January, 1790, with full power

**To take such measures for obtaining admission of the district, as a separate and independent member of the United States of America; and the navigation of the Mississippi as may appear most conducive to those important purposes: and also to form a constitution of government for the district, and organize the same when they shall judge it necessary; or to do and accomplish whatsoever, on a consideration of the state of the district, may in their opinion promote its interests.†**

These terms, although they contain nothing necessarily implying a separation from Virginia against her wish, or directly authorizing the coming Convention to treat with Spain, were still supposed to have been used for the purpose of enabling or even inviting that body to take any steps, however much against the letter of the law; and as Mr. Brown's letters showed that strong temptations were held out to the people of the District to declare themselves independent and then enter into negotiations with Spain, George Muter, Chief Justice of the District, on the 15th of October, published a letter in the Kentucky Gazette, calling attention to the fact that a separation without legal leave from the parent State would be treason against that State, and a violation of the Federal Constitution then just formed.

This letter and the efforts of the party who favored strict adhe-

* See Marshall's History of Kentucky, i. p. 305.

† See Marshall's History of Kentucky, i. p. 290.

rence to legal proceedings, were not in vain. The elections took place, and on the 4th of November the Convention met; the contest at once began, but the two parties being happily balanced, both in and out of the Convention, the greatest caution was observed by both, and all excess prevented. An address to the people of the District was proposed by Wilkinson, the purpose of which was doubtless to procure instructions as to the contested points of illegal independence and negotiation with Spain,—but the plan of issuing such a paper was afterwards dropped, Congress was memorialized respecting the Mississippi, Virginia was again asked for an act of separation, and the Convention quietly adjourned until the 1st Monday of the following August.* It is not improbable that one tranquilizing influence was the contradiction, by members of Congress, of the report that the navigation of the Mississippi was to be relinquished by the United States. This contradiction had been authorized on the 16th of September.† It was during the autumn of this same year of trouble and intrigue, that there appeared again in Kentucky, John Connolly, formerly of Pittsburgh, of whom we last heard as organizing an expedition to attack the frontiers in 1781.‡ Of his purposes and movements nothing of consequence can be added, we believe, to the following statement sent by Colonel Thomas Marshall, to General Washington, in the month of February, 1789.

About this time, (November 1788,) arrived from Canada the famous Doctor (now Colonel) Connolly; his ostensible business was to inquire after, and repossess himself of, some lands he formerly held at the Falls of Ohio;‖ but I believe his real business was to sound the disposition of the leading men of this district respecting this Spanish business. He knew that both Colonel Muter and myself had given it all the opposition in Convention we were able to do, and before he left the district, paid us a visit, though neither of us had the honor of the least acquaintance with him.

He was introduced by Colonel John Campbell,§ formerly a prisoner taken by the Indians, and confined in Canada, who previously informed us of the proposition he was about to make. He (Connolly) presently entered upon his subject, urged the great importance the navigation of

* See Marshall, i. 288 to 341.—Marshall gives all the papers.—Butler 162 to 181—517 to 523.—Carey's Museum, April 1789, p. 331 to 333.

† Secret Journals, iv. 449 to 454.

‡ See Ante, p. 228.

‖ See Ante, pp. 152, Note. 229.

§ His old co-purchaser of the land at the Falls.

the Mississippi must be of to the inhabitants of the western waters, showed the absolute necessity of our possessing it, and concluded with assurances that were we disposed to assert our right respecting that navigation, Lord Dorchester* was cordially disposed to give us powerful assistance, that his Lordship had (I think he said) four thousand British troops in Canada besides two regiments at Detroit, and could furnish us with arms, ammunition, clothing, and money; that, with this assistance, we might possess ourselves of New Orleans, fortify the Balize at the mouth of the river, and keep possession in spite of the utmost efforts of Spain to the contrary. He made very confident professions of Lord Dorchester's wishes to cultivate the most friendly intercourse with the people of this country, and of his own desire to become serviceable to us, and with so much seeming sincerity, that had I not before been acquainted with his character as a man of intrigue and artful address, I should in all probability have given him my confidence.

I told him that the minds of the people of this country were so strongly prejudiced against the British, not only from circumstances attending the late war, but from a persuasion that the Indians were at this time stimulated by them against us, and that so long as those savages continued to commit such horrid cruelties on our defenceless frontiers, and were received as friends and allies by the British at Detroit, it would be impossible for them to be convinced of the sincerity of Lord Dorchester's offers, let his professions be ever so strong; and that, if his Lordship would have us believe him really disposed to be our friend, he must begin by showing his disapprobation of the ravages of the Indians.

He admitted of the justice of my observation, and said he had urged the same to his Lordship before he left Canada. He denied that the Indians are stimulated against us by the British, and says Lord Dorchester observed that the Indians are free and independent nations, and have a right to make peace or war as they think fit, and that he could not with propriety interfere. He promised, however, on his return to Canada to repeat his arguments to his Lordship on the subject, and hopes, he says, to succeed. At taking his leave he begged very politely the favor of our correspondence; we both promised him, provided he would begin it, and devise a means of carrying it on. He did not tell me that he was authorized by Lord Dorchester to make us these offers in his name, nor did I ask him; but General Scott informs me that he told him that his Lordship had authorized him to use his name in this business.†

* Formerly Sir Guy Carlton.

† See Butler, 520.—Colonel George Morgan at Burr's trial in 1807, stated that Mr. Vigo, of Vincennes, was, as he believed, concerned with Connolly. (American State Papers, xx. 503.)

Colonel George Morgan, during this year, was induced to remove for a time to the Spanish territories west of the Mississippi, and remained at New Madrid between one and two months; thence he went to New Orleans.*

## 1789.

Preparations, as we have stated, had been made early in 1788, for a treaty with the Indians, and during the whole autumn, the representatives of the Indian tribes were lingering about the Muskingum settlement: but it was not till January 9th of this year that the natives were brought to agree to distinct terms. On that day, one treaty was made with the Iroquois,† confirming the previous one of October, 1784 at Fort Stanwix; and another with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawatimas and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh, made in January, 1785.‡ Of the additions, we quote the following:

ART. 4. It is agreed between the said United States and the said nations, that the individuals of said nations shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury or annoyance to any of the subjects or citizens of the said United States.

ART. 7. Trade shall be opened with the said nations, and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to the persons and property of such as may be duly licensed to reside among them for the purposes of trade, and to their agents, factors, and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at their towns, or at their hunting

* American State Papers, xx. 504.—Dr. Hildreth, (American Pioneer,' i. 128,) says he founded New Madrid.—See also Flint's Ten Years Recollections; account of New Madrid.

† Collection of Indian Treaties. Land Laws, 123.

‡ Land Laws, 149.—See also Carey's Museum for April, 1789, p. 415.

camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, for the time being, or under the hand and seal of one of his deputies for the management of Indian Affairs; to the end that they may not be imposed upon in their traffic. And if any person or persons shall intrude themselves without such license, they promise to apprehend him or them, and to bring them to the said Governor, or one of his deputies, for the purpose beforementioned, to be dealt with according to law; and that they may be defended against persons who might attempt to forge such licenses, they further engage to give information to the said Governor, or one of his deputies, of the names of all traders residing among them, from time to time, and at least once in every year.

ART. 8. Should any nation of Indians meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the beforementioned nations, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the Governor, or, in his absence, to the officer commanding the troops of the United States at the nearest post. And should any nation, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and, in like manner, give information of such attempt to the said Governor or commanding officer, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States: in like manner, the United States shall give notice to the said Indian nations, of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge: and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.*

But these treaties, if meant in good faith by those who made them, were not respected,† and the year of which we now write saw renewed the old frontier troubles in all their barbarism and variety. The Wabash Indians especially, who had not been bound by any treaty as yet, kept up constant incursions against the Kentucky settlers, and the emigrants down the Ohio;‡ and the Kentuckians retaliated, striking foes and friends, even "the peaceable Piankeshaws who prided themselves on their attachment to the United States."‖ Nor could the President take any effectual steps to put an end to this constant partisan warfare. In the first

* See Land Laws, p. 152.

† See *post* for a full discussion of these points.—Carey's Museum, April, 1789, p. 416.

‡ Marshall, i. 348. 354.—American State Papers, vol. v. 84, 85.—Carey's Museum, May, 1789, p. 504. 608.

‖ General Knox. American State Papers, v. 13.

place, it was by no means clear that an attack by the forces of the government upon the Wabash tribes, could be justified:—Says Washington:

I would have it observed forcibly, that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently with the security of the frontier inhabitants, the security of the troops, and the national dignity. In the exercise of the present indiscriminate hostilities, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say that a war without further measures would be just on the part of the United States. But, if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians the disposition of the General Government for the preservation of peace, and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity.*

But how to punish them was a difficult question, again, even supposing punishment necessary. Says General Knox:

By the best and latest information it appears that, on the Wabash and its communications, there are from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors. An expedition against them, with a view of extirpating them, or destroying their towns, could not be undertaken with a probability of success, with less than an army of two thousand five hundred men. The regular troops of the United States on the frontiers are less than six hundred: of that number not more than four hundred could be collected from the posts for the purpose of the expedition. To raise, pay, feed, arm, and equip one thousand nine hundred additional men, with the necessary officers, for six months, and to provide every thing in the hospital and quartermaster's line, would require the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, a sum far exceeding the ability of the United States to advance, consistently with a due regard to other indispensable objects.†

Such, however, were the representations of the Governor of the new territory,‡ and of the people of Kentucky,‖ that Congress, upon the 29th of September, empowered the President to call out the militia to protect the frontiers, and he, on the 6th of October, authorised Governor St. Clair to draw 1500 men from the western counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania, if absolutely necessary; ordering him, however, to ascertain, if possible, the real disposi-

* American State Papers, v. 97, † Ibid. v. 13. ‡ Ibid, v. 84 to 93.

‖ Ibid, v. 84 to 93. Judge Innis (p. 88) says that in seven years, 1500 persons, 20,000 horses, and 15,000 pounds worth of property had been destroyed and taken away away by the savages.

tion of the Wabash and Illinois Indians.* In order to do this, speeches to them were prepared, and a messenger sent among them, of whose observations we shall have occasion to take notice under the year 1790.

Kentucky, especially, felt aggrieved this year by the withdrawal of the Virginia scouts and rangers, who had hitherto helped to protect her. This was done in July by the Governor, in consequence of a letter from the federal executive, stating that national troops would thenceforward be stationed upon the western streams. The Governor communicated this letter to the Kentucky convention held in July, and that body at once authorised a remonstrance against the measure, representing the inadequacy of the federal troops, few and scattered as they were, to protect the country, and stating the amount of injury received from the savages since the first of May.†

Nor was the old Separation sore healed yet. Upon the 29th of December, 1788, Virginia had passed her third Act to make Kentucky independent; but as this law made the District liable for a part of the state debt, and also reserved a certain control over the lands set apart as army bounties, to the Old Dominion,—it was by no means popular; and when, upon the 20th of July, the Eighth Convention came together at Danville, it was only to resolve upon a memorial requesting that the obnoxious clauses of the late law might be repealed. This, in December, was agreed to by the parent State, but new proceedings throughout were at the same time ordered, and a ninth Convention directed to meet in the following July‡

North of the Ohio, during this year there was less trouble from the Indians than south of it, especially in the Muskingum country. There all prospered: the Reverend Daniel Story, under a resolution of the directors of the Ohio Company, passed in March, 1788, in the spring of this year came westward as a teacher of youth and a preacher of the Gospel.‖ By November, nine associations, comprising two hundred and fifty persons, had been formed for the purpose of settling different points within the purchase; and by the close of 1790, eight settlements had been made; two at Belpre, (belle prairie,) one at Newbury, one at Wolf Creek,§ one at Duck

* American State Papers, v. 97. 101, 102.

† Marshall, 1. 352.—American State Papers, v. 84, &c.

‡ Ibid, 342. 350.—Butler, 187.

‖ American Pioneer, i. 86.

§ Here was built the first mill in Ohio. (American Pioneer, ii. 99. and plate.)

Creek, one at the mouth of Meigs Creek, one at Anderson's Bottom, and one at Big Bottom.*

Between the Miamies, there was more alarm at this period, but no great amount of actual danger. Upon the 15th of June, news reached Judge Symmes that the Wabash Indians threatened his settlements, and as yet he had received no troops for their defence, except nineteen from the Falls.† Before July, however, Major Doughty arrived at the "Slaughter House," and commenced the building of Fort Washington on the site of Losantiville. In relation to the choice of that spot, rather than the one where Symmes proposed to found his great city, Judge Burnet tells the following story:

Through the influence of the judge, (Symmes,) the detachment sent by General Harmar, to erect a fort between the Miami rivers, for the protection of the settlers, landed at North Bend. This circumstance induced many of the first emigrants to repair to that place, on account of the expected protection, which the garrison would afford. While the officer commanding the detachment was examining the neighborhood, to select the most eligible spot for a garrison, he became enamored with a beautiful black-eyed female, who happened to be a married woman. The vigilant husband saw his danger, and immediately determined to remove, with his family, to Cincinnati, where he supposed they would be safe from intrusion. As soon as the gallant officer discovered, that the object of his admiration had been removed beyond his reach, he began to think that the Bend was not an advantageous situation for a military work. This opinion he communicated to Judge Symmes, who contended, very strenuously, that it was the most suitable spot in the Miami country; and protested against the removal. The arguments of the judge, however, were not as influential as the sparkling eyes of the fair female, who was then at Cincinnati. To preserve the appearance of consistency, the officer agreed, that he would defer a decision, till he had explored the ground, at and near Cincinnati; and that, if he found it to be less eligible than the Bend, he would return and erect the garrison at the latter place. The visit was quickly made, and resulted in a conviction, that the Bend was not to be compared with Cincinnati. The troops were accordingly removed to that place, and the building of Fort Washington was commenced. This movement, apparently trivial in itself, and certainly produced by a whimsical cause, was attended by results of incalculable importance. It settled the question at once, whether Symmes or Cincinnati, was to be the great commercial town

* Harris' Tour, 191, 192.

† Symmes' Letters in Cist's Cincinnati, 231. 229. 219.

of the Miami purchase. This anecdote was communicated by Judge Symmes, and is unquestionably authentic. As soon as the troops removed to Cincinnati, and established the garrison, the settlers at the Bend, then more numerous than those at Cincinnati, began to remove; and in two or three years, the Bend was literally deserted, and the idea of establishing a town at that point, was entirely abandoned.

Thus, we see, what great results are sometimes produced, by trivial circumstances. The beauty of a female, transferred the commercial emporium of Ohio, from the place where it was commenced, to the place where it now is. Had the black-eyed beauty remained at the Bend, the garrison would have been erected there, population, capital, and business would have centered there, and our city must have been now of comparatively small importance.*

We suspect the influence of this bright-eyed beauty upon the fate of Cincinnati, is over estimated, however. Upon the 14th of June, before Fort Washington was commenced, and when the only soldiers in the purchase were at North Bend, Symmes writes to Dayton:

It is expected, that on the arrival of governor St. Clair, this purchase will be organized into a county: it is therefore of some moment which town shall be made the county town. Losantiville, at present, bids the fairest; it is a most excellent site for a large town, and is at present the most central of any of the inhabited towns; but if Southbend might be finished and occupied, that would be exactly in the centre, and probably would take the lead of the present villages until the city can be made somewhat considerable. This is really a matter of importance to the proprietors, but can only be achieved by their exertions and encouragements. The lands back of Southbend are not very much broken, after you ascend the first hill, and will afford rich supplies for a county town A few troops stationed at Southbend will effect the settlement of this new village in a very short time.†

The truth is, that neither the proposed city on the Miami, North Bend or South Bend, could compete, in point of natural advantages, with the plain on which Cincinnati has since arisen; and had Fort Washington been built elsewhere, after the close of the Indian war, nature would have ensured the rapid growth of that point where even the ancient and mysterious dwellers along the Ohio had reared the earthen walls of one of their vastest temples.‡

* Transactions Historical Society, Ohio, p. 17.

† Cist's Cincinnati, p. 230.

‡ See Transactions of Ohio Historical Society, part ii. vol. i. 35.—Drake's Picture of Cincinnati, 202.

We have referred to Wilkinson's voyage to New Orleans, in 1787; in January of this year, (1789,) he fitted out twenty-five large boats, some of them carrying three pounders and all of them swivels, manned by 150 men, and loaded with tobacco, flour, and provisions, with which he set sail for the south;—and his lead was soon followed by others.* Among the adventurers was Colonel Armstrong of the Cumberland settlements, who sent down six boats, manned by thirty men; these were stopped at Natchez, and the goods being there sold without permission, an officer and fifty soldiers were sent by the Spanish commander to arrest the transgressors. They, meanwhile, had returned within the lines of the United States and refused to be arrested; this led to a contest, in which, as a cotemporary letter states, five Spaniards were killed and twelve wounded.†

## 1790 to 1795.

The most important and interesting events connected with the West, from the commencement of 1790 to the close of 1795, were those growing out of the Indian wars. In order to present them in one unbroken and intelligible story, we shall abandon for a time our division by single years, and relate the events of the six referred to as composing one period. But to render the events of that period distinct, we must recal to our readers some matters that happened long before.

And in the first place, we would remind them that the French made no large purchases from the western Indians; so that the treaty of Paris, in 1763, transferred to England only small grants about the various forts, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, &c. Then followed Pontiac's war and defeat; and then the grant by the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, of the land *south* of the Ohio;

* Letter in Carey's Museum for February, 1789, p. 209. 313.—Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 113.

† Carey's Museum, April, 1789, p. 417.

and even this grant, it will be remembered, was not respected by those who actually hunted on the grounds transferred.* Next came the war of 1774, Dunmore's war, which terminated without any transfer of the Indian possessions to the whites; and when, at the close of the Revolution, in 1783, Britain made over her western claims to the United States, she made over nothing more than she had received from France, save the title of the Six Nations and the southern savages to a portion of the territory *south* of the Ohio: as against the Miamis, western Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots or Hurons, and the tribes still farther north and west, she transferred nothing. But this, apparently, was not the view taken by the Congress of the time; and they, conceiving that they had, under the treaty with England, a full right to all the lands thereby ceded, and regarding the Indian title as forfeited by the hostilities of the Revolution, proceeded, not to buy the lands of the savages, but to grant them peace, and dictate their own terms as to boundaries.† In October, 1784, the United States acquired in this way whatever title the Iroquois possessed to the western country, both north and south of the Ohio, by the second treaty of Fort Stanwix; a treaty openly and fairly made, but one the validity of which many of the Iroquois always disputed. The ground of their objection appears to have been, that the treaty was with a part only of the Indian nations, whereas the wish of the natives was, that every act of the States with them, should be as with a confederacy, embracing all the tribes bordering upon the great lakes. Our readers may remember that the instructions given the Indian commissioners in October, 1783, provided for one convention with all the tribes;‡ and that this provision was changed in the following March for one, by which as many separate conventions were to be had, if possible, as there were separate tribes.‖ In pursuance of this last plan, the commissioners, in October, 1784, refused to listen to the proposal which is said then to have been made for one general congress of the northern tribes,§ and in opposition to Brant, Red Jacket and other influential chiefs of the Iroquois, concluded the treaty of Fort

* *Ante*, pp. 110, 121.

† See in proof, the Report to Congress of October 15, 1783, (Old Journals, iv. 294;) the instructions to the Indian commissioners, October 15th, 1783, (Secret Journals, i. 257;) the various treaties of 1784, '85, and '86 (*ante*); General Knox's Report of June 15, 1789, (American State Papers, v. 13); and the distinct acknowledgment of the commissioners in 1793, (American State Papers, v. 353.)

‡ *Ante* p. 259. ‖ *Ante* p. 260. § See *post*.

Stanwix. Then came the treaty of Fort McIntosh, in January, 1785, with the "Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations"—open to the objections above recited, but the validity of which, so far as we know, was never disputed, at least by the Wyandots and Delawares; although the general council of northwestern Indians, representing sixteen tribes,* asserted in 1793, that the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney, (mouth of Great Miami) were not only held with separate tribes, but were obtained by intimidation, the red-men having been asked to make treaties of peace, and forced to make cessions of territory.† The third treaty made by the United States was with the Shawanese at Fort Finney, in January, 1786; which it will be remembered the Wabash tribes refused to attend. The fourth and fifth, which were acts of confirmation, were made at Fort Harmar, in 1789, one with the Six Nations, and the other with the Wyandots and their associates, namely, the Delawares, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawamies, and Sacs. This last, fifth treaty, the confederated nations of the lakes especially refused to acknowledge as binding: their council using in relation to it, in 1793, these words:

Brothers: A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your commissioner Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

Brothers: We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederate Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council, of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

Brothers: How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your commissioner was informed,

* American State Papers, v. 357. † Ibid, v. 356.

long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States.*

And in 1795, at Greenville, Massas, a Chippewa chieftain, who signed the treaty at Fort Harmar, said:

Elder Brother: When you yesterday read to us the treaty of Muskingum, I understood you clearly: at that treaty we had not good interpreters, and we were left partly unacquainted with many particulars of it. I was surprised when I heard your voice, through a good interpreter, say that we had received presents and compensation for those lands which were thereby ceded. I tell you, now, that we, the three fires, never were informed of it. If our uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, have received such presents, they have kept them to themselves. I always thought that we, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies, were the true owners of those lands, but now I find that new masters have undertaken to dispose of them; so that, at this day, we do not know to whom they, of right belong. We never received any compensation for them. I don't know how it is, but ever since that treaty we have become objects of pity, and our fires have been retiring from this country. Now, elder brother, you see we are objects of compassion; and have pity on our weakness and misfortunes; and, since you have purchased these lands, we cede them to you: they are yours.†

The Wyandots, however, acknowledged even the transfer made on the Muskingum to be binding: "Brother," said Tarke, who signed foremost among the representatives of that tribe at Greenville, and who had also signed at Fort Harmar,—

You have proposed to us to build our good work on the treaty of Muskingum: that treaty I have always considered as formed upon the fairest principles. You took pity on us Indians. You did not do as our fathers the British agreed you should. You might by that agreement have taken all our lands; but you pitied us, and let us hold part. I always looked upon that treaty to be binding upon the United States and us Indians.‡

The truth in reference to this treaty of Fort Harmar seems to have been, that the confederated nations, as a whole, did not sanction it, and in their council of 1788 could not agree one with

* American State Papers, v. p. 356. † American State Papers, v. p. 570.
‡ American State Papers, v. p. 571.

another in relation to it. "I have still my doubts," says Brant, before the council met—

I have still my doubts whether we will join or not, some being no ways inclined for peaceable methods. The Hurons, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattimies, and Delawares, will join with us in trying lenient steps, and having a boundary line fixed; and, rather than enter headlong into a destructive war, will give up a small part of their country. On the other hand, the Shawanese, Miamis and Kickapoos, who are now so much addicted to horse-stealing, that it will be a difficult task to break them of it, as that kind of business is their best harvest, will of course declare for war, and not giving up any of their country, which, I am afraid, will be the means of our separating. They are, I believe, determined not to attend the treaty with the Americans. Still I hope for the best. As the major part of the nations are of our opinions, the rest may be brought to, as nothing shall be wanting on my part to convince them of their error.*

Le Gris, the great chief of the Miamies, in April, 1790, said to Gamelin,† that the Muskingum treaty was not made by chiefs or delegates,‡ but by young men acting without authority, although Tarke, the head of the Wyandots, signed and sanctioned it, as well as Captain Pipe of the Delawares, while Brant himself was present.‖

Thus then stood the relations of the Indians and the United States in 1789. Transfers of territory had been made by the Iroquois, the Wyandots, the Delawares and the Shawanese, which were open to scarce any objection; but the Chippeways, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws, Potawatimies, Eel River Indians, Kaskaskias, and above all the Miamies,§ were not bound by any existing agreement to yield the lands north of the Ohio. If their tale is true, the confederated tribes had forbidden the treaty of Fort Harmar, and had warned Governor St. Clair that it would not be binding on the confederates.¶ They wished the Ohio to be a perpetual boundary between the white and red men of the West, and would not sell a rod of the region north of it. So strong was this feeling that their young men, they said, could

* Stone, ii. 278.

† See *post* as to Gamelin's mission.

‡ American State Papers, v. 94.

‖ Stone, ii. 281.

§ All of these appeared at the Treaty of Greenville.

¶ When this confederacy was formed we do not learn; its existence is first seen by its council of November, 1786, whose address, referred to p. 300, may be found American State papers, v. 8.

not be restrained from warfare upon the invading Long Knives, and thence resulted the unceasing attacks upon the frontier stations and the emigrants.

It was not, therefore, without reason, that Washington expressed a doubt as to the justness of an offensive war upon the tribes of the Wabash and Maumee;* and had the treaty of Fort Harmar been the sole ground whereon the United States could have claimed of the Indians the Northwest Territory, it may be doubted whether right would have justified the steps taken in 1790, '91, and '94: but the truth was, that before that treaty, the Iroquois, Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese had yielded the south of Ohio, the ground on which they had long dwelt; and neither the sale to Putnam and his associates, nor that to Symmes, was intended to reach one foot beyond the lands ceded. Of this we have proof in the third article of the ordinance of 1787, passed the day before the proposition to sell to the Ohio Company was for the first time debated; which article declares that the lands of the Indians shall never be taken from them without their consent. It appears to us, therefore, that the United States were fully justified in taking possession of the northwest shore of the Belle Riviere, and that without reference to the treaty at Fort Harmar, which we will allow to have been, if the Indians spoke truly, (and they were not contradicted by the United States commissioners,) morally worthless. But it also appears to us, that in taking those steps in 1790 and 1791, which we have presently to relate, the federal government acted unwisely; and that it should then, at the outset, have done what it did in 1793, after St. Clair's terrible defeat,—namely, it should have sent *commissioners of the highest character* to the lake tribes, *and in the presence of the British*, learnt their causes of complaint, and offered fair terms of compromise. That such a step was wise and just, the government acknowledged by its after-action; and surely none can question the position that it was more likely to have been effective before the savages had twice defeated the armies of the confederacy than afterward. The full bearing of these remarks will be best seen, however, when the whole tale is told, and to that we now proceed.

In June, 1789, Major Doughty, with a hundred and forty men, began the building of Fort Washington at Cincinnati. Upon the 29th of December, General Harmar himself came down with three

* See *ante* p. 319.

hundred additional troops.* On the 1st or 2d of January,† 1790, St. Clair arrived at Losantiville,‡ changed its name to Cincinnati, in honor of the society so called, and organized Hamilton county.‖ On the 8th of that month, he was at Fort Steuben,§ (Jeffersonville opposite Louisville,) whence he proceeded to Kaskaskia, where he remained until the 11th of June, when, having learned from Major Hamtramck, commanding at Vincennes, the hostile feeling of the Wabash and Maumee tribes, he started for Fort Washington, which point he reached upon the 13th of July.

The feeling alluded to had been ascertained in the following manner. Washington having desired that great pains should be taken to learn the real sentiments of the northwestern Indians, Governor St. Clair instructed Major Hamtramck at Vincennes, (Fort Knox,) to send some experienced person to ascertain the views and feelings of the Miamis and their confederates. The person chosen was Anthony Gamelin, who, on the fifth of April, proceeded upon his mission. The Piankeshaws, Kickapoos, and Ouitenons, (Ouias or Weas,) all referred him to their elder brethren, the Miamis, so that he had to journey on to the point where the Miamis, Chaouanons,¶ (Shawnees) and Delawares resided; upon the 23d of April he reached that point and upon the 24th assembled the savages.

I gave to each nation, he says, two branches of wampum, and began the speeches, before the French and English traders, being invited by the chiefs to be present, having told them myself I would be glad to have them present, having nothing to say against any body. After the speech, I showed them the treaty concluded at Muskingum, [Fort Harmar,] between his excellency Governor St. Clair and sundry nations, which displeased them. I told them that the purpose of this present time was not to submit them to any condition, but to offer them the

* Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 124.

† American Pioneer, ii. 148.—Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 124.

‡ Losantiville (sometimes called Losantiburgh, American Pioneer, ii. 400) was properly the name of Filson's plat; (*ante* p. 305.) Ludlow's, which was not exactly the same, was not named until St. Clair, in January, 1790, called it Cincinnati, but meanwhile went by the old name. (Transactions Ohio Historical Society, part second, vol. i. 33.—Symmes' MS. Letters.—Also Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 9.)

‖ As to bounds of county, &c. see Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 241.

§ American Pioneer, ii. 220. In Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, this post is called Fort Finney; in Imlay, (p. 34, note,) Fort Ferring; in the map of the Falls, same vol. Fort Fenny.

¶ The old French orthography used by Charlevoix and all others.

peace, which made disappear their pleasure. The great chief told me that he was pleased with the speech; that he would soon give me an answer. In a private discourse with the great chief, he told me not to mind what the Shawanees would tell me, having a bad heart, and being the perturbators of all the nations. He said the Miamies had a bad name, on account of mischief done on the River Ohio; but he told me it was not occasioned by his young men, but by the Shawanese; his young men going out only for to hunt.

The 25th of April, Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Shawanese, invited me to go to his house, and told me, "My friend, by the name and consent of the Shawanese and Delawares I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech, and pleased with it: but, after consultation, we cannot give an answer without hearing from our father at Detroit; and we are determined to give you back the two branches of wampum, and to send you to Detroit to see and hear the chief, or to stay here twenty nights for to receive his answer. From all quarters we receive speeches from the Americans, and not one is alike. We suppose that they intend to deceive us. Then take back your branches of wampum."

The 26th, five Pottawattamies arrived here with two negro men, which they sold to English traders. The next day I went to the great chief of the Miamies, called Le Gris. His chief warrior was present. I told him how I had been served by the Shawanese. He answered me that he had heard of it: that the said nations had behaved contrary to his intentions. He desired me not to mind those strangers, and that he would soon give me a positive answer.

The 28th April, the great chief desired me to call at the French trader's and receive his answer. "Don't take bad," said he, "of what I am to tell you. You may go back when you please. We cannot give you a positive answer. We must send your speeches to all our neighbors, and to the lake nations. We cannot give a definitive answer without consulting the commandant at Detroit." And he desired me to render him the two branches of wampum refused by the Shawanese; also, a copy of speeches in writing. He promised me that, in thirty nights, he would send an answer to Post Vincennes, by a young man of each nation. He was well pleased with the speeches, and said to be worthy of attention, and should be communicated to all their confederates, having resolved among them not to do any thing without an unanimous consent. I agreed to his requisitions, and rendered him the two branches of wampum, and a copy of the speech. Afterwards, he told me that the Five Nations, so called, or Iroquois, were training something; that five of them, and three Wyandots, were in this village with branches of wampum. He could not tell me presently their purpose; but he said I would know of it very soon.

The same day, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanees, invited me to

his house for supper; and, before the other chiefs, told me that, after another deliberation, they thought necessary that I should go myself to Detroit, for to see the commandant, who would get all his children assembled for to hear my speech. I told them I would not answer them in the night: that I was not ashamed to speak before the sun.

The 29th April I got them all assembled. I told them that I was not to go to Detroit: that the speeches were directed to the nations of the river Wabash and the Miami; and that, for to prove the sincerity of the speech, and the heart of Governor St. Clair, I have willingly given a copy of the speeches, to be shown to the commandant of Detroit: and, according to a letter wrote by the commandant of Detroit to the Miamies, Shawanese, and Delawares, mentioning to you to be peaceable with the Americans, I would go to him very willingly, if it was in my directions, being sensible of his sentiments. I told them I had nothing to say to the commandant; neither him to me. You must immediately resolve, if you intend to take me to Detroit, or else I am to go back as soon as possible. Blue Jacket got up and told me, "My friend, we are well pleased with what you say. Our intention is not to force you to go to Detroit: it is only a proposal, thinking it for the best. Our answer is the same as the Miamies. We will send, in thirty nights, a full and positive answer, by a young man of each nation, by writing to Post Vincennes." In the evening, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanese, having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the Shawanee nation was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big Knives, so called, having been already deceived by them. That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fire, and sent away their young men, being a hunting, without a mouthful of meat: also, had taken away their women; wherefore, many of them would, with great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover, that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, may be, tend to take away, by degrees, their lands; and would serve them as they did before: a certain proof that they intend to encroach on our lands, is their new settlement on the Ohio. If they don't keep this side [of the Ohio] clear, it will never be a proper reconcilement with the nations Shawanese, Iroquois, Wyandots, and, perhaps many others. Le Gris, chief of the Miamies, asked me, in a private discourse, what chief had made a treaty with the Americans at Muskingum, [Fort Harmar.] I answered him that their names were mentioned in the treaty. He told me he had heard of it some time ago; but they are not chiefs, neither delegates, who made that treaty: they are only young men, who without authority and instructions from their chiefs, have concluded that treaty, which will not be approved. They went to the treaty clandestinely, and they intend to make mention of it in the next council to be held.*

* American State Papers, v. p. 93.

On the 8th of May, Gamelin returned to Fort Knox, and on the 11th merchants from the Upper Wabash arrived, bringing news that parties from the north had joined the Wabash savages; that the whole together had already gone to war upon the Americans; and that three days after Gamelin left the Miamis, an American captive had been burned in their village:* all which things so plainly foretold trouble on the frontier, that St. Clair, as we have stated, hastened to Fort Washington to concert with General Harmar a campaign into the country of the hostile tribes.

Before we proceed with the history of Harmar's campaign, however, it seems proper to give in one view all that we know relative to the agency of the British in keeping up Indian hostility after the peace of 1783.

Most of the tribes, as our readers have seen, adhered to England during the Revolutionary struggle. When the war ceased, however, England made no provision for them, and transferred the Northwest to the United States, without any stipulation as to the rights of the natives. The United States, regarding the lands of the hostile tribes as conquered and forfeited, proceeded to give peace to the savages, and to *grant* them portions of their own lands. This produced discontent, and led to the formation of the confederacy headed by Brant.† To assist the purposes of this union, it was very desirable that the British should still hold the posts along the lakes, and supply the red men with all needful things. The forts they claimed a right to hold, because the Americans disregarded the treaty of 1783; the trade with the Indians, even though the latter might be at war with the United States, they regarded as perfectly fair and just. Having thus a sort of legal right to the position they occupied, the British did, undoubtedly and purposely, aid and abet the Indians hostile to the United States. In 1785, after the formation of his confederacy, Brant went to England, and his arrival was thus announced in the London prints:

> This extraordinary personage is said to have presided at the late grand Congress of confederate chiefs of the Indian nations in America, and to be by them appointed to the conduct and chief command in the war which they now meditate against the United States of America. He took his departure for England immediately as that assembly broke up;

* American State Papers, v. 87

† Heckewelder's Narrative, 379. Stone's Life of Brant, ii. 247. 248.

and it is conjectured that his embassy to the British Court is of great importance. This country owes much to the services of Colonel Brant during the late war in America. He was educated at Philadelphia; is a very shrewd, intelligent person, possesses great courage and abilities as a warrior, and is inviolably attached to the British nation.*

On the 4th of January, 1786, he visited Lord Sidney, the Colonial Secretary, and after plainly and boldly stating the trouble of the Indians at the forgetfulness of Britain—the encroachments of the Americans—and their fear of serious consequences, i. e. war, he closed with these words:

This we shall avoid to the utmost of our power, as dearly as we love our lands. But should it, contrary to our wishes, happen, we desire to know whether we are to be considered as His Majesty's faithful allies, and have that support and countenance such as old and true friends expect.†

The English minister returned a perfectly non-committal answer; and when the Mohawk chieftain, upon his return, met the confederated natives in November, 1786, he could give them no distinct assurances of aid from England. But while all definite promises were avoided, men situated as John Johnson, the Indian superintendent, did not hesitate to write to him—

Do not suffer an idea to hold a place in your mind, that it will be for your interests to sit still and see the Americans attempt the posts. It is for your sakes chiefly, if not entirely, that we hold them. If you become indifferent about them, they may perhaps be given up; what security would you then have? You would be left at the mercy of a people whose blood calls aloud for revenge; whereas, by supporting them, you encourage us to hold them, and encourage the new settlements, already considerable, and every day increasing by numbers coming in, who find they cant live in the States. Many thousands are preparing to come in. This increase of his majesty's subjects will serve as a protection for you, should the subjects of the States, by endeavoring to make farther encroachments on you, disturb your quiet.‡

This letter was written in March, 1787; and two months afterwards, Major Matthews, who had been in the suite of the Governor of Canada, Lord Dorchester, after being appointed to com-

* Stone, ii. 249. † Ibid, 254. ‡Ibid, ii. 268.

mand at Detroit, speaks still more explicitly, and in the Governor's name also, "His Lordship was sorry to learn," he says—

That while the Indians were soliciciting his assistance in their preparations for war, some of the Six Nations had sent deputies to Albany to treat with the Americans, who, it is said, have made a treaty with them, granting permission to make roads for the purpose of coming to Niagara; but that, notwithstanding these things, the Indians should have their presents, as they are marks of the King's approbation of their former conduct. In future his lordship wishes them to act as is best for their interest; he cannot begin a war with the Americans, because some of their people encroach and make depredations upon parts of the Indian country; but they must see it is his lordship's intention to defend the posts; and that while these are preserved, the Indians must find great security therefrom, and consequently the Americans greater difficulty in taking possession of their lands; but should they once become masters of the posts, they will surround the Indians, and accomplish their purpose with little trouble. From a consideration of all which, it therefore remains with the Indians to decide what is most for their own interest, and to let his lordship know their determination, that he may take his measures accordingly; but, whatever their resolution is, it should be taken as by one and the same people, by which means they will be respected and become strong; but if they divide, and act one part against the other, they will become weak, and help to destroy each other. This is the substance of what his lordship desired me to tell you, and I request you will give his sentiments that mature consideration which their justice, generosity, and desire to promote the welfare and happiness of the Indians, must appear to all the world to merit.

In your letter to me, you seem apprehensive that the English are not very anxious about the defence of the posts. You will soon be satisfied that they have nothing more at heart, provided that it continues to be the wish of the Indians, and that they remain firm in doing their part of the business, by preventing the Americans from coming into their country, and consequently from marching to the posts. On the other hand, if the Indians think it more for their interest that the Americans should have possession of the posts, and be established in their country, they ought to declare it, that the English need no longer be put to the vast and unnecessary expense and inconvenience of keeping posts, the chief object of which is to protect their Indian allies, and the loyalists who have suffered with them. It is well known that no encroachments ever have or ever will be made by the English upon the lands or property of the Indians in consequence of possessing the posts, how far that will be the case if ever the Americans get into them, may very easily be imagined,

from their hostile perseverance, even without that advantage, in driving the Indians off their lands and taking possession of them.*

These assurances on the part of the British, and the delay of Congress in replying to the address of the confederated nations, dated December, 1786, led to the general council of 1788; but the divisions in that body, added to the uncertain support of the English government, at length caused Brant for a time to give up his interest in the efforts of the western natives, among whom the Miamies thenceforth took the lead; although, as our extracts from Gamelin's journal show, a true spirit of union did not, even in 1790, prevail among the various tribes.† At that time, however, the British influence over the Miamis and their fellows, was in no degree lessened, as is plain from the entire reference of their affairs, when Gamelin went to them, to the commandant at Detroit. Nor can we wonder at the hold possessed over the red men by the English, when such wretches as McKee, Elliott and Girty,‡ were the go-betweens, the channels of intercourse. "You invite us," said one of the war-chiefs to Gamelin, "to stop our young men. "It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British."

We confess, said another, that we accepted the axe, but it is by the reproach we continually receive from the English and other nations,

* See Stone ii. 271.

† See also Stone ii. 290, note. Some of the Delawares and Miamies so far quarrelled that the former left for the Mississippi.

‡ Girty we have already spoken of.—Alexander McKee, (sometimes written McKay and McGee) was an Indian agent before the Revolution. Major Rogers, in 1760, sent a Mr. McGee from Detroit to the Shawanese town on the Ohio, to receive the French stationed there, (Journal, 229): this may have been McKee.—In 1773, the Rev. D. Jones found Alexander McKee living about three miles from Paint Creek, Ohio, among the Shawanese. (See his journal in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 262.) On the 29th of February, 1776, Colonel Butler, the refugee hero of Wyoming and Indian Agent for England, wrote to McKee, then residing as Indian agent at Fort Pitt, to come to Niagara; in consequence of which the committee of Western Augusta obliged him to bind himself to have nothing to do with the Indians on account of Great Britain; and this parole Congress accepted. (American Archives, fourth series. v. 818. 820. 1692.—Old Journals, ii. 67.) In 1778, however, he left Pittsburgh, with Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott and others, to join the British. (Heckewelder's Narrative, 170.) He became a colonel, and was a leader among the northwest Indians from that time till his death. He had stores at the falls of the Maumee. (See American State Papers, v. 243. 351. Some of his letters were taken at Proctor's defeat in 1813. (See Armstrong's Notices, i. appendix No. 2, 188.—Brown's History of War of 1812, ii. appendix.) Matthew Elliott had been a trader; in 1776 he was taken by the British and joined them, for which he received a captain's commission. In 1790-95 he lived at the mouth of Detroit river, and carried on trade and farming. (See Heckwelder's Narrative, 147, 170.)

which received the axe first, calling us women; at the present time, they invite our young men to war; as to the old people, they are wishing for peace.*

Every peaceful message from the officers of the crown was stopped on its way to the excited children of the forest; but every word of a hostile character, exaggerated and added to.†

* American State Papers, v. 93.

† It is hard to say *how far* the British agents aided the savages in 1790 and 1791. The following is from a certificate by Thos. Rhea, taken by the Indians in May, 1781, and who escaped in June. He is stated to have been untrustworthy, (American State Papers, v. 196.) but his account is in part confirmed by other evidence.

"At this place, the *the Miami*, were Colonels Brant and McKee, with his son Thomas; and Captains Bunbury and Silvie, of the British troops. These officers, &c. were all encamped on the south side of the Miami, or Ottawa river, at the rapids above lake Erie, about eighteen miles; they had clever houses, built chiefly by the Pottawatimies and other Indians; in these they had stores of goods, with arms, ammunition, and provision, which they issued to the Indians in great abundance, viz: corn, pork, peas, &c. The Indians came to this place in parties of one, two, three, four, and five hundred at a time, from different quarters, and received from Mr. McKee and the Indian officers, clothing, arms, ammunition, provision, &c. and set out immediately for the upper Miami towns, where they understood the forces of the United States were bending their course, [Scott's expedition,] and in order to supply the Indians from other quarters collected there. Pirogues, loaded with the above mentioned articles, were sent up the Miami river, wrought by French Canadians. About the last of May, Captain Silvie purchased me from the Indians, and I staid with him at this place till the 4th of June, (the king's birth day,) when I was sent to Detroit. Previous to leaving the Miami river, I saw one Mr. Dick, who, with his wife, was taken prisoner near Pittsburgh, in the Spring—I believe, by the Wyandotts. Mr. McKee was about purchasing Mr. Dick from the Indians, but found it difficult. Mrs. Dick was separated from him, and left at a village at some distance from this place. I also saw a young boy, named Brittle, (Brickell, probably, see his narrative, Am. Pioneer, i. 43,) who was taken in the spring, from near a mill, (Capt. O'Hara's,) near Pittsburgh, his hair was cut, and he was dressed and armed for war; *could not get speaking to him.* About the 5th June, in the Detroit river, I met from sixty to one hundred canoes, in three parties, containing a large party of Indians, who appeared to be very wild and uncivilized; they were dressed chiefly in buffalo and other skin blankets, with otter skin and other fur breech cloths, armed with bows, and arrows, and spears; they had no guns, and seemed to set no store by them, or know little of their use, nor had they any inclination to receive them, though offered to them. They said they were three moons on their way. The other Indians called them *Mannitoos*. About this time there was a field day of the troops at Detroit, which I think is from five to six hundred in number; the next day a field day of the French militia took place, and one hundred and fifty of the Canadians, with some others, turned out volunteers to join the Indians, and were to set off the 8th for the Miami village, with their own horses, after being plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, clothing, and provision, &c. to fit them for the march. While I was at the Miami or Ottawa river, as they call it, I had mentioned to Colonel McKee, and the other officers, that I had seen Colonel Procter, on his way to Fort Franklin; that I understood that he was on his way to the the Miami, or Sandusky, with some of the Senecas, and that he expected the Cornplanter would accompany him, in order to settle matters with the hostile nations; and that he expected to get shipping at Fort Erie, to bring him and these people to the Miami, or Sandusky, &c. That the officers, in their conversation with each other, said, if they were

At the time of Gamelin's mission, the spring of 1790, before any act of hostility on the part of the United States had made reconciliation impossible, and before the success of the savages had made their demands such as could not be granted, we cannot but think it would have been true wisdom to have sent to the northern tribes, not an Indian trader, but such a representation as was sent three years later.* Such, however, was not the course pursued. Governor St. Clair, under the acts of Congress passed the previous year,† on the 15th of July, called upon Virginia for 1,000, and upon Pennsylvania for 500 militia. Of these, 300 were to meet at Fort Steuben (Jeffersonville) to aid the troops from Fort Knox (Vincennes) against the Weas and Kickapoos of the Wabash; 700 were to gather at Fort Washington, (Cincinnati;) and 500 just below Wheeling; the two latter bodies being intended to march with the Federal troops, from Fort Washington, under General Harmar, against the towns at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph.‡ The Kentucky militia men began to come in at Fort Washington about the middle of September, the 15th

at Fort Erie, he should get no shipping there, &c. That the Mohawks and other Indians, that could speak English, declare that if he (meaning Colonel Procter,) or any other Yankee messenger, came there, they should never carry messages back. This was frequently expressed by the Indians; and Simon Girty, and a certain Patt Hill, declared Procter should not return, if he had a hundred Senecas with him; and many other such threats were used, and every movement, appearance, and declaration, seemed hostile to the United States. And I understood that Colonel McKee, and the other officers, intended only to stay at the Miami till they had furnished the war parties of Indians with the necessaries mentioned above, to fit them for war, and then would return to Detroit. That Elliott had returned to Detroit, and Simon Girty, and that Girty declared he would go and join the Indians, and that Captain Elliott told him he was going the next day, with a boat load of goods for the Indians, and that Girty might have a passage with him. That on the 7th of June, the ship Dunmore sailed for Fort Erie, in which I got a passage. We arrived there in four days. About the 12th of June I saw taken into this vessel, a number of cannon, eighteen pounders, with other military stores, and better than two companies of artillery troops, destined, as I understood, for Detroit and the upper posts; some of the artillery-men had to remain behind, for want of room in the vessel. I have just recollected that, while I was at the Ottawa river, I saw a party of warriors come in with the arms, accoutrements, clothing, &c. of a sergeant, corporal, and, they said, twelve men, whom they had killed in some of the lower posts on the Ohio; that a man of the Indian department offered me a coat, which had a number of bullet and other holes in it, and was all bloody, which I refused to take, and Colonel McKee then ordered me clothes out of the Indian store." (Am. State Papers, v. 196.)

* It may be said Colonel Procter in 1791, was in danger of assassination. (Rhea's account. American State Papers, v. 196. See above,) but that was after Harmar's attack.

† See Ante, p. 319.

‡ American State Papers, v. 94, 92.

being the day named. — Of their fitness for service we may judge by Major Ferguson's evidence.

They were very ill equipped, being almost destitute of camp kettles and axes; nor could a supply of these essential articles be procured. There arms were, generally, very bad, and unfit for service; as I was the commanding officer of artillery, they came under my inspection, in making what repairs the time would permit; and as a specimen of their badness, I would inform the court, that a rifle was brought to be repaired without a lock, and another without a stock. I often asked the owners what induced them to think that those guns could be repaired at that time? And they gave me for answer, that they were told in Kentucky that all repairs would be made at Fort Washington. Many of the officers told me, that they had no idea of there being half the number of bad arms in the whole district of Kentucky, as was then in the hands of their men. As soon as the principal part of the Kentucky militia arrived, the General began to organize them; in this he had many difficulties to encounter. Colonel Trotter aspired to the command, although Colonel Hardin was the eldest officer, and in this he was encouraged both by men and officers, who openly declared, unless Colonel Trotter commanded them, they would return home. After two or three days the business was settled, and they [i. e. the Kentucky men] were formed into three battalions, under the command of Colonel Trotter, and Colonel Hardin had the command of all the militia, [both Pennsylvania and Virginia.] As soon as they were arranged, they were mustered; crossed the Ohio, and, on the 26th, marched, and encamped about ten miles from Fort Washington. The last of the Pennsylvania militia arrived on the 25th September. They were equipped nearly as the Kentucky, but were worse armed; several were without any. The General ordered all the arms in store to be delivered to those who had none, and those whose guns could not be repaired. Amongst the militia were a great many hardly able to bear arms, such as old, infirm men, and young boys; they were not such as might be expected from a frontier country, viz. the smart active woodsman, well accustomed to arms, eager and alert to revenge the injuries done them and their connexions. No, there were a great number of them substitutes, who probably had never fired a gun. Major Paul, of Pennsylvania, told me, that many of his men were so awkward, that they could not take their gun locks off to oil them, and put them on again, nor could they put in their flints so as to be useful; and even of such materials, the numbers came far short of what was ordered, as may be seen by the returns.*

* American State Papers, xii. 20.

Trouble had been anticipated from the aversion of the frontier men to act with regular troops,* General Harmar had been warned on the subject by the Secretary of War,—and every pains had been taken to avoid the evils apprehended. Notice had also been given to the British that the troops collected were to be used against the Indians alone, so that no excuse might be given McKee & Co., for co-operation;† and when upon the 30th of September Harmar left Fort Washington, every step seemed to have been taken which experience or judgment could suggest to secure the success of the expedition.‡ The same seems to have been true of the march, the Court of Inquiry held in 1791, having approved every arrangement.‖ On the 13th of October, the army being then thirty or thirty-five miles from the Miami villages, it was determined, in consequence of information given by a captured Indian, to send forward Colonel John Hardin with a detachment of 600 militia men and one company of regulars, to surprise the enemy, and keep them in their forts until the main body could come up with the artillery.

On the 14th this party marched forward, and upon the next day about three o'clock reached the villages, but they were deserted. On the morning of the 17th the main army arrived, and the work

* American State Papers, v. 100.

† American State Papers, v. 96.

‡ The troops were organized and moved forward, as follows:

"The Kentuckians composed three battalions, under the Majors Hall, McMullen and Ray, with Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Trotter at their head. The Pennsylvanians were formed into one battalion, under Lieutenant Colonel Trubley and Major Paul, the whole to be commanded by Colonel John Hardin, subject to the orders of General Harmar. The 30th, the General having got forward all the supplies that he expected, he moved out with the federal troops, formed into two small battalions, under the immediate command of Major Wyllys and Major Doughty, together with Captain Ferguson's company of artillery, and three pieces of ordinance. On the 3d of October, General Harmar joined the advanced troops early in the morning; the remaining part of the day was spent in forming the line of march, the order of encampment and battle, and explaining the same to the militia field officers. General Harmar's orders will show the several formations. On the 4th the army took up the order of march as is described in the orders. On the 5th a reinforcement of horsemen and mounted infantry joined from Kentucky. The dragoons were formed into two troops; the mounted riflemen made a company, and this small battalion of light troops were put under the command of Major Fontaine.

The whole of General Hamar's command then may be stated thus:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | battalions of | Kentucky | militia, | 1133 |
| 1 | do. | Pennsylvania | do. | |
| 1 | do. | Light troops mounted | do. | |
| 2 | do. | Federal troops, - - - | | 320 |
| | Total, - - - - - - - - | | | 1453" |

(American State Papers, xii. 24.)

‖ American State Papers, xii. 30 to 33: all the plans are given.

of destruction commenced; by the 21st, the chief town, five other villages, and nearly 20,000 bushels of corn in ears had been destroyed.* When Harmar reached the Maumee towns and found no enemy, he thought of pushing forward to attack the Wea and other Indian settlements upon the Wabash, but was prevented by the loss both of pack horses and cavalry horses, which the Indians seem to have stolen in quantities to suit themselves, in consequence of the wilful carelessness of the owners, who made the United States pay first for the use of their nags, then for the nags themselves.† The Wabash plan being dropped, Colonel Trotter was despatched with 300 men to scour the woods in search of an enemy, as the tracks of women and children had been seen near by; and we cannot give a better idea of the utter want of discipline in the army, than by some extracts‡ from the evidence of Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) Armstrong;‖ this gentleman was with Trotter during the 18th of October, and also with Hardin, who, on the 19th, took the command, General Harmar being much dissatisfied with Trotter's ineffective Indian chase of the previous day.

After we had proceeded about a mile, says Armstrong, the cavalry gave chase to an Indian, who was mounted, him they overtook and killed. Before they returned to the column a second appeared, on which the four field officers left their commands and pursued, leaving the troops near half an hour without any directions whatever. The cavalry came across the second Indian, and, after he had wounded one of their party, killed him also. When the infantry came up to this place they immediately fell into confusion, upon which I gained permission to leave them some distance on the road, where I formed an ambuscade. After I had been some time at my station, a fellow on horseback came to me who had lost the party in pursuit of the first Indian; he was much frightened, and said he had been pursued by fifty mounted Indians. On my telling this story to Colonel Trotter, notwithstanding my observations to him, he changed his route, and marched in various directions until night, when he returned to camp.

On our arrival in camp, General Harmar sent for me, and after asking me many questions, ordered one subaltern and twenty militia to join my command. With these I reached the river St. Joseph about ten at

* Lieutenant Denny. American State Papers, xii. 25.

† Major Ferguson. American State Papers, xii. 21.

‡ Slightly altered in language; see also Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 195–6.

‖ He was promoted, says Judge Burnet, March 1791. He resigned his commission in 1793, and was afterwards Colonel of the militia.—See Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 7, 37, 66.

night, and with a guide proceeded to an Indian town, about two miles distant, where I continued with my party until the morning of the nineteenth. About nine o'clock I joined the remainder of the detachment under Colonel Hardin. We marched on the route Colonel Trotter had pursued the day before, and after passing a morass about five miles distant, we came to where the enemy had encamped the day before. Here we made a short halt, and the commanding officer disposed of the parties at a distance from each other; after a halt of half an hour, we were ordered to move on, and Captain Faulkner's company was left on the ground; the Colonel having neglected giving him orders to move on. After we had proceeded about three miles, we fell in with two Indians on foot, who threw off their packs, and the brush being thick, made their escape. I then asked Colonel Hardin where Captain Faulkner was? He said he was lost, and then sent Major Fontaine with part of the cavalry in search of him, and moved on with the remainder of the troops. Some time after, I informed Colonel Hardin a gun had fired in our front, which might be considered as an alarm gun, and that I saw where a horse had come down the road, and returned again; but the Colonel still moved on, giving no orders, nor making any arrangements for an attack. Some time after, I discovered the enemy's fires at a distance, and informed the Colonel, who replied, that they would not fight, and rode in front of the advance, until fired on from behind the fires; when he, the Colonel, retreated, and with him all the militia except nine, who continued with me, and were instantly killed, with twenty-four of the federal troops; seeing my last man fall, and being surrounded by the savages, I threw myself into a thicket, and remained there three hours in day-light;* during that time I had an opportunity of seeing the enemy pass and re-pass, and conceived their numbers did not amount to one hundred men; some were mounted, others armed with rifles, and the advance with tomahawks only. I am of opinion that had Colonel Trotter proceeded, on the 18th, agreeably to his orders, having killed the enemy's sentinels, he would have surprised their camp and with ease defeated them; or had Colonel Hardin arranged his troops, or made any military disposition, on the 19th, that he would have gained a victory. Our defeat I therefore ascribed to two causes; the unofficer-like conduct of Colonel Hardin, (who I believe was a brave man,) and the cowardly behaviour of the militia; many of them threw down their arms loaded, and I believe that none, except the party under my command, fired a gun.†

* Various accounts in addition to this statement by Armstrong, say that he was in a swamp or pond, up to his neck; (Butler, 192.—Cist, in his Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 183.) Other accounts say he was merely concealed in the swamp, or up to his waist in water, (McClung's Sketches, 241. Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 39.) Our readers must take their choice among the different statements as to the Lieutenant's position.

† American State Papers, xii. p. 26.

At this time probably the jealousy between the regulars and militia which had been anticipated, and which had threatened trouble at Fort Washington, began effectually to work mischief; the regular troops disliked to be commanded by Trotter and Hardin, the army officers despised the militia, and the militia hating them, were impatient under the control of Harmar and his staff. Again, the rivalry between Trotter and Hardin was calculated to make the elements of discord and disobedience yet more widespread; so that all true confidenee between the officers and men was destroyed, and with it, of necessity, all true strength.

But though the troops had been disappointed and defeated, the houses and crops had been burned and wasted, and upon the 21st of October, the army commenced its homeward march. But Hardin was not easy under his defeat, and the night of the 21st being favorable, he proposed to Harmar to send back a detachment to the site of the villages just destroyed, supposing the savages would have already returned thither. The General was not very willing to try farther experiments, but Hardin urged him, and at last obtained an order for 340 militia, of which 40 were mounted, and 60 regular troops; the former under Hardin himself, the latter under Major Wyllys. How they fared shall be told by Captain Asheton, an actor in the affray.

The detachment marched in three columns, the federal troops in the centre, at the head of which I was posted, with Major Wyllys and Colonel Hardin in my front; the militia formed the columns to the right and left. From delays, occasioned by the militia's halting, we did not reach the banks of the Omee [Maumee] till some time after sun-rise. The spies then discovered the enemy, and reported to Major Wyllys, who halted the federal troops, and moved the militia on some distance in front, where he gave his orders and plan of attack to the several commanding officers of corps. Those orders were not communicated to me. Major Wyllys reserved the command of the federal troops to himself. Major Hall, with his battalion, was directed to take a circuitous route round the bend of the Omee River, cross the Pickaway Fork, (or St. Mary's) which brought him directly in the rear of the enemy, and there wait until the attack should commence with Major M'Mullen's battalion, Major Fontaine's cavalry, and Major Wyllys with the federal troops, who all crossed the Omee at, and near, the common fording place. After the attack commenced, the troops were by no means to separate, but were to embody, or the battalions to support each other, as circumstances required. From this disposition it appeared evident, that it was the intention of Major Wyllys to surround the enemy, and that

if Colonel Hall, who had gained his ground undiscovered, had not wantonly disobeyed his orders, by firing on a single Indian, the surprise must have been complete. The Indians then fled with precipitation, the battalions of militia pursuing in different directions. Major Fontaine made a charge upon a small party of savages—he fell the first fire, and his troops dispersed. The federal troops, who were then left unsupported became an easy sacrifice to much the largest party of Indians that had been seen that day. It is my opinion that the misfortunes of that day were owing to the separation of troops, and disobedience of orders. After the federal troops were defeated, and the firing in all quarters nearly ceased, Colonel Hall and Major McMullen, with their battalions, met in the town, and after discharging, cleaning, and fresh loading their arms, which took up about half an hour, proceeded to join the army unmolested. I am convinced that the detachment, if it had been kept embodied, was sufficient to have answered the fullest expectations of the General, and needed no support; but I was informed a battalion under Major Ray was ordered out for that purpose.*

When Hardin returned to camp after this skirmish, he wished the General either to send another party, or take the whole army to the battle ground, but Harmar would not favor either plan. He did not wish, he said, to divide his troops; he had little food for his horses; and he thought the Indians had received "a very good scourging;" upon the next morning, accordingly, the army took up its line of march for Fort Washington, in a regular, soldier-like way. Two men, says Hardin, wished to have another tussle with the Miamies;—of the whole army only two!† Before reaching Fort Washington, however, new trouble occurred.

At old Chillicothe, on Little Miami, says Colonel Hardin, a number of the militia, contrary to orders, fired off their guns. I endeavored to put a stop to such disorderly behavior, and commanded that those offenders that could be taken should be punished agreeably to general orders; and having caught a soldier myself in the very act of firing his gun, ordered a file of men to take him immediately and carry him to the six pounder, and for the drummer to tie him up and give him six lashes; I was shortly after met by Colonel Trotter and Major McMullen, and a number of militia soldiers, who in an abrupt manner asked me by what

* American State Papers, xii. 28.—See account in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 183;—also, McClung's (Sketches of Western Adventure, p. 241,) and others.—We prefer that of an eye-witness.—We have verbally changed Asheton's statement, which is given in the third person. See also Hardin's deposition, American State Papers, xii. 34.

† See in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 105, an account of Harmar's Campaign, by one present.

authority I ordered that soldier whipped; I replied in support of general orders; on which a very warm dispute ensued between Colonel Trotter, Major McMullen, and myself. The General being informed of what had happened, came forward, and gave Colonel Trotter and Major McMullen a very severe reprimand, ordered the federal troops to parade, and the drummer to do his duty, swearing he would risk his life in support of his orders: the man received the number of lashes ordered, and several that were confined were set at liberty; numbers of the militia seemed much pleased with what was done. This intended mutiny being soon quashed, the army proceeded in good order to Fort Washington. When the army arrived at the mouth of Licking, the General informed me he had determined to arrest some of the militia officers for their bad conduct, and send them home with disgrace; but I opposed his intention, alleging that it would be a disgrace to the whole militia; that he would perhaps stand in need of their assistance on some future occasion, and it would sour their minds and cause them to turn out with reluctance; and that his discharging them generally with honor perhaps would answer a better purpose; the General readily indulged my request.*

To this last act, which caused much discontent among the frontier men;—to the two defeats of the 19th and 22d of October (for such they were;) and to the want of any efficiency on the part of Harmar, who, though guilty of no breach of military care or common skill, acted like an old woman, compared with such men as Clark, and "Mad Anthony," must be ascribed the great unpopularity of this campaign. The army, as a whole, effected all that the popular expeditions of Clark in 1782, and of Scott and Wilkinson in 1791, did, we mean the annihilation of towns and corn, and was by Harmar and St. Clair considered very successful;† but in reality, *in the view of the Indians*, it was an utter failure and defeat. Their account of it was this:

There have been two engagements about the Miami towns, between the Americans and the Indians, in which it is said, the former had about five hundred men killed, and that the rest have retreated. The loss was only fifteen or twenty on the side of the Indians. The Shawanese, Miamis, and Pottawottamies were, I understand, the principal tribes who were engaged; but I do not learn that any of the nations have

* American State Papers, xii. 35.

† This is clear, as we know, from Harmar's general orders, upon October 21, when he took up his march for Fort Washington, and from his report to the Secretary of War. (American State Papers. v. 105. 104.)

refused their alliance or assistance, and it is confidently reported that they are now marching against the frontiers on the Ohio.*

Nor was the report of the invasion of the settlements on the Ohio shore far from the truth.

On the evening of the 2d [Jan. '91] says Rufus Putnam, writing to the President—between sunset and daylight-in, the Indians surprised a new settlement of our people, at a place on the Muskingum, called the Big Bottom, nearly forty miles up the river, in which disaster eleven men, one woman, and two children, were killed: three men are missing, and four others made their escape. Thus, sir, the war, which was partial before the campaign of last year, is, in all probability, become general: I think there is no reason to suppose that we are the only people on whom the savages will wreak their vengeance, or that the number of hostile Indians have not increased since the late expedition. Our situation is truly critical; the Governor and Secretary both being absent, no assistance, from Virginia or Pennsylvania can be had. The garrison at fort Harmar, consisting at this time of little more than twenty men, can afford no protection to our settlements, and the whole number of men, in all our settlements, capable of bearing arms, including all civil and military officers, do not exceed two hundred and eighty-seven, and these, many of them, badly armed. We are in the utmost danger of being swallowed up, should the enemy push the war with vigor during the winter; this I believe will fully appear, by taking a short view of our several settlements, and I hope justify the extraordinary measures we have adopted, for want of a legal authority in the territory to apply for aid in the business. The situation of our people is nearly as follows:

At Marietta are about eighty houses, in the distance of one mile, with scattering houses about three miles up the Ohio. A set of mills at Duck Creek, four miles distant, and another mill two miles up the Muskingum. Twenty-two miles up this river is a settlement, consisting of about twenty families; about two miles from them, on Wolf Creek, are five families and a set of mills. Down the Ohio, and opposite the Little Kenawha, commences the settlement called Belle Prairie, which extends down the river, with little interruption, about twelve miles, and contains between thirty and forty houses. Before the late disaster, we had several other settlements, which are already broken up. I have taken the liberty to enclose the proceedings of the Ohio company and justices of the sessions on this occasion, and beg leave, with the greatest deference, to observe, that, unless Government speedily send a body of troops for our protection, we are a ruined people. The removal of the

* See Stone, ii. 294.

women and children, etc. will reduce many of the poorer sort to the greatest straits; but if we add to this the destruction of their corn, forage, and cattle, by the enemy, which is very probable to ensue, I know of no way they can be supported; but, if this should not happen, where these people are to raise bread another year, is not easy to conjecture, and most of them have nothing left to buy with. But my fears do not stop here; we are a people so far detached from all others, in point of situation, that we can hope for no timely relief, in case of emergency, from any of our neighbors; and, among the number that compose our present military strength, almost one half are young men, hired into the country, intending to settle by and by; these, under present circumstances, will probably leave us soon, unless prospects should brighten; and, as to new settlers, we can expect none in our present situation; so that, instead of increasing in strength, we are likely to diminish daily; and, if we do not fall a prey to the savages, we shall be so reduced and discouraged as to give up the settlement, unless Government shall give us timely protection. It has been a mystery with some, why the troops have been withdrawn from this quarter, and collected at the Miami; that settlement is, I believe, within three or four days' march of a very populous part of Kentucky, from whence, in a few days, they might be reinforced with several thousand men, whereas, we are not within two hundred miles of any settlement, that can probably more than protect themselves.*

The spirit thus manifested by the tribes which had just been attacked, and the general feelings along the frontier in relation to Harmar's expedition, made the United States Government sensible that their first step in the conduct of backwoods warfare, had been a failure, and that prompt and strong measures, calculated either to win, or force a state of peace, must be adopted.† The plan which was resorted to was a three-fold one; 1st, to send a messenger to the western Indians with offers of peace, to be accompanied by some of the Iroquois chieftains favorable to America; 2d, at the same time to organize expeditions in the west, to strike the Wea, Miami and Shawanee towns in case it should be clear the peace messenger would fail in his mission; and 3d, to prepare a grand and overwhelming force with which to take possession of the country of the enemies and build forts in their midst.‡ The

* See American State Papers, v. 121.—See a full account of the settlement on Big Bottom, and the attack upon it: by Dr. Hildreth, American Pioneer, ii. 101.

† See Knox's Report, American State Papers, v. 112.

‡ The act for protecting the frontier was signed March 3d, 1791. (American State Papers, xii. 36.) St. Clair was appointed to the command on the 4th. (do.)

person selected to convey messages of peace was Colonel Thomas Procter, who received his commission upon the 10th or 11th of March, 1791, and upon the 12th left Philadelphia for the settlement of Cornplanter, or Captain O'Beel or Abeel, the chief warrior of the Senecas, and the firm friend of Washington and the Union. This chief, with others of similar sentiments, had been in Philadelphia in the previous December, and had promised to use all their influence to secure peace.* To them Procter was sent, in the hope that they would go with him westward, and be the means of preventing farther bloodshed. In this hope, however, Washington and Knox were disappointed; for, when, with great difficulty, the American messenger had prevailed upon certain of the Iroquois to accompany him, provided a water passage could be had, the British commandant at Niagara would not allow an English vessel to be hired to convey the ambassadors up Lake Erie; and as no other could be obtained, the whole enterprise failed.

But in order to understand the difficulties which Proctor met with, we must look at the views of the British, and of those Indians who remained firm to the British at this period. After Harmar's campaign, the tribes of the north-west sent a deputation to Lord Dorchester to learn what aid England would give them in the contest now fairly opened. What answer precisely was given by the governor we do not know, but his wishes seem to have been that peace might be restored and preserved.† Colonel Gordon, the British commandant at Niagara, who afterward stopped Procter, was also an advocate of peace; and on the 4th of March wrote to Brant in these words:

I hope you will embrace the present opportunity of the meeting of the chiefs of the Five Nations in your neighborhood, to use your endeavors to heal the wounds between the Indians and Americans. I dare say the States wish to make peace on terms which will secure to the Indians their present possessions in the Miami country, provided the young men are restrained from committing depredations in future.‡

Brant himself, on the 7th of March, writing to McKee, (the agent among the Miamies,) says:

I have received two letters from the States, from gentlemen who have been lately in Philadelphia; by which it appears the Americans secretly

* American State Papers, v. 140 to 145. Cornplanter, like Brant, was a half breed; his father's name was O'Beel: See a particular account of him in Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 655; also Stone's Life of Red Jacket.

† Stone, ii. 296. 298. ‡ See Stone, ii. 297.

wish to accommodate the matter—which I should by all means advise, if it could be effected upon honorable and liberal terms, and a peace become general.*

With these views prevailing, why did Brant, Gordon, and the other officers of Britain do so little afterwards to preserve pacific relations? First, it would seem that the Mohawk chieftain was offended by the favor shown Cornplanter, his deadly foe,† and by the attempt of the Americans to divide the Iroquois; and in regard to the latter point at least the British sympathized with him. 2dly, it is clear that the representatives of England, in Canada, were offended, and we think naturally, at the *entire* disregard shown by the American Government of their influence over the savages of the north-west. Those tribes were closely connected with the British agents, and under their control, and Lord Dorchester, Colonel Gordon and Brant looked for an appeal to them as mediators in the quarrel about to burst forth; or at any rate, for an acceptance by the Americans of their mediation, if asked by the Indians:—an acceptance of the kind given in 1793, after St. Clair's defeat; and which was not, of course, dishonorable or degrading. Thirdly, both the Indians and English were puzzled and excited by the seeming (though our readers will know in no degree actual) want of good faith on the part of the States; which, at the same moment almost, commissioned Scott to war upon the Miamies, Procter to treat of peace with them, St. Clair to invade and take possession of their lands, and Pickering to hold a council with their brethren for burying the fatal hatchet, and quenching the destructive brand.

From the inconsistent proceedings of the Americans,—says Colonel Gordon to Brant, upon the 11th of June,—I am perfectly at a loss to understand their full intentions. Whilst they are assembling councils at different quarters with the avowed purpose of bringing about a peace, the Six Nations have received a speech from General St. Clair, dated at Pittsburgh, 23d April, inviting them to take up the hatchet against their brothers the western nations.

Can any thing be more inconsistent? or can they possibly believe the Indians are to be duped by such shallow artifices? This far from being the case; the Indians at Buffalo Creek saw the business in its proper light, and treated the invitation with the contempt it deserved. It must

* See Stone, ii. 298.

† American State Papers, v. 167; stated by General Knox.

strike you very forcibly, that in all the proceedings of the different Commissioners from the American States, they have cautiously avoided applying for our interference, as a measure they affect to to think perfectly unnecessary; wishing to impress the Indians with the ideas of their own consequence, and of the little influence, they would willingly believe, we are possessed of. This, my good friend, is not the way to proceed. Had they, before matters were pushed to extremity, requested the assistance of the British government to bring about a peace on equitable terms, I am convinced the measure would have been fully accomplished long before this time.

I would, however, willingly hope they will yet see the propriety of adopting this mode of proceeding; and that peace, an object so much to be desired, will at length be permanently settled.

I am the more sanguine in the attainment of my wishes, by your being on the spot, and that you will call forth the exertion of your influence and abilities on the occasion.*

The Americans also were desirous to enlist Brant as a peace-maker, and Governor Clinton, of New York, was written to by General Knox, in the hope that he might influence the Mohawk leader; but the chieftain was beyond his reach, in the far west, among the tribes who were likely to be foremost in the contest; nor could any learn whether he went thither as a peace-maker or promoter of war. Early in May the United States Government was informed that he had revived his plan of a great Indian confederacy;† and about the 19th of that month Procter, at Buffalo, heard from the West that Brant was there not to pacify, but to inflame the Miamies and their allies;‡ but yet, as the chiefs of the Six Nations represented his purpose to be that of a messenger sent to learn the feelings of the western tribes, and asked Procter again and again to wait his return,‖ the impression produced upon the American Government was that he had nothing in view but the cessation of hostilities.§

Before Procter, his mission proving in vain, left Buffalo creek, which he did upon the 21st of May, measures had been taken to secure a council of the Six Nations on the 16th of June, at the Painted Post, near the junction of the Conhocton and Tioga rivers. The purpose of this council was to secure the neutrality of the Iroquois by presents and fine words; and the plan appears to have

* Stone, ii. 300.

† American State Papers, v. 168.

‡ Do. 161.

‖ Do. 163, 165, &c.

§ Do. 177. Knox's letters of June 9th and 16th to St. Clair—also do. 181.

succeeded. "The treaty," says Knox, writing to St. Clair on the 4th of August, "closed on the 15th, (of July,) and the Indians returned satisfied. Colonel Pickering did not attempt to persuade any of them to join our army, as he found such a proposal would be very disagreeable to them."*

It had been calculated when Procter left Philadelphia upon the 12th of March, that he would either succeed or distinctly fail in his enterprise, in time to reach Fort Washington by the 5th of May. This expectation, as we have seen, was entirely defeated, as he was so delayed that he did not reach Buffalo creek until the 27th of April, and did not make his first application for a vessel to cross Lake Erie until May 5th. But upon the above calculation mistaken as it proved, were based the arrangements of the United States for carrying into effect the second part of the plan for the campaign,—"the desultory operations" (as they were termed) for annoying the enemy in case Procter failed. These operations were to be carried out by the backwoodsmen under their own commanders.

The inhabitants of Kentucky, in December, 1790, after Harmar's return, had petitioned Congress for permission to fight the Indians in their own way, and upon the 9th of March, 1791, orders were issued to Brigadier General Charles Scott, authorizing him, in conjunction with Harry Innis, John Brown, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, to organize an expedition of mounted volunteers against the nations upon the Wabash, to start upon May 10th, unless countermanded.† These orders in substance were obeyed. The troops were however delayed for news from the north; but by the 23d of May, no news of peace arriving, the detachment took up its line of march from the Ohio; Colonel John Hardin, who burned to retrieve his fame, acting as a volunteer, without commission, and having the post of commander of the advanced party and director of the guides. On the 1st of June the towns of the enemy were discovered; of the after movements no fairer view can probably be given than by General Scott himself. Having noticed the villages,—

I immediately detached Colonel John Hardin, says he, with sixty mounted infantry, and a troop of light-horse under Captain McCoy, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body in order of battle, towards the town, the smoke of which was discerni-

* American State Papers, v. 181.

† American State Papers, v. 129. St. Clair was empowered to postpone the expedition, and did so. See his Narrative, p. 7.

ble. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town: for, instead of standing at the edge of the plain through which I marched, I found it on the low ground bordering on the Wabash: on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front. Captain Price was ordered to assault that with forty men. He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavoring to make their escape over the river in canoes. I instantly ordered Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson to rush forward with the first battalion. The order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear of the enemy had embarked; and, regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town on the opposite bank, they, in a few minutes, by a well directed fire from their rifles destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded. To my great mortification the Wabash was many feet beyond fording at this place: I therefore detached Colonel Wilkinson to a ford two miles above, which my guides informed me was more practicable. [Wilkinson moved the first battalion up to the fording place, found the river impassable, and returned to Ouiatenon.]

The enemy still kept possession of the Kickapoo town: I determined to dislodge them; and for that purpose ordered Captain King's and Logsdon's companies to march down the river below the town, and cross, under the conduct of Major Barboe. Several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe. This movement was unobserved; and my men had taken post on the bank before they were discovered by the enemy, who immediately abandoned the village. About this time word was brought to me that Colonel Hardin was encumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village further to my left than those I had observed, which he was proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Captain Brown with his company, to support the Colonel: but the distance being six miles, before the Captain arrived the business was done, and Colonel Hardin joined me a little before sunset, having killed six warriors, and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain Bull, the warrior who discovered me in the morning, had gained the main town, and given the alarm, a short time before me; but the villages to my left were uninformed of my approach, and had no retreat.

The next morning I determined to detach my Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Keth-tip-e-ca-nunk, eighteen miles from my camp, on the west side of the Wabash; but, on examination, I discovered my men and horses to be so crippled and worn down by a long laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day, that three hundred and sixty men only could be found in a capacity to undertake the enterprise, and they pre-

pared to march on foot. Colonel Wilkinson marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlement of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory.

Many of the inhabitants of the village [Ouiatenon] were French, and lived in a state of civilization. By the books, letters, and other documents, found there, it is evident that place was in close connection with, and dependent on, Detroit. A large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished.*

As the expedition under Scott, although successful, had not reached the higher towns upon the Wabash, Governor St. Clair thought it best to send another, (the Secretary of War having authorized such a step,) against the villages on Eel river; and Wilkinson was appointed to command. He marched from near Fort Washington, upon the first of August, and on the 7th reached the Wabash just above the mouth of the river he was in search of. While reconnoitering, however, in the hope of surprising the natives, word was brought him that they were alarmed and flying; a general charge was instantly ordered.

The men, says Wilkinson, forcing their way over every obstacle, plunged through the river with vast intrepidity. The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance. Six warriors, and (in the hurry and confusion of the charge) two squaws and a child, were killed, thirty-four prisoners were taken, and an unfortunate captive released, with the loss of two men killed and one wounded.

I found this town scattered along Eel River for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazle, and black jacks. Notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in town escaped. Expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up and buried. Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash to watch the paths leading from the Ohio. The head chief, with all the prisoners, and a number of families, were out digging a root which they substitute in the place of the potato; and about one hour before my arrival, all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses, and rode up the river to a French store to purchase ammunition. This ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the squaws informed me was stored about two

* American State Papers, v. 131.

miles from the town. I detached Major Caldwell in quest of it; but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river.

I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning I cut up the corn, scarely in the milk, burnt the cabins, mounted the young warriors, squaws, and children, in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child, with a short talk, I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie.*

The Kickapoo prairie metropolis was not reached; the horses were too sore, and the bogs too deep; but various cornfields were destroyed,† "and a respectable" Kickapoo town given to the flames; for which the General was duly thanked by his country. Meantime, while Procter was attempting to hurry the slow-moving Iroquois, who told him it took them a great while to think;‡ and Wilkinson was floundering up to his arm-pits in mud and water, among the morasses of the Wabash;‖ the needful preparations were constantly going forward for the great expedition of St. Clair, which, by founding posts throughout the western country, from the Ohio to Lake Erie, and especially at the head of the Maumee, was to give the United States a sure means of control over the savages. At a very early period (1785) the admirable position of the Miami village at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, had struck Washington's sagacious mind, as we know from his correspondence;§ and when Harmar's expedition was undertaken, one purpose of it would doubtless have been the founding of a a military post at the Miami town, had it been compatible with the public finances.¶ But Harmar's defeat having proved the necessity of some strong check upon the northern savages, it became the main purpose of the effort of 1791, to build a fort at the point designated, which was to be connected by other intermediate stations, with Fort Washington and the Ohio. Of this we have proof in the language of the Government after St. Clair's defeat: "the great object of the late campaign," says General Knox in his official report, dated December 26, 1791, "was to establish a strong military post at the Miami village;" and this language is used more

* American State Papers, v. 134.

† Wilkinson says 430 acres of corn.

‡ This was said by the quick-witted Red Jacket. American State Papers. v. 157.

‖ His own words; see his official report American State Papers, v. 134.

§ Sparks' Washington, ix. 109.

¶ See Knox's letter to St. Clair, September 12, 1790. American State Papers, v. 100.

than once.* This object, too, was to be attained, if possible, even at the expense of a contest which might be otherwise avoided;† but the instructions to St. Clair upon this and other points, we prefer to give in the clear and condensed language of Knox himself, omitting such portions only, as have not a bearing upon the general subject, and treat of details merely.

The President of the United States having, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed you a major general in the service of the United States, and of consequence invested you with the chief command of the troops to be employed upon the frontiers during the ensuing campaign, it is proper that you should be possessed of the views of the government respecting the objects of your command. I am, therefore, authorized and commanded, by the President of the United States, to deliver you the following instructions, in order to serve as the general principles of your conduct.

But, it is only general principles which can be pointed out. In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which cannot now be foreseen may arise to render material deviations necessary. Such circumstances will require the exercise of your talents. The Government possesses the security of your character and mature experience, that your judgment will be proper on all occasions. You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

An Indian war, under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of the people of the United States as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that the sacrifices of blood and treasure in such a war far exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it. The great policy, therefore, of the General Government, is to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States. Your intimations to the hostile Indians, immediately after the late expedition, through the Wyandots and Delawares; the arrangements with the Senecas who were lately in this city, that part of the Six Nations should repair to the said hostile Indians, to influence them to pacific measures; together with the recent mission of Colonel Procter to them for the same purpose, will strongly evince the desire of the General Government to prevent the effusion of blood, and to quiet all disturbances. And when you shall arrive upon the frontiers, if any other

* American State Papers, v. 197. 198.

† American State Papers, 181. The posts were to be established whether the Indians remained hostile or not.

or further measures to effect the same object should present, you will eagerly embrace them, and the reasonable expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the public. But, if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose. You are informed that, by an act of Congress, passed the 2d instant, another regiment is to be raised, and added to the military establishment, and provision made for raising two thousand levies, for the term of six months, for the service of the frontiers. It is contemplated that the mass of the regulars and levies may be recruited and rendezvous at Fort Washington, by the 10th of July. In this case, you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, in order to perform your main expedition, hereinafter mentioned. But, in the mean time, if the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power. In order to avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized by me, on the part of the President of the United States, to make an expedition against the Wea, or Ouiatanon towns, with mounted volunteers, or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included. You will perceive, by the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, that it is confided to your discretion, whether there should be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers or militia. Your nearer view of the objects to be effected, by a second desultory expedition, will enable you to form a better judgment than can at present be formed, at this distance. The propriety of a second operation would, in some degree, depend on the alacrity and good composition of the troops of which the first may have been formed; of its success; of the probable effects a second similar blow would have upon the Indians, with respect to its influencing them to peace; or, if they should be still hostilely disposed, of preventing them from desolating the frontiers by their parties.

You will observe, in the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, which are to serve as a basis for the instructions of the commanders who may succeed him, that all captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them, on all occasions. While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every operation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messengers

or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place. In your advance, you will establish such posts of communications with Fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper. The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of aweing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore to be rendered secure, against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient for the defence of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions. The establishment of such a post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed, good arguments may be offered, to induce their acquiescence. The situation, nature, and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the execution. He will be furnished with three five and a half inch howitzers, three six pounders, and three three-pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells, for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

Having commenced your march, upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible means, to strike them with great severity. It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other southern Nations. Most probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet and able chief, would be advantageous, but these ought not to be assembled before the line of march is taken up, because they are soon tired and will not be detained. The force contemplated for the garrisons of the Miami village, and the communications, has been from a thousand to twelve hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require. Tha garrison stationed at the Miami village, and its communications, must have in store, at least six months good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village; conflicts, therefore may be expected; and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians. In this event it is probable

that the Indians will sue for peace; if this should be the case, the dignity of the United States will require that the terms should be liberal. In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth at Lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same should relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties. But, if they should join in the war against the United States, and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned. You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the River au Panse of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed. The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others. The establishment of a post at the Miami village will probably be regarded, by the British officers on the frontiers, as a circumstance of jealousy: it may, therefore, be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation had better follow than precede the possession of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise. As it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate situation of affairs may therefore render it improper at present to make any naval arrangement upon Lake Erie. After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such high trust, you will return to Fort Washington on the Ohio.

It is proper to observe, that certain jealousies have existed among the people of the frontiers, relative to a supposed interference between their interest, and those of the marine States: that these jealousies are ill founded, with respect to the present Government, is obvious. The United States embrace, with equal care, all parts of the Union; and, in the present case, are making expensive arrangements for the protection of the frontiers, and partly in the modes, too, which appear to be highly favored by the Kentucky people.

The high stations you fill, of commander of the troops, and Governor of the Western Territory, will afford you frequent opportunities to impress the frontier citizens of the entire good disposition of the General

Government towards them in all reasonable things, and you will render acceptable service, by cordially embracing all such opportunities.*

Under these instructions St. Clair proceeded to organize his army. At the close of April he was in Pittsburg, toward which point troops from all quarters, horses, stores, and ammunition were going forward. The forces, it was thought, would be assembled by the last of July or first of August.† By the middle of July, however, it was clear that the early part of September would be as soon as the expedition could get under way;‡ but the commander was urged to press every thing, and act with the utmost promptness and decision.‖ But this was more easily urged than accomplished. On the 15th of May, St. Clair had reached Fort Washington, and at that time, the United States' troops in the west amounted to but two hundred and sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates fit for duty;§ on the 15th of July this number was more than doubled, however, as the first regiment, containing two hundred and ninety-nine men, on that day reached Fort Washington. General Butler, who had been appointed second in command, was employed through part of April and May in obtaining recruits; but when obtained, there was no money to pay them, nor to provide stores for them. In the quarter master's department, meantime, every thing went on slowly and badly; tents, pack-saddles, kettles, knapsacks, and cartridge boxes were all "deficient in quantity and quality."¶ Worse than this, the powder was poor or injured, the arms and accoutrements out of repair,** and not even proper tools to mend them.†† And as the troops gathered slowly at Fort Washington, after wearisome detentions at Pittsburg and upon the river, a new source of trouble arose in the habits of intemperance indulged and acquired by the idlers: to withdraw them from temptation, St. Clair was forced to remove his

* American State Papers, v. 171.

† American State Papers, 176. Letter of May 12th. The original plan had been to have all ready by July 10. (St. Clair's Narrative, 7.)

‡ American State Papers, v. 179. Letter of July 14.

‖ American State Papers, v. 180.

§ American State Papers, xii. 36. Seventy-five at Fort Washington, forty-five at Fort Harmar, sixty-one at Fort Steuben, and eighty-three at Fort Knox.

¶ American State Papers, v. 36. 42.

** American State Papers, 36. 42. St. Clair's Narrative, p. 9 to 13.

†† American State Papers, xii. 36. 37. Of six hundred and seventy-five stand of arms at Fort Washington, (destined by St. Clair for the militia,) scarce any were in order; and with two travelling forges furnished by the quartermaster there were no anvils.

men, now numbering two thousand, to Ludlow's station, about six miles from the Fort; by which, however, he more than doubled his cost of providing for the troops.* Here the army continued until September 17th, when, being two thousand three hundred strong,† exclusive of militia, it moved forward to a point upon the Great Miami, where Fort Hamilton was built, the first in the proposed chain of fortresses. This being completed, the troops moved on forty-four miles farther, and on the 12th of October commenced Fort Jefferson, about six miles south of the town of Greenville, Darke county. On the 24th the toilsome march through the wilderness began again. At this time the commander-in-chief, whose duties through the summer had been very severe, was suffering from an indisposition which was by turns in his stomach, lungs and limbs; provisions were scarce, the roads wet and heavy, the troops going with "much difficulty," seven miles a day; the militia deserting sixty at a time.‡ Thus toiling along, the army, rapidly lessening by desertion, sickness, and troops sent to arrest deserters,—on the 3d of November reached a stream, twelve yards wide, which St. Clair supposed to be the St. Mary of the Maumee, but which was in reality a branch of the Wabash, just south of the head waters of the stream for which the commander mistook it. Upon the banks of this creek the army now about fourteen hundred strong, encamped in two lines.

The right wing,—says St. Clair, in his letter to the Secretary of War, after the battle,—composed of Butler's, Clark's, and Patterson's Battalions, commanded by Major General Butler, formed the first line, and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their picquets, covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about one quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation, on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about

* American State Papers, xii. 37. The cost per ration at the Fort was six and three-quarter ninetieths of a dollar—at the station, fifteen and one quarter: the former had been contracted for.

† This includes the garrisons of Forts Washington and Hamilton.—(St. Clair's letter of October 6. American State Papers, v. 136.)

‡ St. Clair's Journal. (American State Papers, v. 136-7.)

fifteen miles from the Miami village, I determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either: for, on the 4th, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before day light,) an attack was made upon the militia. Those gave way in a very little time and rushed into camp through Major Butler's Battalion, (which, together with a part of Clarke's, they they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both those officers, was never altogether remedied,) the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the front line checked them; but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line; and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet, Lieutenant Colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clarke's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times and always with success: but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the second regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Mr. Greaton, was shot through the body.

Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat, if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with

the design to turn their right flank, but in fact, to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it, followed by the troops; Major Clarke, with his battalion, covering the rear.

The retreat, in those circumstances, was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward either to halt the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major General Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, of the militia, Major Ferguson, Major Hart, and Major Clarke, are among the former: Colonel Sargent, my Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as an Aid-de-camp, are among the latter; and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale — a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops, but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy on the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting: but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe, that, though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign. At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not, certain, sir, whether I

ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action, as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate: for, I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned; and, if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence. Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there was no provision in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz: Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Major Hamtramck, Major Zeigler, and Major Gaither, together with the Adjutant General, [Winthrop Sargent,] for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a foot as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been then found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was possible, would be found so again: that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there were no provisions in it; that provisions were known to be upon the road, at the distance of one, or at most two marches: that, therefore, it would be more proper to move without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour. Part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads, sent forward to Fort Jefferson. The next day a drove of cattle was met with for the same place, and I have information that both got in. The wounded, who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought to Fort Washington by the return horses.

I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter, that we were overpowered by numbers. Of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground—few of the enemy showing themselves afoot, except when they were charged; and that, in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters. The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General Butler and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligations to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than Colonel Sargent. He has dis-

charged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness, and with intelligence, and on all occasions afforded me every assistance in his power, which I have also experienced from my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Denny, and the Viscount Malartie, who served with me in the station as a volunteer.*

To this description by the commander, we add the following sketch by a subordinate actor in the scene, whose account brings vividly to view the confusion both of the battle and flight.

On the fourth [of November] at daybreak, I began to prepare for returning [to Fort Washington,†] and had got about half my luggage on my horse, when the firing commenced. We were encamped just within the lines, on the right. The attack was made on the Kentucky militia. Almost instantaneously the small remnant of them that escaped broke through the line near us, and this line gave way. Followed by a tremendous fire from the enemy, they passed me. I threw my bridle over a stump, from which a tent pole had been cut, aud followed a short distance, when finding the troops had halted, I returned and brought my horse a little farther. I was now between the fires, and finding the troops giving way again, was obliged to leave him a second time. As I quitted him he was shot down, and I felt rather glad of it, as I concluded that now I shall be at liberty to share in the engagement. My inexperience prompted me to calculate on our forces being far superior to any that the savages could assemble, and that we should soon have the pleasure of driving them. Not more than five minutes had yet elapsed, when a soldier near me had his arm swinging with a wound. I requested his arms and accoutrements, as he was unable to use them, promising to return them to him, and commenced firing. The smoke was settled down to about within three feet of the ground, but I generally put one knee to the ground, and with a rest from behind a tree, waited the appearance of an Indian's head from behind his cover, or for one to run and change his position. Before I was convinced of my mistaken calculations, the battle was half over and I had become familiarized to the scene, Hearing the firing at one time unusually brisk near the rear of the left wing, I crossed the encampment. Two levy officers were just ordering a charge. I had fired away my ammunition, and some of the bands of my musket had flown off. I picked up another, and a cartridge box nearly full, and pushed forward with about thirty others. The Indians ran to the right, where there was a small ravine filled with logs. I bent my course after them, and on looking round, found I was with only seven or eight men, the others having

* American State Papers, v. 137.

† He was in the quarter-master general's service; so that he "fought on his own hook."

kept straight forward, and halted about thirty yards off. We halted also, and being so near to where the savages lay concealed, the second fire from them left me standing alone. My cover was a small sugar tree or beech, scarcely large enough to hide me. I fired away all my ammunition; I am uncertain whether with any effect or not. I then looked for the party near me, and saw them retreating and half way back to the lines. I followed them running my best, and was soon in. By this time our artillery had been taken, I do not know whether the first or second time, and our troops had just retaken it, and were charging the enemy across the creek in front; and some person told me to look at an Indian running with one of our kegs of powder, but I did not see him. There were about thirty of our men and officers lying scalped around the pieces of artillery. It appeared that the Indians had not been in a hurry, for their hair was all skinned off."

Daniel Bonham, a young man raised by my uncle and brought up with me, and whom I regarded as a brother, had by this time received a shot through his hips, and was unable to walk. I procured a horse and got him on. My uncle had received a ball near his wrist that lodged near his elbow. The ground was literally covered with dead and dying men, and the commander gave orders to take the way—perhaps they had been given more explicitly. Happening to see my uncle, he told me that a retreat was ordered, and that I must do the best I could, and take care of myself. Bonham insisted that he had a better chance of escaping than I had, and urged me to look to my own safety alone. I found the troops pressing like a drove of bullocks to the right. I saw an officer whom I took to be Lieutenant Morgan, an aid to General Butler, with six or eight men, start on a run a little to the left of where I was. I immediately ran and fell in with them. In a short distance we were so suddenly among the Indians, who were not apapprised of our object, that they opened to us, and ran to the right and left without firing. I think about two hundred of our men passed through them before they fired, except a chance shot. When we had proceeded about two miles, most of those mounted had passed me. A boy had been thrown or fell off a horse, and begged my assistance. I ran, pulling him along about two miles further, until I had become nearly exhausted. Of the last two horses in the rear, one carried two men, and the other three. I made an exertion and threw him on behind the two men. The Indians followed but about half a mile further. The boy was thrown off some time after, but escaped and got in safely. My friend Bonham I did not see on the retreat, but understood he was thrown off about this place, and lay on the left of the trace, where he was found in the winter and was buried. I took the cramp violently in my thighs, and could scarcely walk, until I got within a hundred yards of the rear, where the Indians were tomahawk-

ing the old and wounded men; and I stopped here to tie my pocket handkerchief around a man's wounded knee. I saw the Indians close in pursuit at this time, and for a moment my spirits sunk, and I felt in despair for my safety. I considered whether I should leave the road, or whether I was capable of any further exertion. If I left the road, the Indians were in plain sight and could easily overtake me. I threw the shoes off my feet, and the coolness of the ground seemed to revive me. I again began a trot, and recollect that, when a bend in the road offered, and I got before half a dozen persons, I thought it would occupy some time for the enemy to massacre them, before my turn would come. By the time I had got to Stillwater, about eleven miles, I had gained the centre of the flying troops, and, like them, came to a walk. I fell in with Lieutenant Shaumburg, who, I think, was the only officer of artillery that got away unhurt, with Corporal Mott, and a woman who was called red-headed Nance. The latter two were both crying. Mott was lamenting the loss of a wife, and Nance that of an infant child. Shaumburg was nearly exhausted, and hung on Mott's arm. I carried his fusee and accoutrements, and led Nance; and in this sociable way we arrived at Fort Jefferson a little after sunset.

The commander-in-chief had ordered Colonel Darke to press forward to the convoys of provisions, and hurry them on to the army. Major Truman, Captain Sedan and my uncle were setting forward with him. A number of soldiers, and packhorsemen on foot, and myself among them, joined them. We came on a few miles, when all, overcome with fatigue, agreed to halt. Darius Curtus Orcutt,* a packhorse master, had stolen at Jefferson one pocket full of flour and the other full of beef. One of the men had a kettle, and one Jacob Fowler and myself groped about in the dark, until we found some water, where a tree had been blown out of root. We made a kettle of soup, of which I got a small portion among the many. It was then concluded as there was a bend in the road a few miles further on, that the Indians might undertake to intercept us there, and we decamped and travelled about four or five miles further. I had got a rifle and ammunition at Jefferson, from a wounded militiaman, an old acquaintance, to bring in. A sentinel was set, and we lay down and slept, until the governor came up a few hours afterward. I think I never slept so profoundly. I could hardly get awake, after I was on my feet. On the day before the defeat, the ground was covered with snow. The flats were now filled with water frozen over, the ice as thick as a knife blade. I was worn out with fatigue, with my feet knocked to pieces against the roots in the night, and splashing through the ice without shoes. In the morn-

* Orcutt's packhorses were branded D. C. O., and it was a standing joke, when any one asked what the brand meant, to answer that D. C. stood for Darby Carey, and the round O for his wife.

ing we got to a camp of packhorsemen, and amongst them I got a doughboy or water-dumpling, and proceeded. We got within seven miles of Hamilton on this day, and arrived there soon on the morning of the sixth.*

Thus were all the plans, hopes and labors of Washington, Knox and St. Clair, in reference to the Indian campaign, in one day, overthrown. The savages, again victorious, could neither be expected to make terms or exercise forbearance; and along the whole line of the frontier there were but few that did not feel anxiety, terror, or despair.† In its *effects*‡ this was a second

* B. Vancleve, in American Pioneer, ii. 150.

† We give in illustration the following.—*Representation from the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg, dated, Pittsburgh, December 11th,* 1791—Sir: In consequence of the late intelligence of the fate of the campaign to the Westward, the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg have convened, and appointed us a committee for the purpose of addressing your Excellency. The late disaster of the army must greatly effect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers, than they ever did before, for success will give confidence and secure allies.

We seriously apprehend that the Six Nations, heretofore wavering, will now avow themselves; at least their young men will come to war. Be that as it may, the Indians at present hostile, are well acquainted with the defenceless situation of this town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present, we have neither garrison, arms, nor ammunition to defend the place. If the enemy should be disposed to pursue the blow they have given, which it is morally certain they will, they would, in our situation, find it easy to destroy us; and, should this place be lost, the whole country is open to them, and must be abandoned.—A. Tannehill and others, to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

*Memorial from the inhabitants of the county of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, to the Governor of Pennsylvania:*—To his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esq., Governor of the State of Pennsylvania:—Your Excellency is well aware of the great extent of our frontier; and, when you consider the high degree of spirit which the savages, animated by two successive victories, entertain, you may more easily conceive, than we can describe, the fears which pervade the breasts of those men, women and children, who are more immediately subject to their barbarities and depredations. Had the people a sufficiency of arms in their hands, they might, in some measure, defend themselves until the General Government, to whose care the common defence is entrusted, should adopt efficient steps for that purpose. At the same time, we beg leave to state to your Excellency, what occurs to us as the most speedy and effectual mode. When the extent of country to be protected is taken into view, we conceive that eight hundred effective men will not be deemed more than sufficient. They should be active partisans, under experienced officers, and provided with good rifles, to suit the grand object of meeting the enemy upon equal terms; of scouting, and giving the alarm when needful. Such a body should have encouragement proportioned to the price of common labor in this country, which averages at fifty shillings per month, as the pay allowed to

‡ In Braddock's battle of one thousand two hundred men, seven hundred and fourteen were killed and wounded; in St. Clair's, of fourteen hundred men, eight hundred and ninety-four: of Braddock's officers, eighty-six in number, sixty-three were killed and wounded; of St. Clair's, sixty-one out of about an equal number, (86 to 90.)

Braddock's defeat, was it so in its *causes*? General Knox assigned as the chief reasons of St. Clair's overthrow,—1st, the deficiency of good troops: 2d, the want of appropriate training among those he (St. Clair) had: 3d, the lateness of the season.* The committee of the House of Representatives which examined the matter, upon the 8th of May 1792 reported the causes of the catastrophe of the previous November to have been, in their opinion,— 1st, the delay in preparing estimates, &c., for the defence of the frontiers, and the late passage of the Act (March 3d,) for that purpose: 2d, the delay caused by the neglects in the Quartermaster's department: 3d, the lateness of the season when the expedition was commenced: and, 4th, the want of discipline and experience in the troops. This Committee also expressly declared General St. Clair free of all blame in relation to every thing both before and during the action.† Will the causes thus assigned fully explain the defeat? In answer it may be observed, even by one wholly ignorant of military matters, that the late passage of an act of Congress,—the want of proper measures by the Quartermaster, and the lateness of the season were obviously not among the *leading* causes of the rout of November 4th, 1791; these things might have prevented the accomplishment of the plan for erecting a fort at the Miami Village, even had St. Clair been

the troops of the United States would not be a sufficient inducement to able bodied men, possessing the requisite qualifications. We suggest these general ideas from our knowledge of local circumstances, which they who are at a distance, unacquainted with the actual situation of the western country, cannot so well perceive. It is not our wish to enter into a minute detail, being convinced that your Excellency is not only fully acquainted with, but feelingly alive to, those impressions, which a state such as ours must give rise to; nor can we apply to any person more proper than yourself to procure that assistance which it requires.

*From the Representatives of the County of Ohio to the Governor of Virginia* :—Sir: The alarming intelligence lately received, of the defeat of the army in the western country, fills our minds with dreadful fears and apprehensions, concerning the safety of our fellow-citizens in the county we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse to your Excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties, for the request we are now compelled to make. In the course of last year, upwards of fifty of our people were killed, and a great part of our country plundered, notwithstanding the aid afforded by the Pennsylvanians, who joined the Virginians in our defence. The success of the Indians in their late engagement with General St. Clair, will, no doubt, render them more daring and bold in their future incursions and attacks upon our defenceless inhabitants; those adjoining the county of Harrison, extending a hundred miles; covering the county of Monongalia; and we conceive that not less than sixty or seventy men will be sufficient to defend them. Through you, sir, we beg leave to request this assistance. (American State Papers, v. 215. 216. 222.)

* American State Papers, v. 198.

† American State Papers, xii. 38, 39.

victorious on that day, but they did not cause his defeat. Was it then the want of good troops? We think a re-perusal of the General's letter will show that his troops were not worthless by any means; the action began about six o'clock,* and lasted till half-past nine,—this could not have been the case with undisciplined troops, unless they had possessed at least the raw material of soldiers, and had been men who, well situated, would have done well. However much, then, the troops may have been wanting in a proper training, it seems clear to us that this alone would not explain the fortune of the day unless the enemy had been present in overwhelming numbers; and such was not probably the case, the best evidence we have going to show that the Indians were but about 1000 in number,† while the Americans were 1400. Leaving then the reasons officially assigned, we suggest that to the reader ignorant of military science it seems that two striking causes of the melancholy result are unnoticed by the Secretary of War and the Committee of Congress: viz., the surprise by the Indians, who were in no degree expected by the army; and the confusion introduced at the outset by the flying militia. Had the attack been expected, the troops prepared, all chance of confusion avoided, and had the very able officers who commanded been obeyed,—with all the disadvantage of raw troops, the event might have been, probably would have been, wholly different. We are then led to ask, how it happened that the troops were surprised:—were proper measures taken to guard against surprise?—The militia, as St. Clair says, were a quarter of a mile in advance of the main army, and beyond the creek; still farther in advance was Captain Slough, who, with a volunteer party of regulars, went out to reconnoitre; and orders had been given Colonel Oldham who commanded the militia to have the woods thoroughly examined by the scouts and patrols, as Indians were known to be hanging about the outskirts of the army. In all this St. Clair seems to have done his entire duty as far as sickness would permit him; could he have seen in person to the essential steps it would have been better. During the night Captain Slough, who was a mile beyond the militia, found so large a

* November 4th, sunrise is about half after six.

† American State Papers, xii. 37.—The Secretary of War in December 1791, estimated the Indians at 3000, but the Committee of the following May, having his and other evidence cut the number down to 1040.—American State Papers, v. 198.—American State Papers, xii. 44.

body of savages gathering about him, that he fell back and reported his observations to General Butler. But the General, for reasons unexplained,* made no dispositions in consequence of this information, and did not report it to the Commander-in-chief.—Colonel Oldham also obeyed his orders, the woods were searched, and the presence of the enemy detected, but he too reported, through Captain Slough, to General Butler, beyond whom the information did not go.† The consequence was that in the morning the army was taken unawares and unprepared. But even thus taken there was a great chance of victory for the United States troops, had they not been thrown into disorder at the outset by the flight of the militia; and this leads us to notice the coincidence of common sense uninformed by technical knowledge, with practiced military skill, for both (after Harmar's experience of 1790 with the western militia,)—would have forbidden the step taken by St. Clair, when he posted his militia in a body in front of the other troops. The experience of Hardin, under Harmar, had demonstrated that militia could not be trusted as a military force opposed to Indians, however brave the individuals; as in the war of the Revolution their untrustworthiness as troops, when opposed to

* He was killed in the battle. St. Clair and Butler were not on good terms at the time. (St. Clair's Narrative, 31 to 36.) Various stories are told as to General Butler's death: some (see John Johnston's paper in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 299,) say he was killed by a son of his own, a half-breed Shawanese chief; Stone (Life of Brant, ii. 310,) says he was badly wounded, and being left on the field asked Simon Girty to kill him, but that he refused, and an Indian then put him out of his pain; taking his scalp and heart as trophies: — others (Butler's Kentucky, 204) say he was wounded and taken into the American camp, and there, while his wounds were being dressed, killed by an Indian, who in his turn was instantly slain. This last account seems to be disproved by J. Matson who says, that in the following winter, when Wilkinson sent a party, (of which he was one,) to the field of St. Clair's defeat, they found, as was thought, Butler's body "in the thickest of the carnage."—(Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 31.) Colonel Semple, however, (St. Clair's Narrative, 221) deposes that he saw four soldiers putting General Butler, after his fall, into a blanket. General Butler had been an Indian trader at an early day; the "Letters of an American Planter" contain a map of the Scioto, taken from his Journal; it gives the names of eight Indian towns on the upper Scioto; they were Mamacomink, Puckshenoses, Maquechaick, Blue Jacket's town, Pecowick, Kispoko, Waccachalla, and Chillichatee: these were on Deer Creek, Alleman Creek, &c.

† Deposition of Captain Slough in St. Clair's Narrative, 213 to 219.—Marshall's Kentucky, i. 380.—St. Clair's report P. S. in American State Papers, v. 138. (Slough is misprinted Hough.) There was an Indian camp three quarters of a mile in extent in advance of the position of the militia. (See report of February 1791, in Dillon's Indiana, i. 308.) Oldham and Slough were convinced the army would be attacked in the morning, (St. Clair's Narrative, pp. 215, 217;) yet Oldham took no measures in consequence, and sent his report to St. Clair in a very indifferent way, and through others. He was killed in the battle. Had St. Clair received his account he says he should have attacked the Indians. (Narrative, 135.)

regulars had been experimentally proved:—* and common sense, if free, unfettered by technical rules, would we think have prevented St. Clair placing his militia as he did. With this we say skill agrees, for we find, John Armstrong, the victor of Kittaning, and an experienced Indian warrior saying,—"placing the militia in a body over the brook, permit me to say, was an unwarrantable step, where two or three small pickets would have served a better purpose."† And he adds, in words which suggest a third real cause of defeat,—

"It seems probable, that too much attachment to regular or military rule, or a too great confidence in the artillery (which it seems formed part of the lines, and had a tendency to render the troops stationary,) must have been the motives, which led to the adopted order of action. I call it adopted, because the General does not speak of having intended any other, whereby he presented a large and visible object, perhaps in close orders too, to an enemy near enough to destroy, but from their known modes of action comparatively invisible: whereby we may readily infer, that five hundred Indians were fully sufficient to do us all the injury we have sustained, nor can I conceive them to have been many more. But tragical as the event has been, we have this consolation, that during the action our officers and troops discovered great bravery, and that the loss of a battle is not always the loss of the cause. In vain, however, may we expect success against our present adversaries, without taking a few lessons from them, which I thought Americans had learned long ago. The principles of their military action are rational, and therefore often successful. We must in a degree take a similar method in order to counteract them."

If these views are sound, there was no such neglect on St. Clair's, as there was on Braddock's part; no overweening self-confidence, or disregard of sound advice; there was nothing, absolutely nothing, to excuse the abuse and persecution to which he was afterwards subjected; but there was, 1st, apparent neglect on the part of General Butler and Colonel Oldham, leading to a surprise; 2d, a mistaken position assigned the militia by St. Clair,

* Militia men, like the members of a mob, want that feeling of confidence in the collective force of the troop which sustains the regular soldier; each man, however brave, knows himself unable alone to oppose the enemy, and he feels for the moment as if he were alone.

† Armstrong's letter of December 23d, 1791, to Washington.—Sparks' Washington, x. 223.—Note.

in accordance with the maxims of most officers of the day: and 3d, a needless adherence to military rules on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, which made his force a target for the Indians to shoot at.*

One circumstance connected with this battle, and one of no inconsiderable interest, has been but lately brought to light, and may even now, perhaps, be doubted; it is the presence of Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea,—the great Captain of the Mohawks. Until this was announced in 1838, by Colonel Stone in his life of that Chieftain, the Little Turtle, Mechecunnaqua, Chief of the Miamis, had been universally regarded as the leader at St. Clair's, as he had been at Harmar's, defeat. Mr. Stone's information was derived from Brant's family; but as there might have been error in the tradition,—as it is very improbable that he should have been there, and no whisper from any source have got abroad in all the time since elapsed,—as he had been before and was afterwards a messenger and advocate of peace,—and as to believe him at St. Clair's defeat would be to believe him guilty of needless disguise and deception,—we cannot but doubt the correctness of the tale told Mr. Stone.† But whoever led the savage forces, led them with ability and valor, and in no recorded battle did the sons of the forest ever show themselves better warriors.

It was on November 4th that the battle took place; on the 8th the remains of the army reached Fort Washington; on the 9th St. Clair wrote to the Secretary of War; on the 12th of December the information was communicated to Congress; and on the 26th of December General Knox laid before the President two reports, the second of which contained suggestions as to future operations. After noticing the policy of the Government toward the native tribes, the futility of all attempts to preserve peace, and the justice of the United States claim, the Secretary proceeds,—

> Hence it would appear, that the principles of justice as well as policy, and it may be added, the principles of economy, all combine to dictate, that an adequate military force should be raised as soon as possible, placed upon the frontiers, and disciplined according to the nature of the service, in order to meet, with the prospect of success, the greatest probable combination of the Indian enemy.
>
> Although the precise manner in which the force to be raised should

* Wayne and Harrison, as all know, avoided this trouble by their open order of battle.

† Stone's Brant, ii. 313.

be employed, cannot be pointed out with propriety at this time, as it will depend on the circumstances of the moment, yet it may not be improper to observe, that, upon a review of the merits of the main object of the late campaign, to wit: the establishment of a strong military post at the Miami village, with the necessary posts of communication, the necessity and propriety thereof remain the same; that this necessity will probably continue until we shall be possessed of the posts upon Lake Michigan, of Detroit, and Niagara, withheld from us by Great Britain, contrary to treaty. Without remarking upon the principles of this conduct, it may be observed generally, that every arrangement in the power of the United States, for establishing the tranquility of the frontiers, will be inferior to the possession of said posts. That it is, however, considered, that, if the said posts were in our possession, we ought also to have a strong post at the Miami village, in order to render the protection effectual, and that the posts above-mentioned will require garrisons whensoever they shall be given up.

The subscriber having deliberately contemplated the present state of affairs upon the frontiers, from the south to the north, having recurred to the past in order to estimate the probable future events, finds himself constrained by his public duty, although with great reluctance, to state, as the result of his judgment, that the public service requires an increase of the military force, according to the following arrangement:

That the military establishment of the United States shall, during the pleasure of Congress, consist of five thousand one hundred and sixty-eight non-commissioned, privates and musicians.

That the said non-commissioned officers and privates shall be enlisted to serve three years, unless sooner discharged.

That the said troops be organized as follows:

One squadron of cavalry, of four troops, each of 76 non-commissioned and privates, . . . . . 304

It should be a stipulation in the engagements of these men, that they should serve on foot whenever the service requires the measure.

One battalion of artillery, of four companies each, to consist of 76 non-commissioned and privates, - . . . . 304

Each company of artillery to have, as part of its composition, ten artificers each, including the pay of artillerists to have ten dollars per month.

Five regiments of infantry, one of which to be riflemen entirely, each of three battalions; each battalion of four companies; each company of 76 non-commissioned and privates; amounting, for each regiment, to 912, . . . . . 4,560

5,168

That, in addition to the foregoing arrangement, it would be proper that the President of the United States should be authorized, besides the employment of militia, to take such measures, for the defensive protection of the exposed parts of the frontiers, by calling into service expert woodsmen, as patrols or scouts, upon such terms as he may judge proper. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to engage mounted militia for defensive operations, for such time, and on such terms, as he may judge equitable. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to employ a body of Indians belonging to tribes in alliance with the United States, to act against the hostile Indians; and that he be authorized to stipulate such terms as he shall judge right.

That it does not seem essential, at this time, that there should be any special appropriations for the defensive protection, the mounted militia, or the employment of Indians, although the actual expenses for those objects may amount to considerable sums, because the estimates, before mentioned, comprehend the entire expense, for one year, of the proposed establishment as complete. But, let the exertions to complete it be ever so great, yet it is probable a deficiency will exist, which will of course occasion a less expense. The moneys, therefore, which may be appropriated to the establishment, and not expended, may be applied to the extra objects above mentioned. If, however, there should be a deficiency, it may hereafter be provided for. That the nett pay of the private soldier, at present, free of all deductions, is two dollars per month. But, as the experience of the recruiting service, of the present year, evinces that the inducement is insufficient, it seems necessary to raise the pay to three dollars per month, free of all deductions; and the non-commissioned officers in proportion. The rifle corps will require more. But whether, under present circumstances, even the additional pay, and an extension of bounty to eight dollars, would give such an impulse to the recruiting service, as to fill the battalions immediately, remains to be tried. Nothing has been said upon an increased pay to the commissioned officers, because a memorial upon that subject has been presented to Congress. But it cannot be doubted that a small increase would be highly grateful to the officers, and probably beneficial to the service. The mounted militia is suggested to be used during the preparation for the main expedition, (and afterwards, if circumstances should render it indispensable.) The effect of such desultory operations upon the Indians will, by occupying them for their own safety, and that of their families, prevent their spreading terror and destruction along the frontiers. These sort of expeditions had that precise effect during the last season, and Kentucky enjoyed more repose, and sustained less injury, than for any year since the war with Great Britain. This single effect, independent of the injury done to the force of the

Indians, is worth greatly more than the actual expense of such expeditions. But, while it is acknowledged that mounted militia may be very proper for sudden enterprises, of short duration, it is conceived that militia are utterly unsuitable to carry on and terminate the war in which we are engaged, with honor and success. And besides, it would be ruinous to the purposes of husbandry, to keep them out long, if it were practicable to accomplish it. Good troops, enlisted for a considerable period, armed and well disciplined in a suitable manner, for the nature of the service, will be equal, individually, to the best militia; but, when it is considered to these qualities are added, the obedience, the patience, the promptness, the economy of discipline, and the inestimable value of good officers, possessing a proper pride of reputation, the comparison no longer holds, and disciplined troops attain in the mind, and in actual execution, that ascendancy over the militia, which is the result of a just comparative view of their relative force, and the experience of all nations and ages. The expediency of employing the Indians in alliance with us, against the hostile Indians, cannot be doubted. It has been shown before, how difficult, and even impracticable, it will probably be, to restrain the young men of the friendly tribes from action, and that, if we do not employ them, they will be employed against us. The justice of engaging them would depend upon the justice of the war. If the war be just on our part, it will certainly bear the test of examination, to use the same sort of means in our defence, as are used against us. The subscriber, therefore, submits it as his opinion, that it would be proper to employ judiciously, as to time and circumstances, as many of the friendly Indians as may be obtained, not exceeding one thousand in number.*

In the necessity for a competent army all seem to have agreed, but it was the wish of Washington that before this army was organized every effort should be again made to prevent bloodshed. Colonel Pickering, in his meeting of June and July 1791, with the Iroquois at the Painted Post, had among other things proposed that certain Chiefs should, in the following January, go to Philadelphia while Congress was in session and shake hands with their newly adopted father.

The importance of the proposed visit became more evident after the news of St. Clair's discomfiture, for the fidelity of the New York Indians even, was doubted. On the 20th of December, 1791, accordingly, we find Knox writing to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the Iroquois missionary,† pressing through him the invi-

* American State Papers, v. 198–199.

† See *ante*, p. 144.

tation given by the commissioner, and especially urging the presence of Brant. To aid the proposed peace-measures, a respectful and kind message was sent to the Senecas on the 7th of January, 1792; while, to guard against surprise, means were adopted to learn the purpose of a great council called at Buffalo creek, and also to ascertain the intentions of the tribes on the Wabash and Miami. This was done in part through the agency of the Reverend Mr. Kirkland, and partly by the mission of Captain Peter Pond and William Stedman, who, on the 9th of January, two days before Knox's two plans above referred to were laid before Congress, received their instructions as secret messengers or spies among the western Indians; from those instructions we quote a few paragraphs.

Repair to Niagara and Detroit, without suffering your business to escape you, until the proper time. When at Detroit, assume the characters of traders with the Indians—a business Mr. Pond is well acquainted with. Mix with the Miami and Wabash Indians. Find their views and intentions, through such channels as your discretion shall direct. Learn the opinions of the more distant Indians. Insinuate, upon all favorable occasions, the humane disposition of the United States; and, if you can by any means ripen their judgment, so as to break forth openly, and declare the readiness of the United States to receive, with open arms, the Indians, notwithstanding all that is past, do it. If such declaration should be made, at the Miami or Wabash, and be well received, you might persuade some of the most influential chiefs to repair to our posts on the Ohio, and so, from post to post, to this place.

But, if you should be so fortunate as to succeed in persuading the chiefs of the Miami and hostile, and any other neighboring tribes, to repair here, every possible precaution must be taken by you, and by the commanding officer of the troops, who is hereby required to afford the necessary escorts, in order to guard the Indians from being injured by the whites.

While among the Indians, or at Niagara, or Detroit, endeavor to find out the numbers and tribes of the Indians who were in the attack of General St. Clair, and their loss, killed and wounded; what number of prisoners they took; and what they did with them; what disposition they made of the cannon taken, arms, tents, and other plunder; what are their intentions for the next year; the numbers of the association; how they are supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions.

You will readily perceive, that the information required must be given me at the earliest period possible. You will, therefore, let me know, by some means which you must devise, your arrival at Niagara,

Detroit, and the Miami village; and, if possible, from thence, what are your prospects.*

Pond and his companion, however, could get no farther than Niagara.† While by the northern route this was attempted, Wilkinson, commanding at Fort Washington, on the 10th of February, was instructed to send word to Major Hamtramck, at Vincennes, that the Government wished to secure the agency of the French colonists and friendly Indians in quelling the war-spirit.‖ In February also, further friendly messages were sent to the Senecas,‡ and an invitation forwarded to Brant from the Secretary of War himself, asking him to come to Philadelphia;§ in March fifty Iroquois chiefs reached the city of brotherly love, and in the spirit of love transacted their business with the American rulers;¶ and during April and May, Captain Trueman and others were sent from the Ohio to the hostile tribes, bearing messages of friendship.** But before we relate the unhappy issue of Trueman's expedition, we must notice the steps taken by the Federal Government in reference to military preparations, which were to be looked to in case all else should fail. St. Clair had requested a Court of Inquiry to examine the reasons of his defeat, and had expressed his wish to surrender his post as commander of the western forces so soon as the examination had taken place; but this proposition to retain his commission until after his trial, was rendered nugatory by the fact that under the existing system no court of inquiry could be constituted to adjudge his case, and Washington accordingly informed him that it was neither possible to grant him the trial he desired, nor to allow him to retain his position.†† St. Clair having withdrawn, it became a very difficult question for the Executive to hit upon a person in all respects suited for such a charge. General Morgan, General Scott, General Wayne, Colonel Darke, and General Henry Lee were all thought of and talked of. Of these Wayne was the one selected, although his appointment caused, as General Lee, then Governor of Virginia, wrote Washington, "extreme disgust" among all orders in the Old Dominion.‡‡ But

* American State Papers, v. 227.

† American State Papers, v. 235.

‡ American State Papers, v. 236.

‖ American State Papers, v. 228.

§ American State Papers, v. 228.

¶ American State Papers, v. 229. Sparks' Washington, x. 240.

** American State Papers, v. 229.

†† Sparks' Washington, x. 227. 228.—Letters, March 28. April 4.

‡‡ Sparks' Washington, x. 244. note.

the President had selected Wayne not hastily nor through "partiality or influence,"* and no idle words affected him. In June, General Wayne moved westward to Pittsburg, and proceeded to organize the army which was to be the ultimate argument of the American with the Indian confederation. Through the summer of 1792, the preparation of the soldiers was steadily attended to; "train and discipline them for the service they are meant for," said Washington, "and do not spare powder and lead, so the men be made marksmen."† In December, 1792,‡ the forces, now recruited and trained, were gathered at a point about twenty-two miles below Pittsburg on the Ohio, called Legionville; the army itself having been christened the Legion of the United States, divided into four sub-legions, and provided with legionary and sub-legionary officers.‖ Meantime, at Fort Washington, Wilkinson had succeeded St. Clair as commandant, and in January had ordered an expedition to examine the field of the late disastrous conflict: this body reached the point designated on February 1st, and from the letter of Captain Buntin to St. Clair, relative to what was found there, we take the following passage.

"In my opinion, those unfortunate men who fell in the enemy's hands, with life, were used with the greatest torture—having their limbs torn off; and the women have been treated with the most indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person's arm drove through their bodies. The first, I observed when burying the dead; and the latter was discovered by Colonel Sargent and Doctor Brown. We found three whole carriages; the other five were so much damaged that they were rendered useless. By the General's orders, pits were dug in different places, and all the dead bodies that were exposed to view, or could be conveniently found (the snow being very deep) were buried. During this time, there was sundry parties detached, some for our safety, and others in examining the course of the creek; and some distance in advance of the ground occupied by the militia, they found a large camp, not less than three quarters of a mile long, which was supposed to be that of the Indians the night before the action. We remained on the field that night, and next morning fixed geared horses to the carriages and moved for Fort Jefferson. * * * As there is little reason to believe that the enemy have carried off the cannon, it is the received opinion that they are either buried or thrown into the creek, and I think the latter the most probable; but as it was frozen over with a thick ice,

* Sparks' Washington, x. 248.

† Sparks' Washington, x. 257—quoted in substance.

‡ Letter of George Wills, American Pioneer, i. 293.

‖ See organization, American State Papers, xii. 40.

and that covered with a deep snow, it was impossible to make a search with any prospect of success. In a former part of this letter I have mentioned the camp occupied by the enemy the night before the action: Had Colonel Oldham been able to have complied with your orders on that evening, things at this day might have worn a different aspect."*

While Wayne's army were gathering and target-shooting, the peace-measures of the United States were pressed with equal perseverance. In the first place, the Iroquois, through their chiefs who came to Philadelphia, were led to act as peace-makers: in addition to them, on the 3d of April, Colonel Trueman received his instructions to repair to the Miami village with friendly messages, offering all reasonable terms:

Brothers:—The President of the United States entertains the opinion, that the war which exists is founded in error and mistake on your parts. That you believe the United States want to deprive you of your lands, and drive you out of the country. Be assured this is not so: on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life; of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses, and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land.

Brothers:—The President of the United States requests you to take this subject into your serious consideration, and to reflect how abundantly more it will be for your interest to be at peace with the United States, and to receive all the benefit, thereof, than to continue a war which, however flattering it may be to you for a moment, must in the end prove ruinous.

This desire of peace has not arisen in consequence of the late defeat of the troops under Major General St. Clair; because, in the beginning of the last year, a similar message was sent you by Colonel Procter, but who was prevented from reaching you by some insurmountable difficulties. All the Senecas at Buffalo Creek can witness for the truth of this assertion, as he held, during the month of April last, long conferences with them, to devise the means of getting to you in safety.

War, at all times, is a dreadful evil to those who are engaged therein, and more particularly so where a few people engage to act against so great numbers as the people of the United States.

Brothers;—Do not suffer the advantages you have gained to mislead

* Dillon, i. 308. See also, Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 30. Several writers have given an account of an expedition by General Scott to St. Clair's battle ground, soon after the contest: the whole story seems to be a fable or "myth:" no such expedition was ever made. (Butler's History of Kentucky, 206.)

your judgment, and influence you to continue the war; but reflect upon the destructive consequences which must attend such a measure.

The President of the United States is highly desirous of seeing a number of your principal chiefs, and convincing you, in person, how much he wishes to avoid the evils of war for your sake, and the sake of humanity.

Consult, therefore, upon the great object of peace; call in your parties, and enjoin a cessation of all other depredations: and as many of the principal chiefs as shall choose, repair to Philadelphia, the seat of the General Government, and there make a peace, founded upon the principles of justice and humanity. Remember that no additional lands will be required of you, or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties, particularly by the tribes who had a right to make the treaty of Muskingum in the year 1789.

But, if any of your tribes can prove that you have a fair right to any lands, comprehended by the said treaty, and have not been compensated therefor, you shall receive full satisfaction upon that head.

The chiefs you send shall be safely escorted to this city; and shall be well fed and provided with all things for their journey; and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged to you for the true and liberal performance of every thing herein contained and suggested: and all this is confirmed, in your manner, by the great white belt, hereunto attached.*

To assist farther in attaining the desired objects, Captain Hendrick, chief of the Stockbridge Indians, on the 8th of May was despatched to urge the views of Washington at the approaching council of the north-western confederacy; and on the 22nd of the same month, instructions were also issued to General Rufus Putnam to go in company with the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder, into the Indian country and strive to secure peace and a permanent treaty.† Some parts of those orders are deserving of perpetuation in every form, and therefore we extract them.

The chiefs of the Five Nations of Indians, who were so long in this city, lately, were astonished at the moderation of our claim of land, it being very different from what they had been taught, by designing people, to believe.

It would seem that the Indians have been misled with respect to our claims, by a certain map, published in Connecticut, wherein are laid out ten new States, agreeably to a report of a committee of Congress.

The United States are desirous, in any treaty which shall be formed in future, to avoid all causes of war, relatively to boundaries, by fixing

* American State Papers, v. 230. † American State Papers, v. 233.

the same in such a manner as not to be mistaken by the meanest capacity. As the basis, therefore, of your negotiation, you will, in the strongest and most explicit terms, renounce, on the part of the United States, all claim to any Indian land which shall not have been ceded by fair treaties, made with the Indian nations.

You may ray—That we conceive the treaty of Fort Harmar to have been formed by the tribes having a just right to make the same, and that it was done with their full understanding and free consent.

That if, however, the said tribes should judge the compensation to have been inadequate to the object, or that any other tribes have a just claim, in both cases they shall receive a liberal allowance, on their finally settling all disputes upon the subject.

As the United States have never made any treaties with the Wabash Indians, although the said Indians have been repeatedly invited thereto, their claims to the lands east and south of the said Wabash have not been defined.

This circumstance will be a subject of your inquiry with the assembled Indian tribes; and you may assure the parties concerned, that an equitable boundary shall be arranged with them.

You will make it clearly understood, that we want not a foot of their land, and that it is theirs, and theirs only; that they have the right to sell, and the right to refuse to sell, and that the United States will guarantee to them the said just right.

That it is not only the sincere desire of the United States to be at peace with all the neighboring Indian tribes, but to protect them in their just rights, against lawless, violent white people, If such should commit any injury on the person or properties of a peaceable Indian, they will be regarded equally as the enemies of the General Government, as the Indians, and will be punished accordingly,

Your first great object, upon meeting the Indians, will be to convince them that the United States require none of their lands.

The second, that we shall guaranty all that remain, and take the Indians under our protection.

Thirdly; they must agree to a truce, and immediately to call in all their war parties. It will be in vain to be negotiating with them while they shall be murdering the frontier citizeas.

Having happily effected a truce, founded on the above assurances, it will then be your primary endeavor to obtain from each of the hostile and neighboring tribes two of the most respectable chiefs, to repair to the seat of the Government, and there conclude a treaty with the President of the United States, in which all causes of difference should be buried forever.

You will give the chiefs every assurance of personal protection while on their journey to Philadelphia, and, should they insist upon it, hosta-

ges of officers for the safe return of the chiefs, and, in case of their compliance, you will take every precaution by the troops for the protection of the said chiefs, which the nature of the case may require.

But if, after having used your utmost exertions, the chiefs should decline the journey to Philadelphia, then you will agree with them on a plan for a general treaty.*

We have mentioned the invitation given in February by the Secretary of war to Brant to visit Philadelphia: — Some of his English friends urged the Mohawk by no means to comply with the request, but he had the independence to think and act for himself, and on the 20th of June appeared at the then Federal capital† He remained there ten or twelve days, and was treated by all with marked attention: great pains were taken to make him understand the posture of affairs and the wishes of the United States; and in the hope that he would prove a powerful pacificator, on the 27th of June a letter was addressed to him by General Knox, laying before him the wishes of the Government and making him another messenger of peace.‡ The fact that five independent embassies, asking peace, were sent to the inimical tribes; and the tone of the papers from which we have extracted so fully, will demonstrate, we think, the wish of the United States, to do the aborigines entire justice. But the victories they had gained, and the favorable whispers of the British agents closed the ears of the red men; and all propositions for peace were rejected in one form or another. Freeman, who left Fort Washington, April 7th;‖ Trueman, who left it May 22d for the Maumee, and Colonel Hardin,§ who on the same day started for Sandusky, were all murdered;¶

* American State Papers, v. 234.

† Stone's Brant, ii. 328.

‡ American State Papers, v. 236.

‖ Letter from Wilkinson to Armstrong, quoted by Dillon, (History Indiana, i. 312.)

§ For a sketch of Hardin's life, see Marshall, ii. 44 to 51.

¶ Letter from Wilkinson to Armstrong, in Cist's Miscellany, i. 18. The statements in relation to Trueman afford a curious example of the uncertainty in matters of detail of even our late Western History. Marshall (ii. 42) and Butler (History Kentucky, 219) say that he was sent by Wilkinson, whereas he was sent by the Federal Government; Atwater, (History of Ohio, 145,) says he was sent by Wayne; Judge Burnet, (Ohio Historical Society Transactions, part 2, vol. 1, p. 30, note,) says he was sent by Harmar, soon after his defeat, at least eighteen months before Wayne was appointed to command; but his instructions, above referred to, are dated April 3d, 1792. The most perplexing account, however, is that given by William May, and contained in the American State Papers, v. 243, who states that he, May, left Fort Hamilton, on or about *the 13th of April*, "to follow on the trail of Trueman, who, with a French baker and another man, were sent as a flag to the Indians:" further on he says, that on the 7th day he "discovered Trueman

Trueman, it would seem, however, not by a body of Indians, but by a man and boy whom he met in hunting.* Brant, from sickness or caution,† did not attend the western council, as had been expected. Hendricks gave his message into the hands of Colonel McKee, and kept away from the gathering of the united nations;‡ and of the four individual messengers, Trueman, Brant, Hendrick, and Putnam, Putnam alone reached his goal. That gentleman left Marietta, upon the 26th of June, and on the 2d of July was at Fort Washington; here he heard of Indian hostilities at Fort Jefferson, and of the probability of Trueman's murder. He found also that it would be in vain to ask the chiefs under any circumstances to go to Philadelphia, and that it was extremely doubtful if they could be prevailed on to visit even Fort Washington; under these circumstances, conceiving it desirable that some step should be taken at once, he determined to proceed to Fort Knox, (Post St. Vincent,) and there meet such of the Wabash leaders as could be got together, in the hopes that they might at least be detached from the general league. This determination he carried into effect on the 17th of August, when, with several Indian prisoners to be restored to their friends, and presents for them beside, he left Cincinnati, and reaching Vincennes in due time, upon the 27th of September formed a treaty with the Eel river tribe, the Weas, Illinois, Potawatamies, Musquitoes, Wabash Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, and Peorias. This treaty, however, was never ratified by the Senate, and proved practically of little or no use, although sixteen chiefs of the Wabash tribe were prevailed on to go to Philadelphia.‖

and the two other men lying dead, scalped and stripped." He afterwards gives a particular account of Trueman's death, which account he received from an Indian. This statement appears suspicious, from the fact that General Knox wrote Trueman as late as the 22d of May, (American State Papers, v. 234,) and also from the fact that news of his death first reached Vincennes, June 28th (American State Papers, v. 238;) as well as from the circumstance that May left in pursuit of Trueman only ten days after the date of his (Trueman's) instructions at Philadelphia. The whole mystery, however, is cleared up by reading in May's affidavit, "Freeman" for "Trueman;" Freeman left Fort Washington, April 7th; April 10th, Wilkinson wrote Armstrong to order May to desert, so as to acquire information from the Indians; (Dillon's History of Indiana, i. 312;") and on or about the 13th he did so, and on Harmar's trace, which Freeman had been instructed to follow, found his body.

*May's deposition. Brant's Letters, (American State Papers, v. 243. 245;) also, McKee's account sent Brant, (Stone's Brant, ii. 333.)

† Stone, ii. 334. May's deposition.

‡ American State Papers, v. 322. The council probably broke up about the 10 or 12th of October, [do. do.]

‖ American State Papers, v. 238. 239. 240. 319. 338.

Neither did the efforts of the Six nations in the north-west council* prove more efficacious. On the 16th of November the emissaries of the Iroquois gave an account of their doings to the agent for the United States and others at Buffalo creek, and the mode in which the information is communicated is so peculiar that we should transcribe the speech entire if our limits would permit.†

By this council, it appeared, every thing was referred to another council to be held in the spring, but with the clear intimation that the Ohio must be the boundary of the American lands, and that the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Harmar, must be regarded as null. Soon after this council broke up, on the 6th of November, Major Adair, commander of the mounted Kentucky infantry was attacked by a body of savages in the neighborhood of Fort St. Clair, twenty miles north of Fort Hamilton. The attack was sudden and violent and with difficulty repelled. The officer in charge of the station took no part in the conflict as he had been strictly ordered by General Wilkinson to act only on the defensive, but Adair's men received ammunition from the fortress, and returned thither with their wounded.‡ This action, however, together with other evidences of continued hostilities‖ did not prevent the United States from taking measures to meet the hostile tribes "at the Rapids of the Miami (Maumee) when the leaves were fully out." For this purpose the President at first selected Charles Carroll and Charles Thompson, but as they declined the nomination, Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph, and Timothy Pickering were, on the 1st of March§ 1793, appointed to attend the proposed meeting which it was concluded should be held at

* This council was held at the mouth of the Au Glaize, and was one of the largest ever held; beside the Western, New York, and Canadian Indians, there were present twenty-seven other nations; among them the Goras, who had been a whole season reaching the point designated. See Cornplanter's speech to General Wayne, December 8, 1792. (American State Papers, v. 337.)

† American State Papers, v. 323.

‡ Adair's letter, American State Papers, v. 335.—MS. letter of Judge Collins who was in the action. From the latter we learn that the Indians were commanded by Little Turtle, that they were bound for Columbia, at the mouth of the lower Miami, which they meant to destroy, and attacked Adair for his horses, most of which they got.

‖ July 7th, 1792, the Indians fired on a boat a mile and a half above Fort Washington, and took captive Oliver M. Spencer.—See his Narrative, and Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 46 and 261.

§ Sparks' Washington, x. 313, 314.

Sandusky.* On the 26th of April, the Commissioners received their instructions; on the 27th General Lincoln left Philadelphia for Niagara by the way of New York; and on the 30th the other two started by the route through Pennsylvania, which led up the vallies of the Scuylkill, Susquehannah, Lycoming, and Conhocton and across to the Genesee. These, travelling more rapidly, for Lincoln had the stores and baggage,—reached Niagara on the 17th of May, and were at once invited by Lieutenant General Simcoe to take up their residence at his seat, Navy Hall; with this invitation they complied and remained there until the 28th of June. The cause of this delay was the belief expressed by McKee and others that the Indians would not be ready to meet the Commissioners before the last of June, as private councils had first to be held among the various tribes.† While resting in his Majesty's dominion, the ambassadors were nowise idle, and among other interesting documents, on the 7th of June presented the following note to Governor Simcoe:

The commissioners of the United States for making peace with the western Indians beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe: that the very high importance of the negotiation committed to their management, makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success. That they have observed with pleasure the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians. But, all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expenses incurred by the British government on this occasion, will perhaps be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the deep rooted prejudices, and unfounded reports among the Indian tribes: for, the acts of a few bad men dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them, by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace. As an instance of such unfounded reports, the commissioners have noticed the declaration of a Mohawk, from Grand River, *that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up any of their lands.* The commissioners further observe that if any transactions at

* American State Papers, v. 343. Washington's answer to the Western Indians in the previous autumn had caused doubts among them, because it said nothing of the British attending the treaty.—American State Papers, v. 342.

† American State Papers, v. 343, where the Journal of the Commissioners is given; also Massachusetts Historical Collections, third series, vol. v. 190–196, where General Lincoln's Journal is given, together with a drawing of the conference at Niagara, July 7th made by Colonel Pilkington of the British army: this is also given in Stone's Brant, ii.

former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint; for the views of government are perfectly fair. And, although it is impossible to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede, as far as shall be indispensable, and the existing state of things will admit; and, for the lands retained, to make ample compensation. The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal, the commissioners wish to embrace every means to make them appear so to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions. Among these means, the commissioners consider the presence of some gentlemen of the army to be of consequence: for, although the Indians naturally look up to their superintendents as their patrons, yet the presence of some officers of the army will probably induce them to negotiate with greater confidence on the terms of peace. Independently of these considerations, the commissioners, for their own sakes, request the pleasure of their company. The commissioners, feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their mission, will be happy to receive from the Governor every information relating to it, which his situation enables him to communicate. He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio, founded on the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Harmar, rendered it impossible now to make that river the boundary. The expression of his opinion on this point in particular will give them great satisfaction.*

To this note the following answer was sent:

Colonel Simcoe, commanding the King's forces in Upper Canada, has the honor, in answer to the paper delivered to him this morning by the commissioners of the United States for making peace with the western Indians, to state to those gentlemen, that he is duly impressed with the serious importance of the negotiation committed to their charge, and shall be happy to contribute by every proper means that may tend to its success. He is much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness to afford them such facilities as may have been in his power, to assist in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty. He is perfectly aware that unfounded reports and deep rooted prejudices, have arisen among the Indian tribes: but whether from the acts of a few bad men living among them, he cannot pretend to say. But, he must observe, upon the instance given by the commissioners, of one of "those unfounded reports, that a Mohawk from the Grand River should say, that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up their lands," it is of that nature that cannot be true; the Indians, as yet, not having applied for his advice on the subject: and it being a

* American State Papers, v. 347.

point, of all others, on which they are the least likely to consult the British officers commanding in Upper Canada. Colonel Simcoe considers himself perfectly justified in admitting, on the requisition of the commissioners, some officers to attend the treaty; and, therefore, in addition to the gentlemen appointed to control the delivery of the British provisions, &c. he will desire Captain Bunbury, of the fifth regiment, and Lieutenant Givens, who has some knowledge of one of the Indian languages, to accompany the commissioners. Colonel Simcoe can give the commissioners no further information than what is afforded by the speeches of the confederate nations, of which General Hull has authentic copies. But, as it has been, ever since the conquest of Canada, the principle of the British government to unite the American Indians, that, all petty jealousies being extinguished, the real wishes of the several tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence of all the treaties made with them, may have the most complete ratification and universal concurrence, so, he feels it proper to state to the commissioners, that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the agents of the United States, appears to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the confederacy.*

On the day before this correspondence the six Quakers who both by their own request and that of the Indians, had accompanied the deputation, together with Heckewelder and others sailed for Detroit to learn how matters stood; and on the 26th of the month the Commissioners themselves, receiving no news from Sandusky, prepared to embark for the mouth of Detroit river. On the 15th of July, while still detained by head winds Colonel Butler,† Brant and some fifty natives arrived from the Maumee, and two days after in the presence of the Governor, Brant thus addressed the Americans:—

Brothers: We have met to-day our brothers the Bostonians and English. We are glad to have the meeting, and think it is by the appointment of the Great Spirit. Brothers of the United States: We told you the other day, at Fort Erie, that, at another time, we would inform you why we had not assembled at the time and place appointed for holding the treaty with you. We now inform you that it is because there is so much of the appearance of war in that quarter. Brothers: We have given the reason for our not meeting you; and now we request an explanation of those warlike appearances. Brothers: The people you see here are sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands north of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one

* American State Papers, v. 347.

† The Commander of the Tories at Wyoming, afterwards Indian Agent.

mind—one heart. Brothers: We have come to speak to you for two reasons: one, because your warriors being in our neighborhood, have prevented our meeting at the appointed place: the other, to know if you are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the United States, and of the Indian nations. We are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place. Brothers: We wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity, considering ourselves in the presence of the Great Spirit, from whom, in time of danger, we expect assistance.*

On the following day the Commissioners replied.

Brothers: You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place. One, to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States on the northwestern side of the Ohio; the other, to learn whether we have authority to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours. Brothers: On the first point we cannot but express our extreme regret, that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistibly forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian country north of the Ohio, during the treaty at Sandusky. Brothers: We are deputed by the Great Chief and the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief and his Great Council could order their warriors to make fresh war, while we were sitting round the same fire with you, in order to make peace? Is it possible that our Great Chief and his Council could act so deceitfully towards us, their Commissioners, as well as towards you? Brothers: We think it is not possible; but we will quit arguments and come to facts. Brothers: We assure you, that our Great Chief, General Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you, until the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, General Wayne, to that effect. But, brothers, our Great Chief is so sincere in his professions for peace, and so desirous of preventing every thing which could obstruct the treaty and prolong the war, that, besides giving the above orders to his head warrior, he has informed the Governors of the several States, adjoining the Ohio, of the treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky, and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians north of the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. Those Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia we

* American State Papers, v. 344.

have here in our hands. Brothers: If, after all these precautions of our Great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope and believe that none such can be found.

"Brothers: After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty. Brothers: We now come to the second point: whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours. Brothers: We answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this line should run, will be the great subject of discussion at the treaty between you and us; and we sincerely hope and expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes and quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true reconciliation can be effected. Brothers: We wish you to understand us clearly on this head; for we mean that all our proceedings should be made with candor. We therefore repeat and say explicitly that some concessions will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just and permanent peace. Brothers: After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered at the treaty, we shall know what concessions and stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable and just. Brothers: You have told us that you represent the nations of Indians who own the lands north of the Ohio, and whose Chiefs are now assembled at the Rapids of the Maumee. Brothers: It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those nations, and of the numbers of the Chiefs of each so assembled. Brothers: We once more turn our eyes to your representation of the warlike appearances in your country; to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you as soon as our council at this place is ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew and strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you; but to remain quietly at his posts until the event of the treaty shall be known."*

To the enquiry made by the Agents of the United States as to tribes Brant said,—

Yesterday you expressed a wish to be informed of the names of the nations, and numbers of Chiefs assembled at the Maumee; but, as they

* American State Papers, v. 349.

were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will see for yourselves in a few days. When we left it the following nations were there, to-wit: Five Nations, Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares, Munsees, Miamies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Nantikokies, Mingoes, Cherokees: the principal men of these were there."*

The jealousy of the Indians as to hostile movements was owing to the fact that Wayne was at this time gathering horses and cattle, and cutting roads in the heart of the contested country, beyond Fort Jefferson, within three days journey of the Indian head quarters.†

His "Legion" had passed the winter of 1792–3 at Legionville, and there remained until the last of April, '93, when it was taken down the river to Cincinnati, where it encamped near Fort Washington;‡ and there it continued until October, engaged merely in drilling and preparations, the Commander-in-Chief having been directed by the Executive to issue a Proclamation forbidding all hostile movements north of the Ohio until the northern Commissioners were heard from.‖ This proclamation was issued, and the country remained tranquil,§ although, as we have said, preparations were made for action in case it should finally become needful.

While Wayne, encountering many obstacles, was perfecting the discipline of his soldiers at "Hobson's choice,"¶ and striving to get forward mounted volunteers from Kentucky, who, after the experience of 1790 and 1791 could not be had, so strong was their repugnance to serve with regulars,—** the Commissioners had crossed Lake Erie, and on the 21st of July took up their quarters at the house of the famous or infamous Captain Matthew Elliott, at the mouth of Detroit river.†† On the day of their arrival they wrote to Colonel McKee asking him to hasten the proposed meeting at Sandusky, which he promised to do. On the 29th of July twenty Indians arrived from the Rapids to see the Commissioners; and on the three following days the white and red men met in council,—Simon Girty acting as interpreter. It seemed the confederacy were not satisfied with the meeting

* American State Papers, v. 350.
† American State Papers, v. 351.
‡ American Pioneer, i. 293.
‖ American State Papers, v. 342.
§ American State Papers, v. 359.

¶ The name of his encampment at Cincinnati; said to have been so named because the high water when the Legion came down prevented their landing elsewhere.

** Wayne's letter, American State Papers, v. 360.—Butler 221.

†† He had 2000 acres mostly cultivated; see description in Weld's travels, (London, 1799,) vol. ii. 179.

between Brant and the Commissioners at Niagara, and now wished to know distinctly, and merely, if the United States would or would not make the Ohio the boundary. To this inquiry the Commissioners replied (July 31) in writing, setting forth the American claims, the grounds of them, and the impossibility of making the Ohio the line of settlement. The answers to this communication, one of which was delivered orally on the spot, and the other on the 16th of August, in writing, are so characteristic and able, that on this account, as well as because they were the *ultimata* of the Indians in this negotiation,—we give entire.

Brothers: We are all brothers you see here now. Brothers: It is now three years since you desired to speak with us. We heard you yesterday, and understood you well — perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you. Brothers: You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver creek,* and other places. Those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands. They belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us. Brothers: Many years ago, we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnston. This side is ours. We look upon it as our property. Brothers: You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and your people on our land. You say you cannot move them off: and we cannot give up our land. Brothers: We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago. Brothers: We don't say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington.

The council here breaking up, Captain Elliott went to the Shawanese chief Ka-kia-pilathy, and told him that the last part of the speech was wrong. That chief came back and said it was wrong. Girty said that he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place; and Girty added as follows: "Brothers: Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors." †

The head warriors having been consulted, the final message came in these words,—

"*To the Commissioners of the United States.* Brothers: We have received your speech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been inter-

* Fort McIntosh.

† American State Papers, v. 349.

preted to all the different nations.* We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully; having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers: You tell us that, after you had made peace with the King, our father, about ten years ago, 'it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations who had taken part with the King. For this purpose Commissioners were appointed who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace;' and, after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgement, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, 'Brothers, the Commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the States, who supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.'

"Brothers: This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz: That they went to meet your Commissioners to make peace; but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

"Brothers: You then say, 'after some time it appears that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami, therefore the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner, with full power, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, relating to trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the falls of the Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out: so he kindled a council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh: some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.' Now brothers, these are your words; and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

"Brothers: A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held,

* It seems however, that Brant and the Chiefs of the Iroquois who had argued for peace were not consulted.—Letter of the Commissioners to General Knox.—American State Papers, v. 359.

as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your Commissioner Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

"Brothers: We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederated Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the Commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said Commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or concession whatever.

"Brothers: How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your Commissioner was informed, long before he had the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States. The part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

"Brothers: You say 'the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. And, in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum of money or goods, as was never given, at any one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their feet on this island. And, because these lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies. And therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children.'

"Brothers: Money, to us, is of no value; and to most of us unknown; and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

"Brothers: We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large

sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and, as we are persuaded, they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of re-paying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

"Brothers: You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

"Brothers: You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it: we mean in the acknowledgement you have now made, that the King of England never did, nor never had a right to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions; and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

Brothers:—You have talked, also, a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king, at the treaty of peace.

Brothers:—We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us: we have never parted with such a power.

Brothers:—At our general council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio. and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point: that is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther; because the country behind hardly affords food for its inhabitants; and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

Brothers: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message, last fall, was principally directed to obtain that information.

Done in general council, at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

NATIONS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wyandots, | Miamies, | Mohicans. |
| Seven Nations, of Canada, | Ottawas, | Connoys, |
| Pottawattimies, | Messasagoes, | Delawares, |
| Senecas, of the Glaize, | Chippewas, | Nantakokies, |
| Shawanese, | Munsees, | Creeks, |
| Cherokees.* | | |

This, of necessity, closed the attempts of the United States to make peace; some few further efforts were made to secure the Iroquois to the cause of America, but they ended in nothing; and from the month of August, the preparations for a decision by arms of the questions pending between the white and red men went forward constantly.

But it is natural to ask what causes led the northwestern savages thus to stake their very existence upon the contest, when terms so liberal were offered by their opponents. We answer—first, their previous success did much; and secondly, they hoped for the aid of Britain, and at length of Spain also, on their side.

For several years, said Brant, we were engaged in getting a confederacy formed, and the† unanimity occasioned by these endeavors among our western brethren, enabled them to defeat two American armies. The war continued without our brothers, the English, giving any assistance, except a little ammunition; and they seeming to desire that a peace might be concluded, we tried to bring it about at a time that the United States desired it very much, so that they sent commissioners from among their first people, to endeavor to make peace with the hostile Indians. We assembled also for that purpose at the Miami river in the summer of 1793, intending to act as mediators in bringing about an honorable peace; and if that could not be obtained, we resolved to join our western brethren in trying the fortune of war. But to our surprise, when upon the point of entering upon a treaty with the commis-

* American State Papers, v. 356.

† In another portion of the same speech, Captain Brant stated that General Haldeman exhorted them to the formation of that union with the different nations.

sioners, we found that it was opposed by those acting under the British government, and hopes of farther assistance were given to our western brethren, to encourage them to insist on the Ohio as a boundary between them and the United States.*

Through Elliott, McKee, and Butler, this confidence in English aid was thus excited among the savages, before their final refusal of the generous terms offered by Washington; and soon after, the higher functionaries endorsed the representations of their subordinates. In February, 1794, Lord Dorchester, addressing the deputies from the council of 1793, said:

Children:—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them: I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

Children:—I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

Children:—I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, *which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed*, would have been mended, or a new one drawn, in an amicable manner. Here, also, I have been disappointed.

Children:—Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the United States rush on, and act, and talk on this side; and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.

Children:—You talk of selling your lands to the state of New York. I have told you that there is no line between them and us. I shall acknowledge no lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783. They then broke the peace, and as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours.

Children:—They then destroyed their right of pre-emption. Therefore, all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the King's rights. And when a line is drawn between us, be it in peace or war, they must lose all their improvements and houses on our side of it. Those people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the King's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will, of course, be secured and confirmed to them.

Children:—What farther can I say to you? You are witnesses

* Stone, ii. 358.

that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience. But I believe our patience is almost exhausted.*

And when, during the summer of 1794, there was a contest between the United States and the Six Nations, relative to the erection of a fort by the former at Presqu'ile (Erie) on lake Erie,† Brant, in writing to the British authorities, on the 19th of July, says—

In regard to the Presq' Isle business, should we not get an answer at the time limited, it is our business to push those fellows hard, and therefore it is my intention to form my camp at Pointe Appineau; and I would esteem it a favor if his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor would lend me four or five batteaux. Should it so turn out, and should those fellows not go off, and O'Bail continue in the same opinion, an expedition against those Yankees must of consequence take place.

His Excellency has been so good as to furnish us with a cwt. of powder, and ball in proportion, which is now at Fort Erie; but in the event of an attack upon Le Bœuf people, I could wish, if consistent, that his Excellency would order a like quantity in addition to be at Fort Erie, in order to be in readiness; likewise I would hope for a little assistance in provisions.‡

But the conduct of England, in sending, as she did, Governor Simcoe in the month of April, 1794‖ to the rapids of the Maumee, there, within the acknowledged territories of the United States, to erect a fort, was the strongest assurance that could have been given to the northwestern tribes, that she would espouse their quarrel. In May of 1794, a messenger from the Mississippi provinces of Spain also appeared in the northwest, offering assistance.

Children! (he said) you see me on my feet, grasping the tomahawk

* The authenticity of this speech has been questioned; it was doubted at the time even. George Clinton of New York sent the proof of its genuineness to Washington, March 20th, 1794, and both he and the President thought it authentic. Judge Marshall (Life of Washington, v. 535) states it is *not authentic*, and Sparks (Washington Papers, x. 394, note) seems to agree with him; but Mr. Stone found among Brant's papers a certified MS. copy from which the above extracts are taken, (Stone's Brant, ii. 368, note); and Mr. Hammond, the British minister, in May, 1794, acknowledged it to be genuine.—(American State Papers, i. 462. See also v. 480.)

† See the papers relative to this affair at length, American State Papers, v. 503 to 524. The Americans yielded their right of settlement to prevent trouble. (American State Papers, v. 487.)

‡Stone's Brant, ii, 380.

‖ Letter of April 17, American State Papers, v. 480.

to strike them. We will strike together. I do do not desire you to go before me, in the front, but to follow me.

Children: I present you with a war-pipe, which has been sent in all our names to the Musquakies, and all those nations who live towards the setting sun, to get upon their feet and take hold of our tomahawk: and as soon as they smoked it, they sent it back with a promise to get immediately on their feet, and join us, and strike this enemy.

Children: You hear what these distant nations have said to us, so that we have nothing farther to do but put our designs into immediate execution, and to forward this pipe to the three warlike nations who have so long been struggling for their country, and who now sit at the Glaize. Tell them to smoke this pipe, and forward it to all the lake Indians and their northern brethren. Then nothing will be wanting to complete our general union from the rising to the setting of the sun, and all nations will be ready to add strength to the blow we are going to make."*

The explanation of the conduct above related on the part of England, is not difficult. In March, 1793, Great Britain and Russia had united for the purpose of cutting off all the commerce of revolutionary France, in the hope thereby of conquering her.† In June, the court of St. James, in accordance with this agreement, issued orders—

To stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with *corn*, *flour*, or *meal*, bound to any port of France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour might be purchased on behalf of his majesty's government, and the ships to be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight; or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by the court of admiralty, be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any country in amity with his majesty.‡

Against this proceeding the United States protested, while England justified the measure as a very mild application of international law. On both sides great irritation prevailed, and during this period it was that the various acts of Governor Simcoe and others took place.

As for Spain, she had long been fearful and jealous of the western colonists;‖ she had done all in her power to sow dissensions

* MS. among the Brant Papers.—Stone, ii. 375. † Pitkin's, U. S. ii. 396.

‡ Pitkin, ii. 396. ‖ See ante pp. 221, 280, &c., and *post*.

between the Americans and the southern Indians;* and now hoped to cripple her Anglo-Saxon antagonist by movements at the north.

But the Americans were in nowise disposed to yield even to this "Hydra," as General Wayne called it, of Indian, British, and Spanish enmity. On the 16th of August, 1793, the final messages took place between the American commissioners and the Indians, at the mouth of Detroit river; on the 17th, the commissioners left Captain Elliott's; on the 23d, reached Fort Erie, near Niagara; upon the same day they sent three letters to General Wayne, by three distinct channels, advising him of the issue of the negotiation.† Wayne, encamped at his "Hobson's choice," and contending with the unwillingness of Kentuckians to volunteer in connection with regular troops,—with fever, influenza and desertion,—was struggling hard to bring his army to such form and consistency as would enable him to meet the enemy with confidence. On the 5th of October, he writes that he cannot hope to have, deducting the sick and those left in garrison, more than 2,600 regular troops, 360 mounted volunteers, and 36 guides and spies to go with him beyond Fort Jefferson: but he adds—

This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately, to save the frontiers from impending savage fury.

I will, therefore, advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check (by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their own women and children) until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect.

The present apparent tranquility on the frontiers, and at the head of the line, is a convincing proof to me, that the enemy are collected or collecting in force, to oppose the legion, either on its march, or in some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in. Disappoint them in this favorite plan or manœuvre, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines. In this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter.

They cannot continue long embodied for want of provision, and at their breaking up, they will most certainly make some desperate effort upon some quarter or other; should the mounted volunteers advance in force, we might yet compel those haughty savages to sue for peace, before the next opening of the leaves. Be that as it may, I pray you not to permit

* American State Papers, v. 304, 308, 325, &c. &c. (See index of vol. "Spain," "Spaniards," &c.)

† American State Papers, v. 357 to 360.

present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the President, or yourself, on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of Government, (which I will support with my latest breath) you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily; and unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position advanced of Jefferson, and by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontiers, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am honored with your further orders.*

On the 7th the legion left Cincinnati, and upon the 13th, without any accident, encamped upon the "strong position" above referred to.† Here, upon the 24th of Oct'r, he was joined by 1000 mounted Kentucky volunteers under Gen. Scott, to whom he had written pressing requests to hasten forward with all the men he could muster. This request Scott hastened to comply with, and the Governor, upon the 28th of September had ordered, in addition, a draft of militia. The Kentucky troops, however, were soon dismissed again, until Spring; but their march had not been in vain, for they had seen enough of Wayne's army to give them confidence in it and in him; and upon their return home, spread that confidence abroad, so that the full number of volunteers, was easily procured in the spring.‡

One attack had been made upon the troops previous to the 23d of Oct. and only one: a body of two commissioned and ninety non-commissioned officers and soldiers, conveying 20 wagons of supplies, was assaulted on the 17th, seven miles beyond Fort St. Clair, and Lieutenant Lowry and Ensign Boyd, with thirteen others, were killed.‖ Although so little opposition had thus far been encountered, however, Wayne determined to stay where he was, for the winter, and having 70,000 rations on hand in October, with the prospect of 120,000 more, while the Indians were sure to be short of provisions,§ he proceeded to fortify his position; which he named Fort Greenville, and which was situated upon the spot now occupied by the town of that name. This being done, on the 23d or 24th of December, a detachment was sent forward to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat.

* American State Papers, v. 360.

† See in American Pioneer, ii. 290, plate and account of Wayne's mode of encampment. Also in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 55, a journal of the march.

‡ Marshall, ii. 83, 84. ‖ American State Papers, v. 361. § Ibid, v. 361.

They arrived upon the spot upon Christmas day. "Six hundred skulls," says one present, "were gathered up and buried; when we went to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out, to make our beds."* Here was built Fort Recovery, which was properly garrisoned, and placed under the charge of Captain Alexander Gibson. During the early months of 1794, Wayne was steadily engaged in preparing every thing for a sure blow when the time came, and by means of Captain Gibson and his various spies, kept himself informed of the plans and movements of the savages.† All his information showed the faith in British assistance which still animated the doomed race of red-men:—thus, two Pottawatamies, taken by Captain Gibson, June 5th, in reply to various questions, answered as follows:

Q.—When did your nation receive the invitation from the British to join them, and go to war with the Americans?

A.—On the first of the last moon; the message was sent by three chiefs, a Delaware, a Shawanee, and a Miami.

Q.—What was the message brought by those Indian chiefs, and what number of British troops were at Roche de Bout, [foot of rapids of the Maumee,] on the 1st of May.

A.—That the British sent them to invite the Pattawattamies to go to war against the United States: that they, the British, were then at Roche de Bout, on their way to war against the Americans; that the number of British troops then there were about four hundred, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had made a fortification round Colonel McKee's house and stores at that place, in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing, and provision, with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join, and go with them to war.

Q.—What tribes of Indians, and what were their numbers, at Roche de Bout, on the 1st of May?

A.—The Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares, and Miamies. There were then collected about one thousand warriors, and were daily coming in and collecting from all those nations.

Q.—What number of warriors do you suppose are actually collected

* American Pioneer, i. 294. Letter of George Will.—Dillon's Indiana i. 360—American State Papers, i. 458, gives Wayne's statement.

† See a very interesting story in McDonald's Sketches (pp. 185, 6, and 7) of the capture of Christopher Miller, (a white man made into an Indian,) by his brother, one of Wayne's spies.

at that place at this time, and what number of British troops and militia have promised to join the Indians to fight this army?

A.—By the latest and best information, and from our own knowledge of the number of warriors belonging to those nations, there cannot be less than two thousand warriors now assembled; and were the Pattawattamies to join, agreeably to invitation, the whole would amount to upwards of three thousand hostile Indians. But we do not think that more than 50 of the Pattawattamies will go to war.

The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war against the Americans, will amount to fifteen hundred, agreeably to the promise of Governor Simcoe.

Q.—At what time and at what place do the British and Indians mean to advance against this army?

A.—About the last of this moon, or the beginning of the next, they intend to attack the legion of this place. Governor Simcoe, the great man who lives at or near Niagara, sent for the Pattawattamies, and promised them arms, ammunition, provision, and clothing, and every thing they wanted, on condition that they would join him, and go to war against the Americans; and that he would command the whole.

He sent us the same message last winter; and again, on the first of the last moon, from Roche de Bout; he also said, he was much obliged to us for our past services; and that he would now help us to fight, and render us all the services in his power, against the Americans.

All the speeches that we have received from him, were as red as blood; all the wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were red, and even the tobacco was painted red.

We received four different invitations from Governor Simcoe, inviting the Pattawattamies to join in the war; the last was on the first of last moon, when he promised to join us with 1500 of his warriors, as before mentioned. But we wish for peace; except a few of our foolish young men.

Examined, and carefully reduced to writing, at Greenville, this 7th of June, 1794.*

A couple of Shawanese warriors, captured June 22d, were less sanguine as to their white allies, but still say that which proves the dependence of Indian action upon English promises. As their evidence gives some *data* relative to the Indian forces, as well as the temper of the western tribes, we extract nearly the whole of it.

They say that they left Grand Glaize five moons since, i. e. about the time that the Indians sent in [i. e. to Wayne; the provisions could not be accepted] a flag, with propositions of peace.

* American State Papers, v. 489.

That they belonged to a party of twenty, who have been hunting all this spring on the waters of the Wabash, nearly opposite the mouth of Kentucky River, and were on their return when taken. That, on their way in, they met with a party, consisting of four Indians, i, e. three Delawares and one Pattawattamy, who were then on their way to the Big-bone-lick, to steal horses; that this party informed them that all the Indians on White River were sent for to come immediately to Grand Glaize, where the warriors of several nations were now assembled; that the chiefs are yet in council, and would not let their warriors go out; that they could not depend upon the British for effectual support; that they were always setting the Indians on like dogs after game, pressing them to go to war, and kill the Americans, but did not help them; that unless the British would turn out and help them, they were determined to make peace; that they would not be any longer amused by promises only.

That the Shawanese have 380 warriors at, and in the vicinity of Grand Glaize; and generally can, and do, bring into action about 300. Their great men, or sachems, are the Black Wolf, and Kakia-pi-la-thy, or Tame-Hawk; their principal warriors are Blue Jacket, and Captain Jonny; that the Delawares have in and about Grand Glaize 480 warriors; that they actually had four hundred in the action against St. Clair; that the Miamies are at present but about one hundred warriors, who live near Grand Glaize, several of them having removed towards Post Vincennes, and by the Mississippi; that the Wyandots never send into action more than about one hundred and fifty warriors; they live along the lake, towards Sandusky; they don't know the number of the Pattawattamies, nor the number of the other Indians or nations that would actually join in a war, should they determine to continue it; that the Chippewas would be the most numerous, and were generally on the way to the council; but that war or peace depended on the conduct of the British; if they would help them, it would probably be war, but if they would not, it would be peace; that the Indians would no longer be set on like dogs, by themselves, unless the British would help them to fight; that the British were at the foot of the rapids, and had fortified at Roche de Bout; that there were a great number of British soldiers at that place; that they told the Indians they were now come to help them to fight; and if the Indians would generally turn out and join them, they would advance and fight the American army; that Blue Jacket had been sent by the British to the Chippewas, and northern Indians, a considerable time since, to invite them, and bring them to Roche de Bout, there to join the British and other hostile Indians, in order to go to war.

* American State Papers, v. 489.

And the conduct of the savages proved these tales not to be fables: on the 30th of June, Fort Recovery, the advanced American post, was assaulted by the Little Turtle, at the head of 1,000 to 1,500 warriors;* and although repelled, the assailants rallied and returned to the charge, and kept up the attack through the whole of that day, and a part of the following. Nor was this assailing force entirely composed of natives; General Wayne, in his despatch, says his spies report "a great number of white men with the Indians;" and again they insist—

There were a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, who they frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; that their faces were generally blacked, except three British officers, who were dressed in scarlet, and appeared to be men of great distinction, from being surrounded by a large body of white men and Indians, who were very attentive to them. These kept a distance in the rear of those that were engaged.

Another strong corroborating fact—says General Wayne—that there were British, or British militia, in the assault, is, that a number of ounce balls and buck shot were lodged in the block houses and stockades of the fort. Some were delivered at so great a distance as not to penetrate, and were picked up at the foot of the stockades.

It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs, which they turned over and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back into their former berth. It was in this artful manner that we generally found them deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs, during the assault, in search of those cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of the fourth of November, 1791.

I therefore have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of that post; fortunately they served in its defence.†

On the 26th of July, Scott, with some 1600 mounted men from Kentucky, joined Wayne at Greenville,‡ and on the 28th the legion moved forward.‖ On the 8th of August, the army was

* American State Papers, v. 488.

† Major McMahon chanced to be before the fort with some troops, when this attack took place, and was one of the officers killed, but the object of the Indians was to take the fort. (American State Papers, v. 488, Wayne's Despatches.)

‡ Marshall, ii. 136. ‖ American Pioneer, i. 315, Daily Journal of Wayne's army.

near the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, at Grand Glaize, and proceeded at once to build Fort Defiance where the rivers meet.* The Indians had hastily abandoned their towns upon hearing of the approach of the army from a runaway member of the Quarter master's corps, who was afterwards taken at Pittsburgh.† It had been Wayne's plan to reach the head-quarters of the savages, Grand Glaize, undiscovered; and in order to do this, he had caused two roads to be cut, one towards the foot of the rapids, (Roche de Bout,) the other to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, while he pressed forward between the two: and this strategem, he thinks would have been successful but for the deserter referred to.‡ While engaged upon Fort Defiance, the American commander received full and accurate accounts of the Indians and the aid they would receive from the volunteers of Detroit and elsewhere; he learned the nature of the ground, and the circumstances favorable and unfavorable; and upon the whole, considering the spirit of his troops, officers and men, regulars and volunteers, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. But yet, true to the last to the spirit of compromise and peace so forcibly taught by Washington, on the 13th of August, he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanese, and had been (see note p. 400) taken prisoner on the 11th by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger, offering terms of friendship in these words:

To the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, and Wyandots, and to each and every of them, and to all other nations of Indians, northwest of the Ohio, whom it may concern:

I, Anthony Wayne, Major General and Commander-in-chief of the federal army now at Grand Glaize, and commissionary plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for settling the terms upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be made with each and every of the hostile tribes, or nations of Indians northwest of the Ohio, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing men have led you, from the head of my army, now in possession of your abandoned villages and settlements, do hereby once more extend the friendly hand

* See American Pioneer, ii. 387, for plan and account of Fort Defiance.

† American State Papers, v. 490 and note.—At Greenville, the Delawares asked to have this man released. (American State Papers, v. 581,) and this, as we learn from Wilkinson, was done. (Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. appendix, No. xliv.)

‡ Wayne's letter of August 14th. (American State Papers, v. 490.)

of peace towards you, and invite each and every of the hostile tribe of Indians to appoint deputies to meet me and my army, without delay, between this place and Roche de Bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which may eventually and soon restore to you the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, and all other tribes and nations lately settled at this place, and on the margins of the Miami and au Glaize Rivers, your late grounds and possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed and hapless women and children from danger and famine, during the present fall and ensuing winter.

The arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation.

And, to remove any doubts or apprehensions of danger to the persons of the deputies whom you may appoint to meet this army, I hereby pledge my sacred honor for their safety and return, and send Christopher Miller, an adopted Shawanee, and a Shawanee warrior, whom I took prisoner two days ago, as a flag, who will advance in their front to meet me.

Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by a party of my warriors, six moons since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people, my prisoners, that is, five warriors and two women, who are now all safe and well at Greenville.

But, should this invitation be disregarded, and my flag, Mr. Miller, be detained, or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death, without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the first families of your nations.

Brothers:—Be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the rapids; they have neither the power nor inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to to this overture of peace. But, in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of your blood; let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the invaluable blessings of peace and tranquility.*

Grand Glaize, August 13th, 1794. ANTHONY WAYNE.

Unwilling to waste time, the troops moved forward on the 15th, and on the 16th met Miller returning, with the message, that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize, they (the Indians) would decide for peace or war;† which Wayne replied to only by marching straight on. On the 18th, the legion had advanced forty-one miles from Grand Glaize, and being near by the long looked for foe, began to throw up some light works, called Fort

* American State Papers, v. 490. † American Pioneer, i. 317.

Deposite, wherein to place the heavy baggage during the expected battle. On that day, five of Wayne's spies, among whom was May, the man who had been sent after Trueman and had pretended to desert to the Indians,* rode into the very camp of the enemy: in attempting to retreat again, May's horse fell and he was taken. The next day, the day before the battle, he was tied to a tree and shot at as a target.† During the 19th, the army still labored on their works: on the 20th, at 7 or 8 o'clock, all baggage having been left behind, the white forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee;—

the Legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee: one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear under Brigadier General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the Legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The Legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front; the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

I also ordered Captain Mis Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which

* See *ante* p. 381, note.

† American Pioneer, i. 52. 318.—American State Papers, v. 243.

afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers, were drove from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the Legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being drove, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their numbers. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.*

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with

* [NUMBER I.]

Miami [Maumee] River, August 21, 1794.

Sir: An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami [Maumee] for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to His Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by His Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

I have the honor, to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant, WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Regiment,
Commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami.

To Major General Wayne, &c.

[NUMBER II.]

Camp on the Bank of the Miami, [Maumee,] August 21, 1794.

Sir: I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had, it continued until the Indians, &c. were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post

pleasure, and the most lively gratitude. Among whom, I must beg leave to mention Brigadier General Wilkinson, and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the Legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To those I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains De Butt and T. Lewis, and

was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States.

I have the honor to be sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE, Major General,
And Commander-in-chief of the Federal Army.

To Major William Cambell, &c.

[NUMBER III.]

Fort Miami, August 22d, 1794.

Sir: Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorises me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States in this neighborhood, under your command, yet, still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have forborne, for these two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this fort, by approaching it within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers, with arms in their hands. Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but, should you, after this, continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are at this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my king and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures, which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which, I solemnly appeal to God, I have used my utmost endeavors to arrest.

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Regiment,
Commanding at Fort Miami.

Major General Wayne, &c.

]NUMBER IV.]

Camp, banks of the Miami, 22d August, 1794.

Sir: In your letter of the 21st instant, you declare, "I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America." I, on my part, declare the same, and that the only cause I have to entertain a contrary idea at present, is the hostile act you are now in commission of, i. e. by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Indian tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested by the troops under my command.

I am, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE,

Major William Campbell &c.

[NUMBER V.]

Fort Miami, 22d August, 1794.

Sir: I have this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that, being placed here in the command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot enter into any discussion either on

Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory. * * * *

Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded.* The loss of the enemy was more than that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.†

the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. Those are matters that I conceive will be best left to the ambassadors of our different nations.

Having said this much, permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post, at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders for that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me. I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it.

Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, sir, that I am much deceived, if His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river, at and prior to the period you mention.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient and very humble servant, WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Regiment, Commanding at Fort Miami.

To Major General Wayne, &c.

* The Legion had twenty-six killed, five of them officers, eighty-seven wounded, thirteen of them officers; the Kentucky volunteers had seven killed all privates, and thirteen wounded, three of whom were officers; — of the wounded eleven died: making in all, dead and wounded, one hundred and thirty-three.—American State Papers, v. 492.

† An eye witness [American Pioneer, i. 319] thinks there were near five hundred Canadians in the battle. A Shawanese prisoner taken August 11, testifies thus—

Question.—What number of warriors are at McKee's, and what nations do they belong to?

Answer.—There are six hundred who abandoned this place on the approach of the army.

| | |
|---|---|
| Shawanese, about | 200, but not more. |
| Delawares, | 300 |
| Miamies, | 100 |
| Warriors of other tribes, | 100 |
| Total, | 700 |

Q.—What number are expected to assemble, in addition to those now at the foot of the Rapids?

A.—In all, about 400 men, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| Wyandots, | 300 |
| Tawas, | 240 |
| Total, | 540 |

Q.—What number of white men are to join, and when?

A.—Mr. or Captain Elliot set out for Detroit six days since, and was to be back yesterday, with all the militia, and an additional number of regular troops, which, with those already there, would amount to 1000 men. This is the general conversation among the

We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Maumee, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of the garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel McKee, the British Indian Agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to this place [Fort Defiance] on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Maumee. There remains yet a great number of villages, and a great quantity of corn,* to be consumed or destroyed, upon Auglaize and the Maumee above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days.†

The loss of the Americans in this action was 33 killed and 100 wounded, including 21 officers, of whom, however, but five were killed.

The army remained at Fort Defiance, busily engaged in strengthening the works until September 14th, when it marched for the Miami Villages at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary, and began opposite to them, in the bend of the St. Mary,

Indians, and Captain Elliot promised to bring that number. Colonel McKee's son went with Elliot, as also the man who deserted from the army on its march.

One of the Canadians taken in the battle gave the following estimates,—

That the Delawares have about 500 men, including those who live on both rivers, the White river, and Bean creek.

That the Miamies are about 200 warriors, part of them live on the St. Joseph's, eight leagues from this place; that the men were all in the action, but the women are yet at that place, or Piquet's village; that a road leads from this place directly to it; that the number of warriors belonging to that place, when altogether, amounts to about 40.

That the Shawanese have about 300 warriors; that the Tawas, on this river, are 250; that the Wyandots are about 300.

That those Indians were generally in the action of the 20th instant, except some hunting parties. That a reinforcement of regular troops, and 200 militia, arrived at fort Miami a few days before the army appeared, that the regular troops in the fort amounted to 250, exclusive of the militia.

That about 70 of the militia, including Captain Caldwell's corps, were in the action. That Colonel McKee, Captain Elliot, and Simon Girty, were in the field, but at a respectful distance, and near the river.

That the Indians have wished for peace for some time, but that Colonel McKee always dissuaded them from it, and stimulated them to continue the war.—Am. S. Papers, v. 494.

* In a letter of August 14th, Wayne says, "The margins of these beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the Lake and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place, [Grand Glaize;] nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."—American State Papers, v. 490.

† American State Papers, v. 491.—See the English account of the battle in Weld's Travels, ii. 211.

the fortress, which when completed on the 22d of October, was named by Colonel Hamtramck who was placed in command,—Fort Wayne. During this time the troops suffered much from sickness, and also from want of flour, salt, and whiskey; the latter article sold on the 24th of September, for eight dollars a gallon, and salt was held at six dollars a pint.* On the 28th of October the Legion began its return march to Greenville, the volunteers, who had become dissatisfied and troublesome, having been despatched to that post for dismissal on the 12th of that month. During this time, (on the 11th or 13th) a brother of the Canadian taken in the action of August 20th, came to General Wayne with three Americans whom he had bought from the Indians, to exchange for his captive relation: the exchange was agreed to, and the messenger induced to make the following statement:

Governor Simcoe, Colonel M'Kee, and Captain Brant, arrived at Fort Miami, at the foot of the Rapids, on the 30th ultimo, [September,] Brant had with him one hundred Indians, Mohawks and Messasagoes.

Governor Simcoe sent for the chiefs of the different hostile Indians, and invited them to meet him at the mouth of Detroit River, eighteen miles below Detroit, to hold a treaty; Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, together with Blue Jacket, Backongelies, the Little Turtle, Captain Jonny, and other chiefs of the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, Tawas, and Pattawatamies, set out accordingly, for the place assigned for the treaty, about the first instant: the Indians are well and regularly supplied with provisions from the British magazines, at a place called Swan Creek, near Lake Erie.

Previously to the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Blue Jacket, the Shawanese chief, two of the principal chief of the Tawas, and the principal chiefs of the Pattawatamies, had agreed to accompany him, the said ———, with a flag to this place.

Blue Jacket informed him, after the arrival of Simcoe, he would not now go with him, until after the intended treaty; but that his wishes, at present, were for peace; that he did not know what propositions Governor Simcoe had to make them, but that he and all the chiefs would go and hear; and, in the interim, desired him, the said ———, to inquire of General Wayne in what manner the chiefs should come to him, and whether they would be safe, in case they should determine on the measure, after the treaty with Simcoe, and after the said ———, should return to Detroit: had it not been for the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, with his Indians, he is confident the chiefs, already mentioned, would have accompanied him to this place, at this time, as before related.†

* American Pioneer, i. 354. † American State Papers, v. 526.

This communication was further confirmed by statements from the Wyandots some of whom were in the American interest.* Indeed it appeared afterward that on the 10th of October the Indians met the British at the Big Rock, and were advised that their griefs would be laid before the King; and in connection with this, as General Wayne learned from the friendly Wyandots,—

Governor Simcoe insisted, that the Indians should not listen to any terms of peace from the Americans, but to propose a truce, or suspension of hostilities, until the spring, when a grand council and assemblage of all the warriors and tribes of Indians should take place, for the purpose of compelling the Americans to cross to the east side of the Ohio; and in the interim, advised every nation to sign a deed or conveyance of all their lands, on the west side of the Ohio, to the King, in trust for the Indians, so as to give the British a pretext or color for assisting them, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of that river; and which the Indians should warn them to do, immediately after they, the Indians, were assembled in force in the spring, and to call upon the British to guaranty the lands thus ceded in trust, and to make a general attack upon the frontiers at the same time: that the British would be prepared to attack the Americans, also, in every quarter, and would compel them to cross the Ohio, and to give up the lands to the Indians.

Captain Brant also told them, to keep a good heart, and be strong; to do as their father advised; that he would return home, for the present, with his warriors, and come again early in the spring, with an additional number, so as to have the whole summer before them, to fight, kill, and pursue the Americans, who could not possibly stand against the force and numbers that would be opposed to them; that he had been always successful, and would ensure them victory. But that he would not attack the Americans at this time, as it would only put them upon their guard, and bring them upon the Indians in this quarter, during the winter; therefore he advised them to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace, until they should collect in force to fall upon them early in the spring, and when least expected.

That, agreeably to this plan or advice, the real hostile tribes will be sending flags frequently during the winter, with propositions of peace, but this is all fraud and art, to put the Americans off their guard.

The British made large presents to the Indians at the late council, and continue to furnish them with provision from Colonel McKee's new stores, near the mouth of the Miamies of Lake Erie, where all the Indians are hutted or in tents, whose towns and property were destroyed

* American State Papers, v. 548, 527.

last summer, and who will sign away their lands, and do exactly what the British request them; this was the general prevailing opinion at the breaking up of the council; since which period, the message and propositions of the fifth November, addressed to the different tribes of Indians proposing the treaty of the 9th January, 1789, held at the mouth of Muskingum, as a preliminary upon which a permanent peace should be established, has been communicated to them; upon which, a considerable number of the chiefs of several of the tribes assembled again, and were determined to come forward to treat, say about the first of this moon. But Colonel McKee was informed of it, and advised them against the measure, and to be faithful to their father, as they had promised. He then made them additional presents, far beyond any thing that they had ever heretofore received, which inclined a majority to adhere to Governor Simcoe's propositions, and they returned home accordingly.

That, notwithstanding this, the chiefs and nations are much divided, some for peace, and some for war; the Wyandots of Sandusky are for peace; those near Detroit for war; the Delawares are equally divided, so are the Miamies, but are dependent upon the British for provisions; the Shawanese and Tawas are for war; the Pattawattamies and Chippewas are gone home, sore from the late action.

That such of the chiefs and warriors as are inclined for peace, will call a council, and endeavor to bring it about, upon the terms proposed, as they wish to hold their lands under the Americans, and not under the British, whose title they do not like.*

News also came from the West that the Indians were crossing the Mississippi; in New York on the 11th of November, Pickering made a new treaty with the Iroquois; while in the north fewer and fewer of the savages lurked about Forts Defiance and Wayne.† Nor was it long before the wish of the natives to make peace became still more apparent; on the 28th and 29th of December, the Chiefs of the Chippeways, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawatamies, and Miamies, came with peace messages to Colonel Hamtramck,‡ at Fort Wayne, and on the 24th of January, 1795, at Greenville entered, together with the Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese, into preliminary articles with the Commander-in-Chief.‖ The truth was the red men had been entirely disap-

* American State Papers, v. 548.

† American State Papers, v. 550.

‡ See his letters to Wayne.—American Pioneer, ii. 389 to 392.

‖ American State Papers, v. 559. In the articles the Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares, and Ottawas, are not mentioned, but from General Wayne at the council of Greenville we learn they were parties thereto.—(American State Papers, v. 566, 567.)

pointed in the conduct of their white allies after the action of the 20th of August; as Brant said, "a fort had been built in their country under pretence of giving refuge in case of necessity, but when that time came the gates were shut against them as enemies."* During the winter, Wayne having utterly laid waste their fertile fields, the poor savages were wholly dependent on the English who did not half supply them; their cattle and dogs died, and they were themselves nearly starved.† Under these circumstances, losing faith in the English, and at last impressed with a respect for American power after the carnage experienced at the hands of the "Black Snake,"—‡ the various tribes, by degrees, made up their minds to ask for peace; during the winter and spring they exchanged prisoners,‖ and made ready to meet General Wayne at Greenville in June for the purpose of forming a definite treaty, as it had been agreed should be done by the preliminaries of January 24th. One scene among the many of that time seems deserving of a transfer to our pages; it is from the narrative of John Brickell, who had been a captive for four years among the Delawares, and adopted into the family of Whingwy Pooshies or Big Cat, a noted warrior of that tribe.

On the breaking up of spring, Bickell says, we all went up to Fort Defiance, and on arriving on the shore opposite we saluted the fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day Whingwy Pooshies told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung round me crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them? I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort and were seated with the officers, Whingwy Pooshies told me to stand up, which I did; he then rose and addressed me in about these words, "My son, there are men the same color with yourself. There may be some of your kin there, or your kin may be a great way off from you. You have lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you? If I have not used you as a father would use a son?" I said, "You have used me as well as a father could use a son." He said, "I am glad you say

* Stone's Brant, ii. 390. Several Mohawks were probably engaged in the battle of August 20th, and Brant would have been with them but for sickness.—[Stone ii. 390, note.] The Mohawk Chief had been in favor of peace, but was soured probably by the Presqu'ile business. See Ante, p. 396.

† Brickell's Narrative. American Pioneer, i. 53.

‡ Stone's Brant, ii. 389. American State Papers, v. 550.—Heckewelder's Narrative, 405.

‖ American Pioneer, i. 54.—Speech of Buckongehelas.—(Am. State Papers, v. 582.)

so. You have lived long with me; you have hunted for me; but our treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with the people of your own color, I have no right to say a word, but if you choose to stay with me, your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind."

I was silent a few minutes, in which time it seemed as if I thought of almost every thing. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people which I remembered; and this latter thought predominated, and I said, I will go with my kin." The old man then said, "I have raised you—I have learned you to hunt. You are a good hunter—you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old, and I cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my age. I leaned on you as on a staff. Now it is broken—you are going to leave me and I have no right to say a word, but I am ruined. He then sank back in tears to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears—parted with him, and have never seen nor heard of him since.*

During the month of June the representatives of the north-western tribes began to gather at Greenville, and on the 16th of that month Wayne met in council the Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, and Eel river Indians; and the conferences, which lasted till August 10th, commenced. On the 21st of June Buckongehelas arrived; on the 23d, the Little Turtle and other Miamies; on the 13th of July Tarke and other Wyandot Chiefs reached the appointed spot; and upon the 18th, Blue Jacket with thirteen Shawanese, and Masass with twenty Chippeways. Most of these, as it appeared by their statements had been tampered with by McKee, Brant, and other English agents,† even after they had agreed to the preliminaries of January 24th, and while Mr. Jay's treaty was still under discussion.‡ They had, however, all determined to make a permanent peace with the Thirteen Fires, and although some difficulty as to the ownership of the lands to be ceded, at one time seemed likely to arise, the good sense of Wayne and of the Chiefs prevented it, and upon the 30th of July the treaty was agreed to which was to bury the hatchet for ever. Between that day and the 3d of August it was engrossed, and

* See American Pioneer, i. 54.

† See speeches of Blue Jacket and Masass. [American State Papers, v. 568.] and of Agooshaway, an Ottawa. [American State Papers, v. 566.]

‡ Jay reached England June 15, 1794; his treaty was concluded November 19th; it was received by the President March 7, 1795; was submitted to the Senate June 8th; was agreed to by them on the 24th of that month; and ratified by the President August 14th.

having been signed by the various nations upon the day last named, on the 7th was finally acted upon, and the presents from the United States distributed forthwith. While the Council was in session some mischief had been done in Virginia by a band of Shawanese, but on the 9th of September these also came to Greenville, gave up their prisoners, and asked for forgiveness.

The basis of the treaty of Greenville was the previous one made at Fort Harmar, and its leading provisions were as follows:

ART. 1. Hostilities were to cease.

ART. 2. All prisoners were to be restored.

ART. 3. The general boundary lines between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cayahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above fort Lawrence; thence westerly, to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Laromie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course, to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly, in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucke or Cuttawa river. And in consideration of the peace now established; of the goods formerly received from the United States: of those now to be delivered; and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter; and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war; the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish, forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described; and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof.

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land six miles square, at or near Laromie's store, before mentioned. 2. 1 piece, two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece, six miles square, at the head of the navigable water of the Auglaize river. 4. One piece, six miles square, at the

confluence of the Auglaize and Miami rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece, two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece, six miles square, at the Ouatanon, or Old Wea towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece, twelve miles square, at the British fort on the Miami of the Lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece, six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11. One piece, two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit and all the land to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments: and so much more land to be annexed to the District of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine on the south and Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michillimackinac, and all the land on the Island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the Main to the north of the Island, to measure six miles, on Lake Huron, or the Strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water on the lake or strait; and also, the Island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of Chikago river, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece, six miles square, at the Old Piorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the People of the United States a free passage, by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts herein before mentioned; that is to say: from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Laromie's store, thence, along said portage, to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage

at or near Loramie's store, along the portage, from thence to the river AuGlaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky bay and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of Chikago, to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will also allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes when necessary for their safety.

Art. 4. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1st. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. 2d. The post at St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3d. The lands at all other places in possession of the French people and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3d article; and 4th. The post of Fort Massac towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim which they or any of them may have.

And for the same considerations and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes, a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year, forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hnndred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those

goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following:

1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars. 2d. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars. 3d. To the Shawanese, the amount of one thousand dollars. 4th. To the Miamies, the amount of one thousand dollars. 5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 7th. To the Potawatimas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 8th. And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel River, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

Art. 5. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to these lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever.*

Art. 6th. The Indians or United States may remove and punish intruders on Indian lands.

Art. 7th. Indians may hunt within ceded lands.

Art. 8th. Trade shall be opened in substance, as by provisions in treaty of Fort Harmar. (See Ante, p. 317.)

Art. 9th. All injuries shall be referred to law, not privately avenged; and all hostile plans known to either shall be revealed to the other party.

Art. 10th. All previous treaties annulled.

This great and abiding peace-document was signed by the various nations named in the 4th article;—and dated August the

* See Land Lands, p. 154.

3d, 1795. It was laid before the Senate December 9th, and ratified December 22d. So closed the old Indian wars of the West.*

During the six years through which the Indian wars of the West continued, many events took place of local importance, to which we must now refer. And foremost stands the admission of Kentucky into the Union. In 1789 she had requested certain changes in the law, authorising separation, which had been passed by Virginia,† and these changes were made; it being requested, however, at the same time, that a ninth Kentucky convention should meet, in July, 1790, to express the sentiments of the people of the western District, and to take other needful steps. Upon the 26th of July, accordingly, the Convention came together; the terms of Virginia were agreed to; June 1, 1792, was fixed as the date of independence; and measures adopted to procure the agreement of the federal legislature.‡ It was also resolved, that in December, 1791, persons should be chosen to serve seven months, who, on the first Monday in April, 1792, should meet at Danville to form a constitution for the coming state, and determine what laws should be in force. In December, 1790,‖ the President of the United States presented the subject of the admission of Kentucky to Congress, and upon the 4th of February, 1791, that action was taken which terminated the long frustrated efforts of the land of Boone, Clark, and Logan to obtain self-government.§ In the following December, the elections took place for persons to frame a constitution, and in April, 1792, the instrument which was to lie at the basis of Kentucky law, was prepared, mainly, it would seem, by George Nicholas of Mercer county.¶ As this charter, however, was changed in some important features, a few years after, we

* See the treaty and minutes of the council, American State Papers, v. 562 to 583. The treaty alone, Land Laws 154 to 159. In Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, vol. ii. is a series of papers by John Johnston of Piqua, formerly an Indian Agent in Ohio, &c., in which the characters of Little Turtle and many other prominent Chiefs of the wars of 1790-95 are drawn; they ought to be read by all curious in the Indian character, or in the details of western history. In the same work, vol. ii. p. 273, is related an adventure of two American scouts which is among the most striking of the many tales of the kind; how far it is embellished we cannot say.

In Volney's View, pp. 405, 430, &c., are some characteristic statements relative to Little Turtle.

† *Ante*, p. 320. ‡ Marshall's Kentucky, i. 360. ‖ Sparks' Washington, xii. 13, 32.

§ Butler's Kentucky, 196. ¶ Marshall's Kentucky, i. 414.

shall not at this time enter into any discussion of its merits and defects.

A second subject to be noticed is the attempt of the agents of the French minister in the United States, to enlist the citizens of Kentucky in an attack upon the dominions of Spain in the southwest. We cannot, and need not, do more than refer to the state of feeling prevalent in America, in relation to France, from 1792 to 1795, On the 21st of January, 1793, the French had taken the life of their monarch, and upon the 18th of May, M. Genet, was presented to Washington as the representative of the new republic of France.* This man brought with him *open* instructions, in which the United States were spoken of as naturally neutral in the contest between France and united Holland, Spain and England; and *secret* instructions, the purpose of which was to induce the Government, and if that could not be done, the People, of the American republic, to make common cause with the founders of the dynasty of the guillotine.† In pursuance of this plan, Genet began a system of operations, the tendency of which was, to involve the People of the United States in a war with the enemies of France, without any regard to the views of the federal government;‡ and knowing very well the old bitterness of the frontier-men in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi, he formed the plan of embodying a band of troops beyond the Alleghanies for the conquest of Louisiana. Early in November, 1793, four persons were sent westward to raise troops and issue commissions in the name of the French republic.‖ They moved openly and boldly, secure in the strong democratic feelings of the inhabitants of the region drained by the great river which Spain controlled; and so far succeeded as to persuade even the political founder of Kentucky, George Rogers Clark, to become a Major General in the armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces on the Mississippi.§ Nor did the French emissaries much mistake the temper of the people of the West,¶

* Pitkin's United States, ii. 359.

† Pitkin's U. States, ii. 360.—Marshall's Washington, v. 410.—See a pamphlet by Genet, giving his instructions and the correspondence between the federal government and himself, published in Philadelphia, 1793.

‡ See the correspondence between Jefferson and Genet. American State Papers, 141 to 188.

‖ See documents, American State Papers, i. 454 to 460.

§ Clark's proposals are in Marshall, ii. 103.

¶ See American State Papers, i. 454 to 460, and Marshall's Kentucky, ii. 99 to 101, as to correspondence of Governor Shelby and his course in relation to Genet.—Also Butler's Kentucky, 224 to 234, and 524 to 531.

as will be evident from the following extracts, the first of which is from an address "to the inhabitants of the United States west of the Alleghany and Appalachian mountains," dated December 13th, 1793; the other from a remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States of America, which is without date, but was prepared about the same time as the first paper.

December 13, 1793.

Fellow-citizens:—The Democratic Society of Kentucky having had under consideration the measures necessary to obtain the exercise of your rights to the free navigation of the Mississippi, have determined to address you upon that important topic. In so doing they think that they only use the undoubted right of citizens to consult for their common welfare. This measure is not dictated by party or faction; it is the consequence of unavoidable necessity. It has become so from the neglect shown by the General Government, to obtain for those of the citizens of the United States who are interested therein the navigation of that river. * * * * * * *

Experience, fellow-citizens, has shown us that the General Government is unwilling that we should obtain the navigation of the river Mississippi. A local policy appears to have an undue weight in the councils of the Union. It seems to be the object of that policy to prevent the population of this country, which would draw from the eastern states their industrious citizens. This conclusion inevitably follows from a consideration of the measures taken to prevent the purchase and settlement of the lands bordering on the Mississippi. Among those measures, the unconstitutional interference which rescinded sales, by one of the States, to private individuals, makes a striking object. And perhaps the fear of a successful rivalship, in every article of their exports, may have its weight. But, if they are not unwilling to do us justice, they are at least regardless of our rights and welfare. We have found prayers and supplications of no avail, and should we continue to load the table of Congress with memorials, from a part only of the western country, it is too probable that they would meet with a fate similar to those which have been formerly presented. Let us, then, all unite our endeavors in the common cause. Let all join in a firm and manly remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States, stating our just and undoubted right to the navigation of the Mississippi, remonstrating against the conduct of government with regard to that right, which must have been occasioned by local policy or neglect, and demanding of them speedy and effectual exertions for its attainment. We cannot doubt that you will cordially and unanimously join in this measure. It can hardly be necessary to remind you that considerable quantities of beef, pork, flour, hemp, tobacco, &c., the produce of this

country, remain on hand for want of purchasers, or are sold at inadequate prices. Much greater quantities might be raised if the inhabitants were encouraged by the certain sale which the free navigation of the Mississippi would afford. An additional increase of those articles, and a greater variety of produce and manufactures, would be supplied, by means of the encouragement, which the attainment of that great object would give to emigration. But it is not only your own rights which you are to regard: remember that your posterity have a claim to your exertions to obtain and secure that right. Let not your memory be stigmatised with a neglect of duty. Let not history record that the inhabitants of this beautiful country lost a most invaluable right, and half the benefits bestowed upon it by a bountiful Providence, through your neglect and supineness. The present crisis is favorable. Spain is engaged in a war which requires all her forces. If the present golden opportunity be suffered to pass without advantage, and she shall have concluded a peace with France, we must then contend against her undivided strength.

But what may be the event of the proposed application is still uncertain. We ought, therefore to be still upon our guard, and watchful to seize the first favorable opportunity to gain our object. In order to this, our union should be as perfect and lasting as possible. We propose that societies should be formed, in convenient districts, in every part of the western country, who shall preserve a correspondence upon this and every other subject of a general concern. By means of these societies we shall be enabled speedily to know what may be the result of our endeavors, to consult upon such further measures as may be necessary to preserve union, and, finally, by these means, to secure success.

Remember that it is a common cause which ought to unite us, that cause is indubitably just, that ourselves and posterity are interested, that the crisis is favorable, and that it is only by union that the object can be achieved. The obstacles are great, and so ought to be our efforts. Adverse fortune may attend us, but it shall never dispirit us. We may for a while exhaust our wealth and strength, but until the all important object is procured, we pledge ourselves to you, and let us all pledge ourselves to each other, that our perseverance and our friendship will be inexhaustible. JOHN BRECKENRIDGE, Chairman.

Test:—THOMAS TODD, THOMAS BODLEY, } Clerks.

To the President and Congress of the United States of America. The remonstrance of the subscribers, citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, showeth:—

That your remonstrants, and the other inhabitants of the United States, west of the Allegany and Apalachian mountains, are entitled, by

nature and stipulation, to the free and undisturbed navigation of the river Mississippi; and that, from the year 1783 to this day, they have been prevented uniformly, by the Spanish king, from exercising that right. Your remonstrants have observed, with concern, that the General Government, whose duty it was to have preserved that right, have used no effectual measures for its attainment; that even their tardy and ineffectual negotiations have been veiled with the most mysterious secrecy; that that secrecy is a violation of the political rights of the citizen, as it declares that the people are unfit to be entrusted with important facts relative to their rights, and that their servants may retain from them the knowledge of those facts. Eight years are surely sufficient for the discussion of the most doubtful and disputable claim. The right to the navigation of the Mississippi admits neither of doubt nor dispute. Your remonstrants, therefore, conceive that the negotiations on that subject have been unnecessarily lengthy, and they expect that it be demanded categorically of the Spanish king whether he will acknowledge the right of the citizens of the United States to the free and uninterrupted navigation of the River Mississippi, and cause all obstructions, interruption, and hindrance to the exercise of that right, in future, to be withdrawn and avoided; that immediate answer thereto be required, and that such answer be the final period of all negotiations upon this subject.

Your remonstrants further represent, that the encroachment of the Spaniards upon the territory of the United States, is a striking and melancholy proof of the situation to which our country will be reduced, if a tame policy should still continue to direct our councils.

Your remonstrants join their voice to that of their fellow-citizens in the Atlantic States, calling for satisfaction for the injuries and insults offered to America; and they expect such satisfaction shall extend to every injury and insult done or offered to any part of America, by Great Britain and Spain; and as the detention of the posts, and the interruption to the navigation of the Mississippi, are injuries and insults of the greatest atrocity, and of the longest duration, they require the most particular attention to those subjects.*

But the government had taken measures to prevent the proposed movements from being carried into effect. The Governor of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby; Governor St. Clair; and General Wayne, were all written to: and, by the preparation of troops, the renewal of Fort Massac,† the dissemination of just views among the people, and the request made of the French government that Genet should be recalled, the plans of that mischief-maker and his

* American State Papers, xx. 929, 930.

† See American Pioneer, ii. 220.—See on the whole subject, Marshall ii. 96 to 122.

agents were effectually defeated: the rulers of France disowned his acts—he was ordered back to Europe—and in May 1794 his western emissary was forced to write to the Democratic Society of Lexington in these words:—

To the Democratic Society of Lexington.

Citizens:—Events, unforeseen, the effects of causes which it is unnecessary here to develope, have stopped the march of two thousand brave Kentuckians, who, strong in their courage, in the justice of their rights, their cause, the general assent of their fellow-citizens, and convinced of the brotherly dispositions of the Louisianians, waited only for their orders to go, by the strength of their arms, take from the Spaniards the despotic usurpers of the empire of the Mississippi, ensure to their country the navigation of it, break the chains of the Americans, and their brethren the French, hoist up the flag of liberty in the name of the French republic, and lay the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of two nations situated so, and destined by nature to be but one, the most happy in the universe. * * * * * * * *

Accept, citizens, the farewell, not the last, of a brother who is determined to sacrifice every thing in his power for the liberty of his country, and the prosperity of the generous inhabitants of Kentucky.

Salut en la patrie, AUGUSTE LACHAISE.*

A third topic relative to Kentucky, which we have now to notice as connected with the period we are treating of, is the Spanish intrigue with Wilkinson, Sebastian, Innis, and Nicholas.

* American State Papers, xx. 931.—This letter was followed by a meeting in Lexington, which denounced Washington and all who supported him, especially Jay. It also proposed a convention for the indefinite purpose of deliberating on the steps expedient to secure the just rights of the people: the proposition produced no result.—See Butler's Kentucky, 234.—Up to April, 1794, there were preparations still going on; John S. Gano of Cincinnati, on the 8th or 9th of that month, passed through Lexington; he found the Genet plan generally liked, cannon casting, ammunition subscribed, and heard of boats building at the Falls. It had been previously dropped for a time from want of funds.—See American State Papers, i. 459, 460.

Notwithstanding Genet's defeat, M. Adet, the minister of France in 1796, appears to have sent emissaries into the West in the spring of that year, to renew the process of exciting disaffection to the Union. They were General Collot and M. Warin. Information of the plan having been communicated to the executive, an agent was sent after the Frenchmen to watch them, and counteract their purposes. This person saw Collot at Pittsburgh, and learned his plans; he was to visit Kentucky, Fort Washington, the Southwest, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and St. Louis; he carried strong letters to Wilkinson, and relied especially on Sebastian. The government appears to have brought the whole plot to nought in silence.—(See the memoranda of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of Treasury; the letter of the agent employed; &c. &c. in George Gibbs' "Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams. New York, 1846." Vol. i. 350 to 356.)

In 1787, General Wilkinson had made his first trip to New Orleans; in February, 1788, he returned to Kentucky, and the following year again visited the south, with which he continued to hold continued intercourse until 1791, when he began to take part in the Indian wars of the northwest. During this period, his operations were, to appearance, merely commercial, and the utmost reach of his plans, the formation of a kind of mercantile treaty with the Spanish provinces, by which the navigation of the Mississippi might be secured as a privilege, if not a right. We cannot enter into an examination of the mass of evidence brought forward in later times, (from 1807 to 1811,) to sustain the charge brought against Wilkinson of having received a pension from the Spanish government, in return for which he was to play the traitor to his country and effect a disunion of the States. In 1808, he was brought before a court of enquiry, and entirely acquitted of the charge; and again, in 1811, he was tried before a court martial, and every particle of evidence that could be found by his most inveterate enemies, without regard to legal formalities, which the accused dispensed with, was gathered to overwhelm him; but he was declared innocent by the court of every charge preferred against him. Nor does our own examination of the evidence lead us to doubt the correctness of the decision in his favor; the chief witnesses who criminated him were of the worst character, and most vindictive tempers,* and not a circumstance was fairly, clearly proved that could not be explained by the avowed mercantile relations which he succeeded in establishing with the Spanish governors at New Orleans. Those governors may, very probably, have hoped to see his business connections turn into political ones, but there is no cause to think they ever did so.†

* Depositions of George Mather and Wm. Wickoff, jr. in Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 103, 104.—Deposition of A. Ellicott, American State Papers, xxi. 89. (12th interrogation.)

† The evidence in relation to Wilkinson is in American State Papers, xx. 704 to 713, 936 to 939; xxi. 79 to 127; in report of the committee of the House of Representatives, Washington, 1811; in "Proofs of the Corruption of General James Wilkinson, by Daniel Clark." See also appendix to Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii.—also his argument to the Court Martial, Memoirs, ii. 41 to 268.

A letter in Dillon's Indiana, i. 412, from Wilkinson to Captain Buntin, is worthy of notice, as a proof in favor of Wilkinson's intentions in 1797.

For charges against him, see Memoirs, ii. 35 to 40.

For sentence of Court of Inquiry, do. pp. 12. 13.

For do Court Martial, do. pp. 565 to 576.

The charges before the Court Martial and its sentence, are also in Niles' Register, i. 469 to 474.

Among the plans of the Spanish officials in Louisiana was one of encouraging emigration thither from the United States, and this had been fully disclosed to Wilkinson,* who furnished a list of probable emigrants, and interested himself generally in the matter. Among the persons recommended by him to Governor Miro, was Benjamin Sebastian, a lawyer of Kentucky, and in September, 1789, the Governor wrote to Sebastian relative to the proposed measure.† In that letter, the wish of Spain to establish friendly relations with the Ohio settlers was named, and an offer of certain commercial privileges held out. The communication thus opened with Sebastian was probably continued; and when the Baron de Carondelet succeeded General Miro, he wrote to him in July, 1795, the following letter:

New Orleans, July 16, 1795.

Sir:—The confidence reposed in you by my predecessor, Brigadier General Miro, and your former correspondence with him, have induced me to make a communication to you highly interesting to the country in which you live and to Louisiana.

His Majesty, being willing to open the navigation of the Mississippi to the people of the western country, and being also desirous to establish certain regulations, reciprocally beneficial to the commerce of both countries, has ordered me to proceed on the business, and to effect, in a way the most satisfactory to the people of the western country, his benevolent design.

I have, therefore, made this communication to you, in expectation that you will procure agents to be chosen and fully empowered by the people of your country to negotiate with Colonel Gayoso on the subject, at New Madrid, whom I shall send there in October next, properly authorized for that purpose, with directions to continue in that place, or its vicinity, until the arrival of your agents.

I am, by information, well acquainted with the character of some of the most respectable inhabitants of Kentucky, particulary of Innis, Nicholas, and Murray, to whom I wish you to communicate the purport of this address; and, should you and those gentlemen think the object of it as important as I do, you will doubtless accede, without hesitation, to the proposition I have made of sending a delegation of your countrymen, sufficiently authorized to treat on a subject which so deeply involves the interest of both our countries.

I remain, with every esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THE BARON OF CARONDELET.‡

* Memoirs, ii. 112. † See his letter, American State Papers, xx. 706.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 926.

Innis, Nicholas and Murray were consulted, and the result was a visit by Sebastian, first to New Madrid, where he conferred with Gayoso, and then to New Orleans, where he met the Baron himself. Before, however, terms were agreed on, news came that the Federal Government had concluded a treaty with Spain, covering the whole subject, and the messenger, in 1796, returned to Kentucky.* During the summer of the next year, 1797, Thomas Power came to Kentucky from Louisiana, and sent Sebastian the following communication, which he in turn communicated to Innis and Nicholas, who sent through Sebastian a reply which we also give.

His excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, commander-in-chief and governor of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of West Florida, and Louisiana, having communications of importance, embracing the interests of said provinces, and at the same time deeply affecting those of Kentucky, and the western country in general, to make to its inhabitants through the medium of the influential characters in this country, and judging it, in the present uncertain and critical attitude of politics, highly imprudent and dangerous to lay them on paper, has expressly commissioned and authorized me to submit the following proposals to the consideration of Messrs. S., N., I., and M.,† and also of such other gentlemen, as may be pointed out by them, and to receive from them their sentiments and determination on the subject.

1. The above mentioned gentlemen are immediately to exert all their influence in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the western country, a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the Federal Union, and forming an independent government, wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States. To prepare and dispose the people for such an event, it will be necessary that the most popular and eloquent writers in this State should, in well-timed publications, expose, in the most striking point of view, the inconveniences and disadvantages, that a longer connexion with, and dependence on the Atlantic States, must inevitably draw upon them, and the great and innumerable difficulties in which they will probably be entangled if they do not speedily recede from the Union: the benefits they will certainly reap from a secession, ought to be pointed out in the most forcible and powerful manner; and the danger of permitting the federal troops to take possession of the posts on the Mississippi; and thus forming a cordon of fortified places around them, must be particularly expatiated upon. In consideration of gentlemen's devoting their time

* Deposition of Innis. (American State Papers, xx. 925 to 927.)

† Sebastian, Nicholas, Innis, and Murray.

and talents to this object, his excellency the Baron of Carondelet, will appropriate the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to their use, which shall be paid in drafts on the royal treasury at New Orleans ; or if more convenient, shall be conveyed at the expense of his Catholic Majesty, into this country, and held at their disposal. Moreover, should such persons as shall be instrumental in promoting the views of his Catholic Majesty, hold any public employment, and in consequence of taking an active part in endeavoring to effect a secession, shall lose their employment—a compensation equal at least to the emoluments of their office, shall be made to them, by his Catholic Majesty, let their efforts be crowned with success, or terminate in disappointment.

2. Immediately after the declaration of independence, Fort Massac should be taken possession of by the troops of the new government, which shall be furnished by his Catholic Majesty without loss of time, together with twenty fieldpieces, with their carriages, and every necessary appendage, including powder, ball, &c., together with a number of small arms and ammunition, sufficient to equip the troops that it shall be judged expedient to raise. The whole to be transported at his expense, to the already named fort Massac. His Catholic Majesty will further supply the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the raising and maintaining the said troops, which sum shall also be conveyed to and delivered at Fort Massac.

3. The northern boundary of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida shall be designated by a line commencing on the Mississippi at the mouth of the river Yazoo, extending due east to the River Confederation, or Tombigbee : provided that all his Catholic Majesty's forts, posts, and settlements on the Confederation or Tombigbee are included in the south side of such a line, but should any of his Majesty's forts, posts, or settlements fall to the north of said line, then the northern boundary of his Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line beginning at the same point on the Mississippi, and drawn in such a direction as to meet the River Confederation, or Tombigbee, six miles to the north of the most northern Spanish post, fort, or settlement on the said river. All the lands north of that line shall be considered as constituting a part of the territory of the new government, saving that small tract of land at the Chickasaw Bluffs, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi ceded to his Majesty by the Chickasaw nation in a formal treaty concluded on the spot in the year 1795, between his excellency Senor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez, and Augleakabee and some other Chickasaw chiefs ; which tract of land his Majesty reserves for himself. The eastern boundary of the Floridas shall be hereafter regulated.

4. His Catholic Majesty will, in case the Indian nations south of the Ohio, should declare war or commit hostilities against the new govern-

ment, not only join and assist it in repelling its enemies, but if said government shall at any future time esteem it useful to reduce said Indian nations, extend its dominion over them, and compel them to submit themselves to its constitution and laws, his Majesty will heartily concur and co-operate with the new government in the most effectual manner in attaining this desirable end.

5. His Catholic Majesty will not either directly or indirectly interfere in the framing of the constitution or laws which the new government shall think fit to adopt; nor will he at any time, by any means whatever, attempt to lessen the independence of the said government, or endeavor to acquire an undue influence in it, but will, in the manner that shall hereafter be stipulated by treaty, defend and support it in preserving its independence.

The preceding proposals, are the outlines of a provisional treaty, which his excellency the Baron of Carondelet is desirous of entering into with the inhabitants of the western country, the moment they shall be in a situation to treat for themselves. Should they not meet entirely with your approbation, and should you wish to make any alterations in, or additions to them, I shall on my return, if you think proper to communicate them to me, lay them before his excellency, who is animated with a sincere and ardent desire to foster this promising and rising infant country, and at the same time, promote and fortify the interests of his beneficent and royal master, in securing by a generous and disinterested conduct, the gratitude of a just, sensible, and enlightened people.

The important and unexpected events that have taken place in Europe since the ratification of the treaty concluded on the 27th of October, 1795, between his Catholic Majesty and the United States of America, having convulsed the general system of politics in that quarter of the globe, and wherever its influence is extended, causing a collision of interests between nations formerly living in the most perfect union and harmony, and directing the political views of some States towards objects the most remote from their former pursuits, but none being so completely unhinged and disjointed as the cabinet of Spain, it may be confidently asserted, without incurring the reproach of presumption, that his Catholic Majesty will not carry the above-mentioned treaty into execution; nevertheless the thorough knowledge I have of the disposition of the Spanish Government justifies me in saying that, so far from its being his Majesty's wish to exclude the inhabitants of this western country from the free navigation of the Mississippi, or withhold from them any of the benefits stipulated for them by the treaty, it is positively his intention, so soon as they shall put it in his power to treat with them, by declaring themselves independent of the Federal Goverment, and establishing one of their own, to grant them privileges far more extensive, give them a decided preference over the Atlantic States in his commercial connexions with them, and place them in a situation in-

finitely more advantageous, in every point of view, than that in which they would find themselves were the treaty to be carried into effect.

THOMAS POWER.

REPLY.

Sir:—We have seen the communication made by you to Mr. Sebastian. In answer thereto, we declare unequivocally, that we will not be concerned either directly or indirectly, in any attempt that may be made to separate the western country from the United States. That whatever part we may at any time be induced to take in the politics of our country, that her welfare will be our only inducement, and that we will never receive any pecuniary, or any other reward, for any personal exertions made by us, to promote that welfare.

The free navigation of the Mississippi must always be the favorite object of the inhabitants of the western country; they cannot be contented without it; and will not be deprived of it longer than necessity shall compel them to submit to its being withheld from them.

We flatter ourselves that every thing will be set right, by the governments of the two nations; but if this should not be the case, it appears to us that it must be the policy of Spain to encourage by every possible means, the free intercourse with the inhabitants of the western country, as this will be the most efficient means to conciliate their good will, and to obtain without hazard, and at reduced prices, those supplies which are indispensably necessary to the Spanish Government and its subjects.*

Whether Sebastian signed this reply, is not known; but upon proof that he had for years afterwards received two thousand dollars annually as a pension from Spain for services rendered,† it was unanimously adjudged by the House of Representatives in Kentucky, on the 6th of December, 1806, that he had been guilty, while holding the place of Judge of the Court of Appeals, of carrying on a criminal intercourse with the agents of the Spanish Government, and disgracing his country for pay.‡ Before this decision, however, Sebastian had resigned his place, and thenceforward was lost to the councils of the State.‖

* American State Papers, xx. 928, 929.—In August, 1796, Spain allied herself with France. In December, France quarrelled with the United States, so that Spain at the time of Power's visit in 1797, was still holding the posts east of the Mississippi, which, by the treaty of 1795, were to be given up, and was in a half hostile attitude towards the United States.

† Testimony of Thomas Bullitt, Charles Wilkins, &c. (American State Papers, xx. 924.)

‡ See entire documents, American State Papers, xx. 922 to 934.—Vote of the House. Do. 933. Also, the account in Marshall, ii. 377 to 384.

‖ See Hall's Sketches, ii. 28 to 35. The writer appears to refer entirely to the transactions of 1795–6, and to be unaware of the propositions made in 1797. The best argument in Sebastian's favor is that put so well by Wilkinson in his own defence; (Memoirs, ii. 65. 66.) viz:—no evidence was offered to show that he ever did any thing to favor disunion; he never earned his pay.

We have so far said nothing of those political parties which divided the United States during the administration of Washington; for though it is not to be doubted that the contests of those parties gave Genet cause to trust in his plans of conquest, and supported the hopes of Sebastian and his Spanish employers, yet their operations were not directly dependent upon the factions which rent the country. We have now, however, to speak of an event that derived its importance from its real or supposed connection with those factions, and which it seems proper to introduce by a brief sketch of their origin and character; we refer to the popular movement in western Pennsylvania, growing out of the excise on domestic spirits; commonly known as the whiskey insurrection. When the united colonies of Great Britain had won their independence, and the rule of George the 3d over them ended, the question, of course, arose as to the nature of the government which was to succeed. Two fears prevailed among the people of the freed Provinces. On the one hand a tendency to monarchy and ultimate tyranny, was dreaded: it was thought that a foreign despot had been warred with in vain, if by the erection of a strong central or Federal power the foundations of domestic despotism were laid instead; the sovereignty of the several States, balancing one another, and each easily controlled by the voice of the people was, with this party of thinkers, to be the security of the freedom that had been achieved. In Europe, republicanism had been overthrown by the centralizing process which had substituted the great monarchies for the Feudal system, and the Italian and Flemish commonwealths; and in America the danger, it was thought, would be of too great a concentration of power in the hands of a central Federal sovereignty.* While these views prevailed among one portion of the American people, another portion dreaded the excess of popular democratic passions, tending constantly to anarchy. To this party a strong central power seemed essential, not only for financial and commercial purposes, but also to restrain the inevitable disposition of popular governments to the abandonment of all law, all reverence, and all social unity. History and reflection, in short, showed men on the one side, that

* Governor Harrison, of Virginia, said even of the Constitution, as adopted, that it "must sooner or later establish a tyranny not inferior to the triumvirate or *centumviri* of Rome." See his letter, Sparks' Washington, ix. 267, note. George Mason also said of it, that it would cause the Government to "commence in a moderate aristocracy," and would finally "produce a monarchy, or a corrupt oppressive aristocracy." See his paper, Sparks' Washington, ix. 547. See also Elliott's Debates, ii. 52. 213. Washington's own

human rulers are readily converted into despots; on the other, that human subjects were impatient of even wholesome control, and readily converted into licentious, selfish anarchists.* When at length the business sufferings of the country, and the worthlessness of the old confederacy, led to the formation of the present constitution, the two bodies of whom we have spoken, were forced to compromise,† and while the strong Executive, and complete centralization of Hamilton, Jay and Adams had to be abandoned by them and their friends, the complete independence of the States, and the corresponding nullity of Congress, which Patrick Henry, Mason, and Harrison preferred, had also to begiven up, or greater evils follow. In this same spirit of compromise upon which our constitution rested, Washington framed his cabinet, and directed his administration, and it seemed possible that in time the bitterness of feeling which had shown itself before and during the discussion of the great Bond of Union, would die away. But the difficulties of the first administration were enormous, such as no man but Washington could have met with success, and even he could not secure the unanimity he wished for.‡ Among those difficulties none were greater than the payment of the public debt, and the arrangement of a proper system of finance. The party which dreaded anarchy, which favored a strong central rule, an efficient Federal Government,—the Federalists, feeling that the whole country, as such, had contracted debts, felt bound in honor and honesty to do every thing to procure their payment; it also felt that the future stability and power of the Federal Government

views on the point referred to in the text, may be found in the same volume, pp. 11. 167. 187. 203. 211. 258: in a letter to Doctor Gordon, in the North American Review, vol. xxv. p. 254. (October, 1827.)

For the views of

Hamilton, see North American Review, xxv. 266. Journal of Convention at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787, p. 130.
Jay, " Sparks' Washington, ix. 510. North American Review, xxv. 263.
Henry, " Sparks' Washington, ix. 266, note Elliott's Debates, ii. 64. 71. 139. 147, &c.
Madison, " Sparks' Washington, ix. 516. North American Review, xxv. 264.
Jefferson, " Sparks' Washington, x. 518 to 526. North American Review, xxv. 267 to 269. Jefferson's Writings, ii. 449.
Knox, " North American Review, xxv. 264.

* See Washington's opinions relative to the wickedness of the popular leaders. Sparks' Washington, ix. 156. 167. 210.

† Jefferson rightly called the constitution "an accommodation of interests." Jefferson's Works, ii. 449.

‡ See Sparks' Washington, x. 515 to 526.

depended greatly upon the establishment of its credit at the outset of its career. The dreaders of centralization, the anti-Federalists, on the other hand, favoring State sovereignty, and wishing but a slight national union, neither desired the creation of a national credit, nor felt the obligation of a national debt in the same degree as their opponents, and feared the creation of a moneyed aristocracy by speculations in the public stocks. When, therefore, Mr. Hamilton, upon whom it devolved, as Secretary of the Treasury, to offer a plan for liquidating the debts of the confederation, attempted the solution of the financial problem, he was certain to displease one party or the other. In generalities compromises had been found possible, but in details they were not readily admitted. Hamilton, moreover, was one of the most extreme friends of centralization, and any measure emanating from him was sure to be resisted. When he brought forward his celebrated series of financial measures, accordingly, the whole strength of the two divisions of which we have been speaking, appeared for and against his plans. And it is to be noted, that the question was not a mere question of Finance; it involved the vital principles for and against which the Federal and Anti-federal parties were struggling. The former actually hoped by means of the Funding and Bank systems, to found a class whose interests would so bind them to the Government as to give it permanency,* while their opponents actually anticipated the formation of a moneyed aristocracy, which would overthrow the power and liberties of the people; they felt they were "sold to stock-holders," and like the Roman debtors condemned to slavery.†

In the West the opponents of the Central Government were numerous. Its formation had been resisted, and its measures were almost all unpopular. The Indian War was a cause of complaint, because Harmar and St. Clair had been defeated;‡ the army was a cause of complaint, because it was the beginning of a system of standing armies. The funding system was hated because of its injustice, inasmuch as it aided speculation, and because it would lead to the growth of a favored class; the western posts were held

* See letter of Oliver Wolcott, dated March 27, 1790, in Gibbs i. 43.

† Address of Democratic Club of Wythe county, Virginia, dated July 4, 1794; it is in the Boston Independent Chronicle of August, 11th, 1794. Jefferson's letter to Washington. (Sparks' Washington, x. 519–521.)

‡ In the Democratic newspapers of the time, the Funding system, the Excise, the Bank, and the Indian war are all equally condemned. See, for example, a series of letters on Hamilton's financial measures in the Independent Chronicle of Boston, July, August and September, 1794.

by England, the Mississippi closed by Spain, and the frontier ravaged by the savages, and against all the Federal Government did what? Nothing.* So said the leaders of popular feeling. It was not strange, therefore, that the people of western Pennsylvania, especially those of foreign birth and descent, should object to the payment of the most unpopular kind of tax for the support of a government which they disliked and had no faith in. Unable readily to reach a market with their produce, they concentrated it into whiskey,† and upon this, while all other agricultural wealth was untouched, the hated tax gatherer was sent to lay his excise. Nor was it the producer only who complained; the consumers also felt aggrieved by the duty laid upon domestic spirits, for they were the common drink of the nation;‡ the star of temperance had not then arisen. It was in December, 1790, that General Hamilton advised the excise on spirits;‖ upon the 3d of the ensuing March the law was passed;§ and instantly the spirit of opposition showed itself. At first this opposition was confined to efforts to discourage persons from holding offices connected with the excise; next associations were formed of those who were ready to "forbear" compliance with the law;¶ but as men talked with one another, and the excise became more and more identified with the tyranny of Federalism, stronger demonstrations were inevitable, and upon the 27th of July, 1791, a meeting was called at Brownsville, (Redstone,) to consider the growing troubles of the western district of Pennsylvania.** This meeting, which was attended by influential and able men, agreed to a gathering of representatives from the five counties included in the fourth survey under the law in question,†† to be held at Washington, upon the 23d of August. The gathering took place, and we extract from Hamilton's report, of August, 1794, the following sentence in relation to it:

* The abandonment of the works at Presquile (see ante) excited the western Pennsylvanians especially.

† American Pioneer, ii. 215. A horse could carry only four bushels of rye, but the whiskey made from twenty-four.

‡ Such was the language of the Pittsburg meeting of August, 1792.

‖ American State Papers, vii. 64.

§ American State Papers, vii. 110.

¶ American State Papers, xx. 107.

** American State Papers, xx. 107.

†† These counties were Washington, Alleghany, Westmoreland, Fayette and Bedford. (Letter of George Clymer, supervisor of the District in Gibbs, i. 148. See American State Papers, vii. 110.)

This meeting passed some intermediate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the Pittsburgh Gazette, containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect, should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted, or might thereafter accept, any such office, with contempt, and absolutely to refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support, or comfort.

Not content with this vindictive proscription of those who might esteem it their duty, in the capacity of officers, to aid in the execution of the constitutional laws of the land, the meeting proceeded to accumulate topics of crimination of the Governmont, though foreign to each other; authorizing by this zeal for censure a suspicion that they were actuated not merely by the dislike of a particular law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

This meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed three of their members to meet delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, and Alleghany, on the first Tuesday of September following, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those counties in address to the Legislature of the United States upon the subject of the excise law and other grievances.*

Here, for the first time, the connection of the antagonism to the Excise, with other topics, was brought forward, and a political character given to the movement, by a general assault upon the measures of the Federal Government.† This assault assumed a yet more distinctive character at a subsequent meeting of delegates held at Pittsburg, upon the 7th of September; at which the salaries of the Federal officers; the interest paid upon the national debt; the want of distinction between the original holders of that debt and those who had bought it at a discount; and the creation of a United States Bank were all denounced in common with the tax on whiskey.‡ At these meetings all was conducted with propriety; and the resolutions adopted gave no direct countenance to violence; but when did the leaders of a community, its legislators, judges and clergy,—ever express, in any manner, however quiet, their utter disregard of law,‖ without a corresponding expression by the masses, if uneducated, in acts of violence? It was not

* American State Papers, xx. 107. † American State Papers. xx. 107.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 107.

‖ The resolution to give no aid of any kind to the excise officers, involved treachery to that law which requires us to assist in defending life and property against illegal force.

strange, therefore, that upon the day previous to the meeting last named, the collector for the counties of Alleghany and Washington was attacked:

A party of men, armed and disguised, waylaid him at a place on Pigeon Creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painful situation.

The case was brought before the district court of Pennsylvania, out of which processes issued against John Robertson, John Hamilton, and Thomas McComb, three of the persons concerned in the outrage.

The serving of these processes was confided by the then marshal, Clement Biddle, to his deputy, Joseph Fox, who, in the month of October, went into Alleghany county for the purpose of serving them.

The appearances and circumstances which Mr. Fox observed himself in the course of his journey, and learned afterwards upon his arrival at Pittsburgh, had the effect of deterring him from the service of the processes, and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of sending them to the parties by a private messenger, under cover.

The deputy's report to the marshal states a number of particulars, evincing a considerable fermentation in the part of the country to which he was sent, and inducing a belief, on his part, that he could not with safety have executed the processes. The marshal, transmitting this report to the district attorney, makes the following observations upon it: "I am sorry to add that he (the deputy) found the people, in general, in the western part of the State, and particularly beyond the Alleghany Mountains, in such a ferment on account of the act of Congress for laying a duty on distilled spirits, and so much opposed to the execution of the said act, and from a variety of threats to himself personally, (although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand,) that he was not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt to effect it would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the inhabitants; and he declares that, if he had attempted it, he believes he should not have returned alive.

I spared no expense nor pains to have the process of the court executed, and have not the least doubt that my deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done."

The reality of the danger to the deputy was countenanced by the opinion of General Neville, the inspector of the revenue, a man who before had given, and since has given, numerous proofs of a steady and firm temper; and what followed is a further confirmation of it.

The person who had been sent with the processes was seized, whipped, tarred, and feathered; and, after having his money and horse taken

from him, was blindfolded and tied in the woods; in which condition he remained for five hours.*

These intemperate expressions of their feelings by word and deed, startled the government, and puzzled its executive officers: it was determined, however, to await the influence of time, thought, information, and leniency, and to attempt by a reconsideration of the law at the earliest possible moment, to do away any real cause of complaint which might exist.† But popular fury once aroused is not soon allayed; the worst passions of the same people who sent out the murderers of the Moravian Indians in 1782, had been excited, and excess followed excess.

Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man, of the name of Wilson, a stranger in the county, and manifestly disordered in his intellects, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue, or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning distillers who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel through the United States, to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, &c. This man was pursued by a party in disguise; taken out of his bed; carried about five miles back, to a smith's shop; stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burnt; and, having been himself inhumanly burnt in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered, and about day-light dismissed, naked, wounded, and otherwise in a very suffering condition. These particulars are communicated in a letter from the inspector of the revenue, of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expressed it, exceeded description, and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as persons of weight and consideration in that county are understood to have been actors in it, and as the symptoms of insanity were, during the whole time of inflicting the punishment, apparent; the unhappy sufferer displaying the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty.

Not long after, a person of the name of Roseberry underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring and feathering with some aggravations, for having in conversation hazarded the very natural and just, but unpalatable remark, that the inhabitants of that county could not reasonably expect protection from a Government whose laws they so strenuously opposed.

The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great, that an armed banditti ventured to seize and carry off two persons who were

* American State Papers, xx. 107. † American State Papers, xx. 108.

witnesses against the rioters in the case of Wilson, in order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot in a court then sitting, or about to sit.*

Notwithstanding the course of the western people, the Federal Government, during the session of 1791 and '92 proceeded in the discussion of the obnoxious statute; and upon the 8th of May, 1792† passed an amendatory act, making such changes as were calculated to allay the angry feelings that had been excited, except in so far as they were connected with political animosities, and which in most districts produced the intended result. But in western Pennsylvania opposition continued unabated, and it was announced that the inspectors who, by the new law were to be appointed for all the counties, should not be allowed to open their offices: nor was this a mere threat; no buildings could be obtained for the use of the United States; and when, at length, in Washington, one Captain Faulkner dared to agree that a building of his should be occupied by the inspector, he was waylaid by a mob, a knife drawn upon him, and was threatened with scalping, loss of property by fire, and other injuries, if he did not revoke his agreement; so that upon the 20th of August, under the influence of fear, he did actually break his contract, and upon the next day advertised what he had done in the Pittsburg paper.‡

On the day of this advertisement, in the same town in which it appeared, a meeting was held, headed by members of the State Legislature,‖ judges, clergymen, and other leading characters.

This meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests that a tax on spirituous liquors is unjust in itself and oppressive upon the poor; that internal taxes upon consumption must, in the end, destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances, which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country; and concludes with the sentiment, that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrances to Congress, and in every other legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the law.

The resolutions then proceed, first, to appoint a committee to prepare and cause to be presented to Congress, an address, stating objections to

* American State Papers, xx. 108.

† See Hamilton's report upon the objections to the Excise; made March 5th, 1792. American State Papers, vii. 150.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 108.

‖ Albert Gallatin was secretary of this meeting. The chairman of the committee was David Bradford, who was the leader in the more violent scenes throughout. For his views, see a letter from him in the United States Gazette, of September 9, 1794; also in Brackenridge, i. 38. See also, Clymer's letter in Gibbs i. 248.

the law, and praying for its repeal: secondly, to appoint committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, charged to correspond together, and with such committees as should be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committees of a similar nature that might be appointed in other parts of the United States; and, also, if found necessary, to call together either general meetings of the people in their respective counties, or conferences of the several committees; and lastly, to declare that they will in future consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty as unworthy of their friendship; that they will have no intercourse nor dealings with them, will withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and will upon all occasions treat them with contempt; earnestly recommending it to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.*

When notice of this meeting, and of the means used to intimidate Faulkner, was given to the government,† Washington issued a proclamation, dated September 15th; the supervisor of the district was sent to the seat of trouble to learn the true state of facts, and to collect evidence;‡ while the Attorney-general was instructed to enquire into the legality of the proceedings of the Pittsburgh meeting, with a view to the indictment of the leaders.‖ Mr. Randolph, however, felt so much doubt as to the character of the meeting of August 21, that no prosecutions on that score were instituted; and in serving process upon two persons said to have been among the assailants of Faulkner, either an error was made, or the accusation proved to be false, which caused that matter also to be dropped by the government.§ It was then proposed to attempt a gradual suppression of the resistance to the law, by adopting these measures: 1st, the prosecution of all distillers who were not licensed, when it could be done with certainty of success, and without exciting violence; 2nd, the seizure of all illegal spirits on their way to market, when it could be done without leading to outbreaks; 3rd, by care that only spirits which had paid duty were bought for the use of the army. The influence of these measures was in part lost in consequence of the introduction of the whiskey

* American State Papers, xx. 108.

† See Sparks' Washington, x. 291. 526 to 533.

‡ See his letter on the subject, Gibbs, i. 148. He found Washington the worst county.

‖ Sparks' Washington, x. 305.

§ American State Papers, xx. 109.—Marshall's Washington, v. 365.—Findley, in his history of the Insurrection, p. 71, says the accusation was false, and the evidence perjured.

that paid no tax into the Northwestern Territory, over which some of the laws relative to the matter did not extend; but still their effect was decided: in November, 1792, Wolcott wrote that the opposition was confined to a small part of Pennsylvania, and would soon cease;* and through the whole of 1793,—although the Collector for Fayette county was obliged by force to give up his books and papers, and to promise a resignation; while the Inspector of Alleghany was burnt in effigy before the magistrates, and no notice of the act taken by them; and although when warrants were issued for the rioters in the former case, the Sheriff of the county refused to execute them,—yet obedience to the excise became more and more general, and many of the leading distillers, yielding to the suggestions of pecuniary interest, for the first time entered their stills, and abandoned the party of Bradford and his coadjutors.† This abandonment, the political antagonists of the law by no means relished; still even they might have been subdued but for the introduction, at that very juncture, of Mr. Genet's famous system of Democratic Societies, which, like the Jacobin Club of Paris, were to be a power above the government. Genet reached the United States, April 8th; on the 18th of May, he was presented to the President; and by the 30th of that month the Democratic Society of Philadelphia was organized.‡ By means of this, its affiliated bodies, and other societies based upon it, or suggested by it, the French minister, his friends and imitators, waged their war upon the adminisiration, and gave new energy to every man who, on any ground, was dissatisfied with the laws of his country. Among those dissatisfied, the enemies of the excise were of course to be numbered; and there can be little or no doubt that to the agency of societies formed in the disaffected districts, after the plan of those founded by Genet, the renewed and excessive hostility of the western people to the tax upon spirits is to be ascribed.‖ The proper Democratic Societies, when the crisis came, disapproved of the violence committed,§ and so did Gallatin

* Gibbs, i. 83.

† American State Papers, xx. 40.

‡ Marshall's Washington, v. 426, note.

‖ See Sparks' Washington, x. 429. 437, &c. The disposition to ascribe the insurrection directly to Genet's Societies, was natural enough in Washington and his friends; but we think the evidence referred to on page 444, and in the note below, disproves the suspicion of any design, on the part of the proper Democratic Societies, to produce anarchy or separation of the Union.

§ U. S. Gazette, August 26, September 1, September 6, &c., 1794.—Boston Independent Chronicle, August 18, 1794, October 6, 1794.

and many others; but, however much they may have disliked an appeal to force, even from the outset, their measures, their extravagancies, and political fanaticism, were calculated to result in violence and nothing else. Through 1793, as we have said, the law seemed gaining, but with the next January the demon was loosed again.

William Richmond, who had given information against some of the rioters, in the affair of Wilson, had his barn burnt, with all the grain and hay which it contained; and the same thing happened to Robert Shawhan, a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law, and who had always spoken favorably of it; but in neither of these instances, (which happened in the county of Alleghany) though the presumptions were violent, was any positive proof obtained.

The inspector of the revenue, in a letter of the 27th of February, writes that he had received information that persons, living near the dividing line of Alleghany and Washington, had thrown out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying distiller, and of burning his distillery; and that it had also been given out that in three weeks there would not be a house standing in Alleghany county of any person who had complied with the laws; in consequence of which, he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter, as well to ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavor to avert the attempt to execute such threats.

It appeared afterwards, that, on his return home, he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly persons, threatening, as they went along, vengeance against him. On their way, these men called at the house of James Kiddoe, who had recently complied with the laws, broke into his still-house, fired several balls under his still, and scattered fire over and about the house.

In May and June new violences were committed. James Kiddoe, the person above mentioned, and William Cochran, another complying distiller, met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had parts of his grist-mill at different times carried away; and Cochran suffered more material injuries. His still was destroyed; his saw-mill was rendered useless, by the taking away of the saw; and his grist-mill so injured as to require to be repaired, at considerable expense.

At the last visit a note in writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered in the Pittsburgh Gazette, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened, in figurative but intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire. Thus adding to the profligacy of doing wanton injuries to a fellow-citizen the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his wrongs.

June being the month for receiving annual entries of stills, endeavors

were used to open offices in Westmoreland and Washington, where it it had been hitherto found impracticable. With much pains and difficulty, places were procured for the purpose. That in Westmoreland was repeatedly attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it; but, according to a report which has been made to this Department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance by John Wells, an auxiliary officer, and Philip Ragan, the owner of the house, as to have been maintained during the remainder of the month.

That in Washington, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. The first attempt was confined to pulling down the sign of the office, and threats of future destruction; the second effected the object in the following mode: About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 6th of June, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and, after having treacherously seduced him to come down stairs, and put himself in their power, by a promise of safety to himself and his house, they seized and tied him; threatened to hang him; took him to a retired spot in a neighboring wood, and, there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names, and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of the excise: having done which, they bound him naked to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning, when he succeeded in extricating himself. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obiged to become an exile from his own home, and to find an asylum elsewhere.*

Even these acts, however, were followed by nothing on the part of the government more stringent than the institution, in the June following, of several suits against the rioters, and also against the non-complying distillers; to serve process in which the Marshal of the United States himself visited the west. This led to the catastrophe. These suits were in the United States Court, which sat east of the mountains, where the accused must of course be tried. But the seizure of offenders to be tried out of their own neighborhood, was opposed to the feelings of the Americans, and to the principles of that English law upon which they had relied through the discussions which preceded the Revolution. The federal government, it was said, in taking men to Philadelphia,†

* American State Papers, xx. 110.

† The writs were there returnable, in the District Court of the United States. (Findley, 74.) There was needless excitement caused by this, as the United States Courts had been authorised to sit near the troubled district, and the State Courts to try revenue cases. (Findley, 73.)

to be tried for alledged misdemeanors, was doing what the British did in carrying Americans beyond the sea. Then was shown, as we conceive, the power of those societies to which we have referred. In February, 1794, a society had been formed at Mingo creek, consisting of the militia of that neighborhood, the same persons who led in all future excesses.* In April a second association of the same character, and a regular Democratic Club, were formed in the troublesome district. In the latter, nothing was done in relation to the excise, so far as is known,† but in the two first-named bodies, there is reason to believe that the worst spirit of the French clubs was naturalized; the Excise and the Government thoroughly canvassed; and rebellion, disunion and bloodshed, sooner or later made familiar to the minds of all.‡

It may be readily understood that under such circumstances, great excitement was likely to prevail upon slight provocation. Notwithstanding, the Marshal was suffered to serve his writs unresisted, until, when he went with the last process in his hands, he unwisely took with him the Inspector of the county, General John Neville, a man once very popular, but who had been, as men considered, bought up by the Government, and had hence become exceedingly hateful to the populace.‖ After serving this process, the Marshal and Inspector were followed by a crowd, and a gun was fired, though without doing any injury.§ The Marshal returned to Pittsburgh and the Inspector to his own house, but it being noised abroad that both were at General Neville's, a number of militia-men who were gathered under the United States law, agreed the next morning to pay the Inspector a visit. For some time, Neville had been looking for an attack, knowing his unpopularity, and had armed his negroes and barricaded his windows.¶ An attack upon his house, with a view to a destruction of his papers, had probably been in contemplation, and those who gathered on the morning of the 16th of July, were determined, we presume, to carry the proposed destruction

* Brackenridge's Incidents, pp. 25. 148. † Findley, 166.—Brackenridge, iii. 25.

‡ See the accounts given by Brackenridge of the murderous spirit which filled the ignorant and excited country people.

‖ Neville had been an opposer of a State Excise, which had previously existed: (see Brackenridge iii. p. 1, &c.:) he had taken the place of Inspector, with the statement that he did not care what people thought;—he should have an independent salary of six hundred; he was understood to mean pounds, but really meant dollars, (Findley, 79.)

§ Brackenridge, i. 6.

¶ American State Papers, xx. 110, 111.—Findley and Brackenridge.

into effect. When General Neville discovered the party on that morning around his door, he asked their business, and upon receiving evasive replies, proceeded at once to treat them as enemies; shut his door again, and opened a fire, by which six of his supposed assailants were wounded, one of them mortally.* This, of course, added greatly to the anger and excitement previously existing; news of the bloodshed were diffused through the Mingo creek neighborhood, and before nightfall, steps were taken to avenge the sufferers. What followed, we will give in the words of General Hamilton, adding afterwards some particulars gathered from Findley and Brackenridge.

Apprehending that the business would not terminate here, he [Neville] made application by letter to the judges, generals of militia, and sheriff of the county, for protection. A reply to his application, from John Wilkins, jun., and John Gibson, magistrates and militia officers, informed him that the laws could not be executed, so as to afford him the protection to which he was entitled, owing to the too general combination of the people in that part of Pennsylvania to oppose the revenue law; adding, that they would take every step in their power to bring the rioters to justice, and would be glad to receive information of the individuals concerned in the attack upon his house, that prosecutions might be commenced against them; and expressing their sorrow that should the *posse comitatus* of the county be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be gotten that were not of the party of the rioters.

The day following the insurgents reassembled with a considerable augmentation of numbers, amounting, as has been computed, to at least five hundred; and on the 17th of July renewed their attack upon the house of the inspector, who, in the interval, had taken the precaution of calling to his aid a small detachment from the garrison, of Fort Pitt, which, at the time of the attack, consisted of eleven men, who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, a friend and connexion of the inspector.

There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defence against so large a body as then appeared, and as the inspector had every thing to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was judged advisable that he should withdraw from the house to a place of concealment; Major Kirkpatrick generously agreeing to remain with the eleven men, in the intention, if

* Findley, 84.—Brackenridge, i. 6.—The report of the Pennsylvania commissioners, (United States Gazette, August 30th,) in relation to the attack on Neville's house, agreed with the accounts of Brackenridge and Findley, in the main. Both differ from Hamilton's, which is doubtless imperfect.

practicable, to make a capitulation in favor of the property; if not, to defend it as long as possible.

A parley took place under cover of a flag, which was sent by the insurgents to the house to demand that the inspector should come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws. To this it was replied that the inspector had left the house upon their first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then declared that they must have whatever related to his office. They were answered that they might send persons, not exceeding six, to search the house, and take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to the office. But not satisfied with this, they insisted, unconditionally, that the armed men who were in the house for its defence should march out and ground their arms, which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused; considering it and representing it to them as a proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

A brisk firing then ensued between the insurgents and those in the house, which, it is said, lasted for near an hour, till the assailants, having set fire to the neighboring and adjacent buildings, eight in number, the intenseness of the heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of the fire to the house, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender themselves. In the course of the firing one of the insurgents was killed and several wounded, and three of the persons in the house were also wounded. The person killed, is understood to have been the leader of the party, of the name of James McFarlane, then a major in the militia, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling-house, after the surrender, shared the fate of the other buildings, the whole of which were consumed to the ground. The loss of property to the inspector, upon this occasion, is estimated, and as it is believed with great moderation, at not less than three thousand pounds.

The marshal, Colonel Presly Neville, and several others, were taken by the insurgents going to the inspector's house. All, except the marshal and Colonel Neville, soon made their escape; but these were carried off some distance from the place where the affray had happened, and detained till one or two o'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention, the marshal in particular suffered very severe and humiliating treatment, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Several of the party frequently presented their pieces at him with every appearance of a design to assassinate, from which they were with difficulty restrained by the efforts of a few more humane and more prudent.

Nor could he obtain safety nor liberty, but upon the condition of a promise, guarantied by Colonel Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Alleghany Mountain. The alternate

being immediate death, extorted from the marshal a compliance with this condition, notwithstanding the just sense of official dignity, and the firmness of character which were witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.

The insurgents, on the 18th, sent a deputation of two of their number (one a justice of the peace) to Pittsburgh, to require of the marshal a surrender of the process in his possession, intimating that his compliance would satisfy the people, and add to his safety; and also to demand of General Neville, in peremptory terms, the resignation of his office; threatening, in case of refusal, to attack the place and take him by force; demands which both these officers did not hesitate to reject, as alike incompatible with their honor and their duty.

As it was well ascertained that no protection was to be expected from the magistrates or inhabitants of Pittsburgh, it became necessary to the safety, both of the inspector and the marshal, to quit that place; and, as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were beset by the insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed, by a circuitous route, to the seat of Government; which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July.*

The following points, which are of great importance, do not appear in the above narrative. First, it seems the attack was so deliberate that a committee of three was chosen to superintend it, who sat upon an elevation, and directed the various movements.† Second, it seems that the object aimed at was the destruction of official papers, and not property or life.‡ Third, McFarlane, the commander of the rebels, was shot dead, when he exposed himself in consequence of a call from the house to cease firing; this was regarded as intentional murder on the part of the defenders.‖ Fourth, there is doubt as to the burning having been authorised by the committee of attack.§

The attack upon Neville's house was an outrage of so violent a character, and the feeling that caused it was of so mixed a nature that further movements were of necessity to be expected. Those who thought themselves justified, as the early actors in the Revolution had been, would of course go forward; those who anticipated the vengeance of the laws, thought it safer to press on and make the rebellion formidable, than to stop and so be unable

* American State Papers, xx. 112.

† Findlay, 86, 87.--Brackenridge i. 18. ‡ Same authorities.

‖ Findlay, 87.—Brackenridge, i. 19.

§ Findlay. p. 88, says it was unauthorised.—See in American Pioneer, ii. 207, an account of Neville and the attack on his house.

to hope for terms from the government:* the depraved looked for plunder, the depressed for a chance to rise, the ambitious had the great men of France in view before them, and the cowardly followed what they dared not try to withstand.

These various feelings showed themselves at a meeting held July 23d at Mingo creek, the particulars of which are given by Brackenridge,† who attended, in a vivid and clear narrative. The masses were half-mad, filled with true Parisian fury, and drove their apparent leaders powerless before them. At this gathering a general convention to meet on the 14th of August, at Parkinson's ferry, now Williamsport, upon the Monongahela,‡ was agreed on; but the more violent meanwhile determined upon steps that would entirely close the way to reconciliation with the Government:‖ these were 1st, the robbery of the mail, by which they expected to learn who were their chief opponents; next, the expulsion from the country of the persons thus made known; and lastly, the seizure of the United States arms and ammunition at Pittsburgh.§ The leading man in these desperate acts was David Bradford, an attorney and politician of some eminence. The first step was successfully taken on the 26th of July, and General John Gibson, Colonel Presly Neville son of General John Neville, and three others were found to have written letters in relation to the late proceedings.¶ This being known, the people of Pittsburgh were requested by the Jacobins of the country to expel these persons forthwith, and such was the fear of the citizens that the order was obeyed, though unwillingly.** But the third project succeeded less perfectly. In order to effect it a meeting of the masses had been called for August 1st at Braddock's field; this call was made in the form usual for militia musters, and all were notified to come

* Brackenridge tells us this was the case with Bradford himself.

† Brackenridge's Incidents of the Insurrection of 1794.—vol. i. 30.—Findley, 91.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. 65.

‖ Findley, 93 to 95.—Brackenridge, i. 52, &c.

§ Findley, 102.—Brackenridge, i. 56.—iii. 148.

¶ Brackenridge, i. 39.

** Findley, 93, &c.—Brackenridge, i. 45, 52.—United States Gazette, August 8th, and August 21st, 1794. In the Boston Independent Chronicle of August 18th, the proceedings of the Pittsburgh meeting are given at length. It is in accordance with the terror of the times that General Gibson, one of the accused, presided at the meeting which on the 31st of July, sent away the three letter-writers who were least known.—(Edward Day, James Brison, and Abraham Kirkpatrick:) a few days after, August 4, his own and Col. Neville's expulsion was agreed on. The meeting of July 31 was in session when a committee from Washington county brought in the news of the intercepted letters.

armed and equipped. Brackenridge was again present, though in fear and trembling. Terror, indeed, appears to have ruled as perfectly as beyond the Atlantic. The Pittsburgh representatives had gone to the conference from fear of being thought lukewarm in the rebel cause, and finding themselves suspected passed the day in fear. The object of the gathering, an attack upon the United States arsenal, had been divulged to few, and upon farther consultation was abandoned. But it was determined to march to Pittsburgh at any rate, for the purpose of intimidating the disaffected, robbing a few houses, and burning a few stores. The women of the country had gathered to see the sack of the city at the Fork—and it was with difficulty that the conflagration and robbery were prevented; the leaders in general opposed the excesses of their followers; the brother of the murdered McFarlane protected the property of Major Kirkpatrick, and as others who were most interested in the insurrection, showed equal vigor in the prevention of violence, the march to Pittsburgh resulted in nothing worse than the burning of a few barns and sheds.* When a knowledge of the attack on Neville's house and the subsequent proceedings reached the Federal Government, it was thought to be time to take decided steps. On the 5th of August, Hamilton laid the whole matter before the President; Judge Wilson of the supreme court having on the 4th certified the western counties to be in a state of insurrection;† and upon the 7th, Washington issued his Proclamation giving notice that every means in his power would be used to put down the rebellion. As it was his wish, however, and also that of Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania,‡ that no pains should be spared to prevent a recourse to arms, Commissioners were appointed, three by the United States and two by the State,‖ to visit the West, and try to procure an abandonment of the insurrection without bloodshed.§ When these messengers reached

* Brackenridge, i. 66, &c.

† American State Papers, xx. 85, 106, &c.

‡ See the correspondence of Governor Mifflin and Randolph.—American State Papers, xx. 97 to 106.

‖ The United States Commissioners were,—

James Ross, a Senator in Congress, very popular in western Pennsylvania.
Jasper Yeates, Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.
William Bradford, Attorney General of the United States.

Those of Pennsylvania were,—

Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of the State.
William Irvine, Representative in Congress.

§ See their instructions. American State Papers, xx. 86.

the neighborhood of Pittsburgh the meeting at Parkinson's ferry was in session,* and Gallatin and others were trying to prevent matters from becoming worse than they already were.† This meeting, upon receiving notice of the approach of the Commissioners, agreed to send a committee of conference‡ to treat with them; and at the same time named a standing committee, one from each township, making sixty in number, to whom the former were to report, and who were authorized to call a new meeting of deputies or recall the old ones, in order to accept or reject the terms offered on the part of Government. On the 21st of August the Commissioners and Committee of conference met, and after some discussion agreed upon terms, which the representatives of the insurgents thought their constituents would do well to accept. They were then submitted to the standing committee, but in that body so much fear and mutual distrust prevailed, as to lead to a mere recommendation to the people to accept the terms offered, by a vote of 34 to 23, while the committee themselves failed to give the pledges which had been required of them. This state of things and the knowledge of the fact that even the recommendation was obtained only by shielding the voters through a vote by ballot, proved to the agents for Government that little was yet done towards tranquilizing the country.‖ All the committee-men and leaders were in dread of popular violence, and after various letters had passed, and a second committee of conference had agreed that it would be wise to adopt the terms offered by the Government,§ the question was referred to the people themselves who were to sign their names to pledges prepared for the purpose; by which pledges they bound themselves to obey the law and help

* The full proceedings of the meeting at Parkinson's ferry may be found in the Boston Independent Chronicle, of September 1st.

† See United States Gazette of September 9th.

‡ The Conferees were from Westmoreland, Alleghany, Fayette, and Washington, and Ohio county, Virginia; three from each. The correspondence of the Virginia Delegates may serve to show how illiterate they were, although with them were Gallatin, Brackenridge and others of equal education. (American State Papers, volume xx. 93.) For another specimen of the literary ignorance prevalent among the common people, see Brackenridge, i. 77—Note. See in reference to the Conferees, &c., United States Gazette, August 22d.

‖ See American State Papers, xx. 87 to 97.—United States Gazette, September 6, where the reasons which governed the conferees are given.—Brackenridge i. 117. A full report by the Pennsylvania Commissioners is in the Boston Independent Chronicle, for September 22.

§ American State Papers, xx. 95.

its operation, or if unwilling to do this they were to refuse distinctly to sign any such promise. This trial of popular sentiment was to take place on the 11th of September, in the presence of persons who had been at the Parkinson ferry meeting, or of magistrates; and the result of the vote was to be by them certified to the Commissioners. It would have been well to have given a longer time that the good disposition of the leaders might have had an opportunity of spreading among the people, but as the President in his proclamation had required a dispersion by the 1st of September, it was thought impossible to wait. On the 11th a vote was taken, but very imperfect and unsatisfactory.* In some portions of the country men openly refused obedience to the law; in some they were silent; in some they merely voted by ballot for and against submission; and upon the whole gave so little proof of a disposition to support the legal officers that the judges of the vote did not feel willing to give certificates that offices of inspection could be safely established in the several counties, and the Commissioners were forced to return to Philadelphia without having accomplished their objects.† On the 24th of September they reported their proceedings and failure to the President; who, upon the 25th, called the militia of Pennsylvania,‡ New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, into the field under the command of Henry Lee, Governor of the State last named.‖ Washington himself visited the troops and met some deputations from the western counties,§ but was unable to accompany the army to Pittsburgh, whither, however, General Hamilton went to represent the Executive.¶ No resistance was offered to the army, although the soldiers in many cases showed a spirit as bad as that of the rebels, and most needless cruelty was in some cases practiced.** Bradford, and a few of the most prominent friends of violence fled to the

* American State Papers, xx. 96–89.—United States Gazette, September 22 and 26.—Findley, 130.—Boston Independent Chronicle, October 2.

† American State Papers, xx. 90.—United States Gazette. September 5th and 6th.

‡ Josiah Harmar was Adjutant General to the militia of Pennsylvania. (United States Gazette, September 12th, &c., &c.)

‖ American State Papers, xx. 97.—Sparks' Washington, x. 439.

§ Sparks' Washington, x. 441, note.—Findley the historian of the insurrection was the deputy referred to; see in his history an account of his mission, &c.

¶ See parts of his journal in Sparks' Washington, x. 450, note.

** American Pioneer, i. 213.—Brackenridge, ii. 79, &c.

Spanish provinces of the southwest.* To prevent a renewal of the insurrection and secure obedience to the law an armed force under General Morgan remained through the winter west of the mountains.† Thus, at a cost of 669,992. 34 dollars,‡ the whiskey riots were ended.‖

But there is reason to think the money was well spent; and that the insurrection was a wholesome eruption. It served several good purposes; it alarmed the wiser portion of the Democratic party, who saw how much of Jacobin fury lay hidden in the American people; it proved to the wiser part of the friends of the Administration that the societies they so much hated, even if they originated the evil feelings prevalent in the west, would not countenance the riotous acts that followed; the unruly portion of the western people was awed by the energy of the Executive, and to those who loved order the readiness of the militia to march to the support of the Government was evidence of a much better disposition than most had hoped to find.§ In addition to these advantages, we may name the activity of business caused by the expenditure of so large a sum in the west, and the increase of frontier population from the ranks of the army.¶

Turning to the region north of the Ohio, we have to notice, 1st, the settlement of Galliopolis, commonly called Gallipolis.

In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow left this country for Europe, "authorized to dispose of a very large body of land" in the west.** In 1790, this gentleman distributed proposals in Paris, for the sale of lands, at five shillings per acre, which promised, says Volney, "a climate healthy and delightful; scarcely such a thing as frost in winter; a river called by way of eminence, 'The Beautiful,' abounding in fish of an enormous size; magnificent forests of a tree from which sugar flows, and a shrub which yields candles;

* Brackenridge and Findley.—Marshall's Washington, v. 589. In 1806 Bradford was at Baton Rouge; see testimony of John Morgan, American State Papers, xx. 501.

† American State Papers, xx. 112. ‡ American State Papers, vii. 661.

‖ See Washington's speech of November 19th, in Sparks, xii. 44 to 52.

§ Sparks' Washington, x. 446. 454. xii. 50. Among those who deserve to be remembered in connection with the whiskey riots, is Judge Addison, whose support of the law was marked and temperate: see his charge to the Grand Jury of Alleghany county, on the 1st of September; it is in the United States Gazette of September 13th. The Jury did not, probably dared not, respond to its views. See a letter by Brackenridge in United States Gazette, September 29th.

¶ American Pioneer, ii. 214.

** Sparks' Washington, vol. ix. p. 386.

venison in abundance; without foxes, wolves, lions or tigers; no taxes to pay; no military enrolments; no quarters to find for soldiers. Purchasers became numerous, individuals and whole families disposed of their property; and, in the course of 1791, some embarked at Havre, others at Bordeaux, Nantes, or Rochelle," each with his title-deed in his pocket.* Five hundred settlers, among whom were not a few carvers and gilders to his Majesty, coachmakers, friseurs, and peruke-makers,† and other artizans and *artistes* equally well fitted for a backwoods life, arrived in the United States in 1791–92; and, acting without concert, travelling without knowledge of the language, customs or roads, they at last managed to reach the spot designated for their residence, after expending nearly or quite, the whole proceeds of their sales in France.

They reached the spot designated, but it was only to learn, that the persons whose title-deeds they held did not own one foot of land, and that they had parted with all their worldly goods merely to reach a wilderness, which they knew not how to cultivate, in the midst of a people, of whose speech and ways they knew nothing, and at the very moment when the Indians were carrying destruction to every white man's hearth. Without food, without land, with little money, no experience, and with want and danger closing around them, they were in a position that none but Frenchmen could be in without despair.

Who brought them to this pass? Volney says, the Scioto Company which had bought of the Ohio Company; Mr. Hall says in his *Letters from the West* (p. 137,) a company who had obtained a grant from the United States; and, in his *Statistics of the West* (p. 164,) the Scioto Company, which was formed from or by the Ohio Company, as a subordinate. Barlow, he says, was sent to Europe by the Ohio Company; and by them the lands in question were conveyed to the Scioto Company. Kilbourn says, "the Scioto Land Company, which intended to buy of Congress all the tract between the western boundary of the Ohio Company's purchase and the Scioto, directed the French settlers to Gallipolis, supposing it to be west of the Ohio Company's purchase, though it proved not to be." The Company, he tells us, failed to make

* View of the climate and soil of the United States, &c. The sugar-tree was the maple, and the wax-bearing myrtle the shrub that yielded candles.

† Brackenridge's Recollections, p. 42.

their payments, and the whole proposed purchase remained with government.*

The truth undoubtedly is, that those for whom Barlow acted, were the persons referred to by Doctor Cutler,† who joined with the Ohio Company in their purchase to the extent of three and one-half millions of acres; among whom, he says, were many of the principal characters of America. These characters, however, never paid for their lands, and could give no title to the emigrants they had allured across the ocean. Their excuse was that their agents had deceived them,‡ but it was a plea good neither in morals or law. Who those agents were, and how far they were guilty, and how far the company was so, are points which seem to be still involved in doubt.

But, whatever doubt there may be as to the causes of the suffering, there can be none as to the sufferers. The poor gilders, and carvers, and peruke-makers, who had followed a jack-a-lantern into the literally howling wilderness, found that their lives depended upon their labor. They must clear the ground build their houses, and till their fields. Now the spot upon which they had been located by the Scioto Company was covered in part with those immense button-wood or Sycamore trees, which are so frequent along the rivers of the west, and to remove which is no small undertaking even for the American woodman. The coach-makers were wholly at a loss; but at last, hoping to conquer by a *coup-de-main*, they tied ropes to the branches, and while one dozen pulled at them with might and main, another dozen went at the trunk with axes, hatchets, and every variety of edged tool, and by dint of perseverance and cheerfulness at length overcome the monster; though not without some hair-breadth escapes; for when a mighty tree, that had been hacked on all sides, fell, it required a Frenchman's heels to avoid the sweep of the wide-spread branches. But, when they had felled the vast vegetable, they were little better off than before; for they could not move or burn it. At last a good idea came to their aid; and while some chopped off the limbs, others dug, by the side of the trunk, a great grave, into which, with many a heave, they rolled their fallen enemy.

Their houses they did not build in the usual straggling American

* Kilbourn's Gazeteer, 1831.

† See *ante*, p. 289. This appears to be demonstrated by the fact that Colonel Duer, who applied to Dr. Cutler "to take in another company," did, as the agent of the Scioto Company, receive the French and send them to Galliopolis. (American State Papers, xvi. 30.)

‡ M. Meulette, one of the settlers, in American Pioneer, ii. 185.

style, but made two rows or blocks of log cabins, each cabin being about sixteen feet square; while at one end was a larger room, which was used as a council-chamber and ball-room.

In the way of cultivation they did little. The land was not theirs, and they had no motive to improve it; and, moreover, their coming was in the midst of the Indian war. Here and there a little vegetable garden was formed; but their main supply of food they were forced to buy from boats on the river, by which means their remaining funds were sadly broken in upon. Five of their number were taken prisoner by the Indians; food became scarce; in the fall, a marsh behind the town sent up miasmata that produced fevers; then winter came, and, despite Mr. Barlow's promise, brought frost in plenty; and, by and by, they heard from beyond seas of the carnage that was desolating the fire-sides they had left. Never were men in a more mournful situation; but still, twice in the week, the whole colony came together, and to the sound of the violin danced off hunger and care. The savage scout that had been lurking all day in the thicket, listened to the strange music, and, hastening to his fellows, told them, that the whites would be upon them, for he had seen them at their war dance; and the careful Connecticut man, as he guided his broad-horn in the shadow of the Virginia shore, wondered what mischief "the red varmint" were at next; or, if he knew the sound of the fiddle, shook his head, as he thought of the whiskey that must have been used to produce all that merriment.

But French vivacity, though it could work wonders, could not pay for land. Some of tbe Gallipolis settlers went to Detroit, others to Kaskaskia; a few bought their lands of the Ohio Company, who treated them with great liberality; and, in 1795, Congress, being informed of the circumstances, granted to the sufferers twenty-four thousand acres of land opposite Little Sandy River, to which, in 1798, twelve hundred acres more were added; which tract has been since known as *French Grant*.

The influence of this settlement upon the State was unimportant; but it forms a curious little episode in Ohio history, and affords a strange example of national character.*

During this period, however, other settlements had been taking place in Ohio, which, in their influence upon the destinies of the State were deeply felt; we mean that of the Virginia Reserve be-

* See the communication of Mr. Meulette referred to above. We have something from oral communications. Also American Pioneer, i. 94, 95. American State Papers, xvi. 29.

tween the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, that of the Connecticut Reserve, and that of Dayton.

In 1787, the reserved lands of the Old Dominion, north of the Ohio, were examined, and in August of that year, entries were commenced.* Against the validity of these entries, Congress, in 1788, entered their protest.† This protest, which was practically a prohibition of settlement, was withdrawn in 1790. As soon as this was done, it became an object to have surveys made in the reserved region, but as this was an undertaking of great danger in consequence of the Indian wars, high prices in land or money had to be paid the surveyors.‡ The person who took the lead in this gainful but unsafe enterprise, was Nathaniel Massie, then twenty-seven years old. He had been for six years or more in the west, and had prepared himself in Colonel Anderson's office for the details of his business. Thus prepared, in December, 1790, he entered into the following contract with certain persons therein named.

Articles of agreement between Nathaniel Massie, of one part, and the several persons that have hereunto subscribed of the other part, witnesseth that the subscribers hereof doth oblige themselves to settle in the town laid off, on the northwest side of the Ohio, opposite to the lower part of the Two Islands; and make said town, or the neighborhood, on the northwest side of the Ohio, their permanent seat of residence for two years from the date hereof; no subscriber shall absent himself more than two months at a time, and during such absence furnish a strong able-bodied man sufficient to bear arms at least equal to himself; no subscriber shall absent himself the time above mentioned in case of actual danger, nor shall such absence be but once a year; no subscriber shall absent himself in case of actual danger, or if absent shall return immediately. Each of the subscribers doth oblige themselves to comply with the rules and regulations that shall be agreed on by a majority thereof for the support of the settlement.

In consideration whereof, Nathaniel Massie doth bind and oblige himself, his heirs, &c., to make over and convey to such of the subscribers that comply with the above mentioned conditions, at the expiration of two years, a good and sufficient title unto one in-lot in said town, containing five poles in front and eleven back, one out-lot of four acres convenient to said town, in the bottom, which the said Massie is to put them in immediate possession of, also one hundred acres of

* McDonald's Sketches, 26. American Pioneer, i. 438.

† Old Journals, iv. 836. Passed July 17th.

‡ From one-fourth to one-half the lands surveyed, or ten pounds, Virginia currency, per thousand acres, beside chain-men's expenses. (McDonald, 28.)

land, which the said Massie has shown to a part of the subscribers; the conveyance to be made to each of the subscribers, their heirs or assigns.

In witness whereof, each of the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 1st day of December, 1790.*

The town thus laid off was situated some twelve miles above Maysville, and was called Manchester; it is still known to the voyager on the Ohio. From this point Massie and his companions made surveying expeditions through the perilous years from 1791 to 1796, but, though often distressed and in danger, they were never wearied nor afraid; and at length, with Wayne's treaty all danger of importance was at an end.†

Connecticut, as we have stated, had,‡ in 1786 resigned her claims to western lands, with the exception of a reserved tract extending one hundred and twenty miles beyond Pennsylvania. Of this tract, so far as the Indian title was extinguished, a survey was ordered in October, 1786, and an office opened for its disposal: part was sold, and in 1792, half a milion of acres were given to those citizens of Connecticut, who had lost property by the acts of the British troops, during the Revolutionary War, at New London, New Haven and elsewhere; these lands are known as the Fire-lands and the "Sufferers' lands,"‖ and lie in the western part of the Reserve. In May, 1795, the Legislature of Connecticut authorised a committee to take steps for the disposal of the remainder of their western domain; this committee made advertisement accordingly, and before autumn had disposed of it to fifty-six persons, forming the Connecticut Land Company, for one million two hundred thousand dollars, and upon the 5th or the 9th of September, quit-claimed to the purchasers the whole title of the State, territorial and juridical.§ These purchasers, on the same day conveyed the three millions of acres transferred to them by the State, to John Morgan, John Caldwell, and Jonathan Bruce, in trust; and upon the quit-claim deeds of those trustees, the titles to all real estate in the Western Reserve, of necessity rest. Surveys were commenced in 1796, and by the close of 1797, all the lands east of the Cuya-

* American Pioneer i. 72.

† McDonald's Sketch of General Massie.

‡ p. 284.

‖ American State Papers, v. 696.

§ For the title of Connecticut and the above facts, see American State Papers, xvi. 94 to 98, and American Pioneer, ii. 24.

hoga were divided into townships five miles square. The agent of the Connecticut Land Company was General Moses Cleveland, and in honor of him the leading city of the Reserve, in 1796, received its name. That township and five others were retained for private sale, and the remainder were disposed of by a lottery, the first drawing in which took place in February, 1798.*

Wayne's treaty also led at once to the foundation of Dayton, and the peopling of that fertile region. The original proposition by Symmes had been for the purchase of two millions of acres between the Miamies; this was changed very shortly to a contract for one million,—extending from the great Miami eastwardly twenty miles; but the contractor being unable to pay for all he wished, in 1792, a patent was issued for 248,540 acres. But although his tract was by contract limited toward the east, and greatly curtailed in its extent toward the north by his failure to pay the whole amount due, Judge Symmes had not hesitated to sell lands lying between the eastern boundary of his purchase and the Little Miami, and even after his patent issued continued to dispose of an imaginary right in those north of the quantity patented. The first irregularity, the sale of lands along the Little Miami, was cured by the act of Congress in 1792, which authorized the extension of his purchase from one river to the other; but the sales of territory north of the tract transferred to him by Congress, were so entirely unauthorized in the view of the Government, that in 1796 it refused to recognize them as valid, and those who had become purchasers beyond the patent line, were at the mercy of the Federal rulers, until an act was procured in their favor in 1799, by which preemption rights were secured to them.† Among those who were thus left in suspense during three years, were the settlers throughout the region of which Dayton forms the centre.

Seventeen days after Wayne's treaty, St. Clair, Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton and Israel Ludlow contracted with Symmes for the seventh and eighth ranges between Mad river and the Little Miami. Three settlements were to be made, one at the mouth of Mad river, one on the Little Miami, in the seventh range, and another on the Mad river. On the 21st of September, 1795, Daniel C. Cooper started to survey and mark out a road in the purchase, and John Dunlap to run its boundaries, which was done before the 4th of

* See American Pioneer, ii. 23, &c.

† See for the full particulars of Symmes' contract, American State Papers, xvi. 75. 104. 127.

October. Upon the 4th of November, Mr. Ludlow laid off the town of Dayton, which was disposed of by lottery.*

From 1790 to 1795, the Governor and Judges of the North-West Territory published sixty four statutes. Thirty-four of these were adopted at Cincinnati, during June, July and August of the last named year, and were intended to form a pretty complete body of statutory provisions: they are known as the Maxwell Code, from the name of the publisher, but were passed by Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes and Turner. Among them was that which provided that the common law of England and all statutes in aid thereof made previous to the fourth year of James the 1st, should be in full force within the territory. Of the system, as a whole, Mr Chase says, that with many imperfections, "it may be doubted whether any colony, at so early a period after its first establishment, ever had one so good."†

Just after the conclusion of Wayne's treaty, a speculation in Michigan of the most gigantic kind was undertaken by certain astute Yankees, named Robert Randall, Charles Whitney, Israel Jones, Ebenezer Allen, &c., who, in connection with varions persons in and about Detroit proposed to buy of the Indians eighteen or twenty million acres, lying on lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, the pre-emption right of which they hoped to obtain from the United States, by giving members of Congress an interest in the investment. Some of the members who were approached, however, revealed the plan, and Randall, the principal conspirator having been reprimanded, the whole speculation disappeared.‡

Another enterprise, equally gigantic, but far less objectionable, dates from the 20th of February, 1795; we refer to the North American Land Company, which was formed in Philadelphia under the management of Robert Morris, John Nicholson and James Greenleaf. This Company owned vast tracts in various States, which, under an agreement bearing date as above, were offered to the public.‖

But we have hitherto taken no notice of the provisions of Jay's treaty,§ in so far as it concerned the west; nor have we mentioned

* See B. Van Cleves' Memoranda, American Pioneer, ii. 294. 295.

† Sketch of History of Ohio, p. 27. For the laws from 1790 to 1795, see Chase's Statutes, i. 103 to 204.

‡ See papers and evidence, American State Papers, xx. 125 to 133.

‖ Observations on the North American Land Company, London, 1796. Imlay (Ed. 1797) p. 572.

§ For the dates in respect to Jay's treaty, see note, p. 415.

the negotiations with Spain which secured the use of the Mississippi. To these we may now turn. The portion of Mr. Jay's treaty with which we are concerned, is the second article, and that is as follows:

Art. 2. His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and all the proper measures shall be taken in the interval by concert between the government of the United States and His Majesty's Governor general in America, for settling the previous arrangements which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts: the United States, in the mean time, at their discretion, extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of any of the said posts. All settlers and traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts, shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, all their property, of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects; and it shall also be free to them to sell their lands, houses or effects, or retain the property thereof, at their discretion; such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof; but they shall be at full liberty so to do if they think proper, and they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year, without having declared their intention of remaining subjects of His Britannic Majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States.*

Turning to the negotiation with Spain, we find, that in November, 1794, Thomas Pinckney was despatched to treat with the court of Madrid, in relation to boundaries, to the Mississippi, and to general trade. Many reams of paper had been spoiled by previous messengers, Jay, Carmichael and Short, to little purpose, and it was a matter of three months' farther correspondence, to mature the treaty of October 27th, 1795. This treaty, signed by plain Thomas Pinckney, "a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to His Catholic Majesty," on the one part, and on the other by "the most Excellent Lord Don Manuel de

* American State Papers, i. 520.—For the treaty and correspondence entire, see Am. State Papers i. 470 to 525.

Godoy and Alvarez de Faria, Rios, Sanchez, Zarzosa, Prince de la Paz, Duke de la Alcudia, Lord of the Soto de Roma and of the State of Albala, Grandee of Spain of the first class, Perpetual Regidor of the city of Santiago, Knight of the illustrious order of the Golden Fleece and Great Cross of the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Charles III., Commander of Valencia del Ventoso Rivera, and Aceuchal in that of Santiago, Knight and Great Cross of the religious order of St. John, Counsellor of State, First Secretary of State and Despatcho, Secretary to the Queen, Superintendent General of the Ports and highways, Protector of the Royal Academy of the noble Arts and of the Royal Societies of Natural History, Botany, Chemistry, and Astronomy, Gentleman of the King's chamber in employment, Captain General of his armies, Inspector and Major of the Royal Corps of Body Guards, &c., &c., &c.,"* contains, among other provisions, the following, once deeply interesting to the West.

Art 4. It is likewise agreed that the western boundary of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the said States to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator. And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river, in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention.

And in consequence of the stipulations contained in the fourth article, His Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores; and his Majesty promises either to continue this permission, if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or, if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment.†

This, being approved, closed the Mississippi sore, and defeated the plans of Sebastian.‡

* The after history of this man of many titles is a lesson worth the study of all those in power: see his memoirs translated, London, 1836; also an article in Westminster Review, for April, 1836.

† American State Papers, i. 547. 549. For treaty, see American State Papers, i. 546 to 549.—For Pinckney's Correspondence, do. 533 to 546.—For that of Jay, Carmichael and Short, do. 131. 248 to 278. 328. 433 to 446.

‡ Ante, p. 428.

# 1796.

The great event of this year was the final transfer of the northern posts from Britain to the United States, under Jay's treaty. This was to have taken place on or before the 1st of June,* but owing to the late period at which the House of Representatives, after their memorable debate upon the treaty, passed the necessary appropriations, it was July before the American Government felt itself justified in addressing the authorities in Canada in regard to Detroit and the other frontier forts.† When at last called upon to give them up the British at once did so, and Wayne transferred his head-quarters to the neighborhood of the Lakes,—where a county named from him was established, including the northwest of Ohio, the northeast of Indiana, and the whole of Michigan.‡—Meanwhile the treaty with Spain was likely to become ineffectual in consequence of the alliance of Spain and France upon the 19th of August, and the difficulties which at the same time arose between the latter power and the United States.‖ Spain took advantage of the new position of affairs to refuse the delivery of the posts on the Mississippi as had been stipulated,§ and proceeded, as we have already related, to tempt the honesty of leading western politicians.¶

During this year settlements went on rapidly in the West. Early in the year Nathaniel Massie, of whom we have already spoken, took steps to found a town upon the Scioto on a portion of the lands which he had entered. This town he named, when surveyed, Chillicothe.**

* See treaty, Ante, p. 460.

† Washington's speech, American State Papers, i. 30.

‡ Chase's Sketch, 27.

‖ Pitkins' History United States, ii. 484.—American State Papers, i. 559 to 760.

§ Adams' speech, American State Papers, i. 44. Documents, do. ii. 20 &c., 66 &c. 78 &c.

¶ Ante, p. 428.

* McDonald's Sketches, 56, 60 to 64. McDonald, [p. 62,] says this meant "town," and that there was a New and an Old Chillicothe, the former on the Little Miami, the latter on Paint Creek.—Boone, Filson, and various others, however, speak of the town on the Miami as *Old* Chillicothe. There was also a Chillicothe on the Maumee. Drake

"One hundred in and out-lots in the town, were chosen by lot, by the first one hundred settlers, as a donation, according to the original proposition of the proprietor. A number of in and out-lots were also sold to other persons, desiring to settle in the town. The first choice of in-lots were disposed of for the moderate sum of ten dollars each. The town increased rapidly, and before the winter of 1796, it had in it several stores, taverns, and shops for mechanics. The arts of civilized life soon began to unfold their power and influence in a more systematic manner, than had ever been witnessed by many of its inhabitants, especially those who were born and raised in the frontier settlements, where neither law nor gospel were understood or attended to."*

In September the town of Cleveland was surveyed;† during the spring and summer various families settled along the Great Miami from Middleton to Piqua:‡ the Iroquois resigned to the Connecticut Land Company, all their claims to the Western Reserve east of the Cuyahoga;‖ while in the more distant West, settlers and speculators began to appear in larger numbers. From Kaskaskia, in January of this year, a petition came signed by four persons, asking that slaves might there be tolerated, which was refused by Congress.§ St. Louis at this time contained seventy houses.—Five or six rich families were intermingled with five hundred poorer people; and there, as well as at Kaskaskia and other French settlements, the tendency was to concentrate property in a few hands: nearly all of the oldest of western towns belonged to one family.¶ Toward the close of the year, General Wayne on his return from Detroit to the eastern States fell sick and died, at or near Erie, (Presqu'ile.)**

During 1796 Samuel Jackson, and Jonathan Sharpless, erected the "Redstone Papermill," four miles east of Brownsville; the first manufactory of the kind west of the mountains.††

in his introduction to the Life of Tecumseh, p. 17, tells us that one tribe or sub-tribe of the Shawanese was named "Chillicothe;" were not the towns named from that tribe? Another tribe was named "Piqua."

* McDonald, 62.

† American Pioneer, ii. 24.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. 295.

‖ American Pioneer, ii. 23.

§ American State Papers, xvi. 68:—see post.

¶ Volney's View, 381, 376.

** Burnet's Letters, 49, Allen's American Biography.

†† American Pioneer, ii. 64.

# 1797.

In 1797, Power, as has been already related, visited, on behalf of Spain Sebastian in Kentucky, and afterwards Wilkinson at Detroit, where that commander had his head-quarters for the time.* Nor was His Catholic Majesty contented with underhand operations, but proceeded to reinforce and strengthen his upper posts on the Mississippi, and took measures to enlist the Indians in his favor;†—all professedly against England, however.‡

Daniel Boone during this year removed west of the Mississippi, into the dominions of Spain:—he with his pack-horses, in the month of October, left the pleasant valleys of Virginia and Kentucky.‖ He had been for some years a resident of the valley of the Kenhawa, Kentucky being too attractive to settlers, and his lands so badly entered as to give him no title. In Louisiana he received on the 28th of January, 1798, a grant of land from the Spanish Government: this, however, was informally made; but a petition was offered the Government, and an act of Congress at length obtained, February 10, 1814, confirming the grant, and saving from entire poverty the most remarkable of the frontier men, the *beau-ideal* of his class.§

The "occupying claimant" law of Kentucky,—which was intended to relieve those who were ejected from lands, from the hardship of paying rent for the time they had held them, while their improvements were not paid for or regarded,—was also passed in this year. It was afterwards decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, to be unconstitutional, but the justice of that decision was not acquiesced in by the best men of Kentucky,¶ and the Appellate Court of that State never recognized it upon the ground that it was not a decision of the majority of the Supreme Court.**

Detroit, during 1797, contained, as we learn from Weld,†† three hundred houses.

* See Powers' Narrative in Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. Appendix, No. xlv. and Wilkinson's own remarks same volume, p. 214, &c.: see also Marshall, ii. 225, &c.

† See Letter of Winthrop Sargent.—American State Papers, ii. 88.

‡ American State Papers, ii. 78 to 103.

‖ American Pioneer, i. 327.

§ Land Laws, 642.

¶ Marshall, ii. 208, &c.—Butler, 266 to 279.

** Butler, 279.

†† Volume ii. 183.

# 1798.

On the 7th of April in this year, an act was passed organizing the Territory of Mississippi,* and Winthrop Sargent, who had thus far been Secretary of the north-western, was appointed Governor of the south-western realm belonging to the United States.† Wilkinson, during this spring, had been ordered to the country still held by the Spaniards,‡ who, however, abandoned the region in dispute without serious opposition. By the 10th of October, the line dividing the possessions of Spain and the Federal Government was in a great measure run,‖ and the head quarters of the American commander were fixed at Loftus Heights,§ six miles north of the 31st degree of north latitude.

The appointment of Sargent to the charge of the South-west Territory, led to the choice of William Henry Harrison, who had been aid-de-camp to General Wayne in 1794, and whose character stood very high in the estimation of all who knew him, to the Secretaryship of the North-West;¶ which place he held until appointed to represent that Territory in Congress.

* American State Papers, xx. 203.

† Sargent seems to have been an unpopular man, even more so than St. Clair: see Burnet's letters, p. 79. In 1801, he was accused of misdoings in Mississippi. (American State Papers, xx. 233 to 241.) The following advertisement is from Freeman's Journal, (Cincinnati,) of November 26, 1796:—*To the Generous Public:* In the month of July, 1794, I had some business to do at Greenville with the army. In my absence, the Great and Honorable Winthrop Sargent, Esq. arrived at this place—he got the consent of Mrs. Munsell to tarry in my house until my return, which was within a few days. I informed him on my arrival, I could not spare that part of my house which he occupied, therefore requested him to remove, but as he had got possession, he chose to keep it; after he had lived in it for seventeen weeks, I was obliged to hire my house to get rid of him. On the 2d day of this month I made out my bill, and signed my receipt in full—sent it by my boy, with a request for him to send me the money by the boy; he would not. On the 19th, I wrote him a few lines, and demanded the money, or my receipt, and in particular an answer, but he would not do either: as he had got the advantage, he chose to keep it.

I write these few lines to let the world know what an exalted character we have got for a Deputy Governor in this country. LEVI MUNSELL.

Cincinnati, Hamilton County, North-West of the River Ohio, 25th November, 1796.

The editor of the Kentucky Herald will particularly oblige the subscriber by inserting the above.

‡ Wilkinson's Memoirs, i. 434.

‖ American State Papers, xx. 710.

§ Wilkinson' Memoirs, ii. 133.

¶ Burnet, in Ohio Historical Transactions, part 2, vol. i. p. 69.

The north-western Territory, as may be seen by a reference to the ordinance of 1787,* was to have a representative assembly as soon as its inhabitants numbered five thousand. Upon the 29th of October, Governor St. Clair gave notice by proclamation that the required population existed, and directed an election of representatives to be held on the third Monday in December.†

During the summer of 1798, the famous alien and sedition laws were passed by Congress. They were, by the Democratic party every where regarded with horror, and hated, and in Virginia and Kentucky especially, called forth in opposition the most able men, and produced the most violent measures. The Governor of Kentucky called the attention of the Legislature to them, and upon the 8th of November resolutions prepared by Mr. Jefferson were introduced into the House, declaring that the United States are "united by a compact under the style and title of a constitution for the United States, that to this compact, each State acceded, as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming to itself the other party; that the government created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or *final* judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; but, that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for himself, as well as of infractions as to mode and manner of redress." And this doctrine was further developed by the mover of the resolutions, Mr John Breckenridge: said he, "I consider the co-States to be alone parties to the federal compact, and solely authorized to judge in the last resort of the power exercised under the compact—Congress being not a party, but merely the creature of the compact, and subject as to its assumption of power, to the final judgment of those by whom, and for whose use, itself and its powers were all created." In another passage he says, "if upon the representation of the States from whom they derive their powers, they should nevertheless attempt to enforce them, I hesitate not to declare it as my opinion, that it is then the right and duty of the several States, to *nullify those acts, and protect their citizens* from their operation."‡

To this doctrine, since disclaimed by Kentucky, in a clear and formal declaration,‖ William Murray, of Franklin, alone offered a steady opposition, and took the ground since occupied by Mr.

* Ante p. 295.

† Dillon i. 421. Burnet in Ohio Historical Transactions, part 2, vol. i. p. 70.

‡ Butler 285 to 287.

‖ In 1838. See Butler, 289.

Webster with so great power; but he argued in vain, the Senate unanimously passed the resolutions, the House acted with almost equal unanimity, and the Governor gave them his approbation.*

A change in the Penal Code of Kentucky took place during 1798, by which the punishment of death was confined to the crime of murder; and for all others the penitentiary system was substituted.†

## 1799.

The election of representatives for the Northwest Territory having taken place, they met at Cincinnati upon the 4th of the ensuing February, to nominate persons from whom the members of the Legislative Assembly were, according to the Ordinance, to be selected. This nomination being made, the assembly adjourned until the 16th of the following September. From those named, the President selected as the members of the Council, Henry Vandenburg of Vincennes, Robert Oliver of Marietta, James Findlay and Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, and David Vance of Vanceville. From the letters of Jacob Burnet, the first lawmaker and true ruler of this Northwest Territory, we extract the following account of the earliest popular proceedings in the region wherein Freedom first fairly tried her powers.

On the 16th of September, 1799, both branches of the legislature assembled at Cincinnati, and organized for business.‡ The Governor met the two houses in the representatives' chamber, and in a very elegant address, recommended such measures as he thought were suited to the condition of the country, and would advance the safety and prosperity of the people. The legislative body continued in session till the 19th of December, when having finished their business, the governor

* Butler, 285, &c. See the Virginia resolutions, the alien and sedition laws, the debate in Virginia, the resolutions of other States, and Madison's "Vindication," in a volume published at Richmond, by Robert I. Smith, in 1832. See also North American Review, vol. 31, (Oct. 1830.) This is a very full and able paper.—Marshall, ii. 254, &c. 317.

† Butler, 281. Marshall, ii. 238.

‡ They did not organize until the 24th; Mr. Burnet alone appearing on behalf of the council on the 16th, and but four representatives, Messrs. Goforth, McMillan, Smith and Ludlow. (Chase's Sketch, 28.)

prorogued them, at their request, till the first Monday in November. This being the first session, it was necessarily a very laborious one. The transition from a colonial to a semi-independent government, called for a general revision, as well as a considerable enlargement of the statute-book. Some of the adopted laws were repealed, many others altered and amended, and a long list of new ones added to the code. New offices were to be created and filled—the duties attached to them prescribed, and a plan of ways and means devised, to meet the increased expenditures, occasioned by the change which had just taken place. As the number of members in each branch was small, and a large portion of them either unprepared or indisposed to partake largely of the labors of the session, the pressure fell on the shoulders of a few. Although the branch to which I belonged, was composed of sensible, strong-minded men, yet they were unaccustomed to the duties of their new station, and not conversant with the science of law. The consequence was, that they relied chiefly and almost entirely on me, to draft and prepare the bills and other documents, which originated in the council, as will appear by referring to the journal of the session. One of the important duties which devolved on the legislature was the election of a delegate to represent the territory in Congress. As soon as the governor's proclamation made its appearance, the election of a person to fill that station excited general attention. Before the meeting of the legislature, public opinion had settled down on William Henry Harrison, and Arthur St. Clair, jun., who were eventually the only candidates. On the 3d of October, the two houses met in the representatives' chamber, according to a joint resolution, and proceeded to the election. The ballots being taken and counted, it appeared that William Henry Harrison had eleven votes, and Arthur St. Clair, jun., ten votes; — the former was therefore declared to be duly elected. The legislature, by joint resolution, prescribed the form of a certificate of his election; having received that certificate, he resigned the office of Secretary of the territory — proceeded forthwith to Philadelphia, and took his seat, Congress being then in session. Though he represented the territory but one year, he obtained some important advantages for his constituents. He introduced a resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands, and to offer them for sale in small tracts — he succeeded in getting that measure through both houses, in opposition to the interest of speculators who were, and who wished to be, the retailers of land to the poorer classes of the community.* His proposition became

* From a circular by Harrison to the people of the territory, dated May 14, 1800, we quote in relation to this matter the following passage:

"Amongst the variety of objects which engaged my attention, as peculiarly interesting to our territory, none appeared to me of so much importance as the adoption of a system for the sale of the public lands, which would give more favorable terms to that class of

a law, and was hailed as the most beneficent act that Congress had ever done for the territory. It put it in the power of every industrious man, however poor, to become a freeholder, and to lay a foundation for the future support, and comfort of his family. At the same session, he obtained a liberal extension of time for the pre-emptioners in the northern part of the Miami purchase, which enabled them to secure their farms, and eventually to become independent, and even wealthy.†

To these paragraphs by our first law-maker, may be properly added the following from Mr. Chase, the first collector of our Northwestern statutes.

The whole number of acts passed and approved by the governor was thirty-seven. Of these, the most important related to the militia, to the administration of justice, and to taxation. Provision was made for the efficient organization and discipline of the military force of the territory; justices of the peace were authorised to hear and determine all actions upon the case, except trover, and all actions of debt, except upon bonds for the performance of covenants, without limitation as to the amount in controversy; and a regular system of taxation was established. The tax for territorial purposes, was levied upon lands: that for county purposes, upon persons, personal property, and houses and lots.

purchasers who are likely to become actual settlers, than was offered by the existing laws upon that subject; conformably to this idea, I procured the passage of a resolution at an early period for the appointment of a committee to take the matter into consideration. And shortly after I reported a bill containing terms for the purchaser, as favorable as could have been expected. This bill was adopted by the house of representatives without any material alteration; but, in the senate amendments were introduced, obliging the purchaser to pay interest on that part of the money for which a credit was given from the date of the purchase, and directing that one half the land (instead of the whole, as was provided by the bill from the house of representatives,) should be sold in half sections of three hundred and twenty acres, and the other half in whole sections of six hundred and forty acres. All my exertions, aided by some of the ablest members of the lower house, at a conference for that purpose, were not sufficient to induce the senate to recede from their amendments; but, upon the whole, their is cause of congratulation to my fellow citizens that terms as favorable as the bill still contains, have been procured. This law promises to be the foundation of a great increase of population and wealth to our country; for although the minimum price of the land is still fixed at two dollars per acre, the time for making payments has been so extended as to put it in the power of every industrious man to comply with them, it being only necessary to pay one-fourth part of the money in hand, and the balance at the end of two, three, and four years; besides this, the odious circumstance of forfeiture, which was made the penalty of failing in the payments under the old law, is entirely abolished, and the purchaser is allowed one year after the last payment is due to collect the money; if the land is not then paid for, it is sold, and, after the public have been reimbursed, the balance of the money is returned to the purchaser. Four land-offices are directed to be opened—one at Cincinnati, one at Chillicothe, one at Marietta, and one at Steubenville, for the sale of the lands in the neighborhood of those places." (Life of Harrison, by Todd and Drake, p. 20.)

† Historical Transactions of Ohio, i. 71.

During this session, a bill, authorising a lottery for a public purpose, passed by the council, was rejected by the representatives. Thus early was the policy adopted of interdicting this demoralizing and ruinous mode of gambling and taxation; a policy which, with but a temporary deviation, has ever since honorably characterized the legislation of Ohio.

Before adjournment, the legislature issued an address to the people, in which they congratulated their constituents upon the change in the form of government; rendered an account of their public conduct as legislators; adverted to the future greatness and importance of this part of the American empire; and the provision made by the national government for secular and religious instruction in the west; and upon these considerations, urged upon the people the practice of industry, frugality, temperance and every moral virtue. "Religion, morality, and knowledge," said they, "are necessary to all good governments. Let us, therefore, inculcate the principles of humanity, benevolence, honesty and punctuality in dealing, sincerity, and charity, and all the social affections."

About the same time, an address was voted to the President of the United States, expressing the entire confidence of the legislature in the wisdom and purity of his administration, and their warm attachment to the American constitution and government. The vote upon this address proved that the differences of political sentiment, which then agitated all the states, had extended to the territory. The address was carried by eleven ayes against five noes.

On the nineteenth of December, this protracted session of the first legislature was terminated by the governor. In his speech on this occasion he enumerated eleven acts, to which, in the course of session, he had thought fit to apply his absolute veto. These acts he had not returned to the legislature, because the two houses were under no obligation to consider the reasons on which his veto was founded; and, at any rate, as his negative was unqualified, the only effect of such a return would be to bring on a vexatious, and probably fruitless, altercation between the legislative body and the executive. Of the eleven acts thus negatived, six related to the erection of new counties. These were disapproved for various reasons, but mainly because the governor claimed that the power exercised in enacting them, was vested by the ordinance, not in the legislature, but in himself. This free exercise of the veto power excited much dissatisfaction among the people, and the controversy which ensued between the governor and the legislature, as to the extent of their respective powers, tended to confirm and strengthen the popular disaffection.*

During this year Kentucky proceeded to amend her Constitution, now seven years old. It is not our purpose to enter into the

* Chase's Sketch, p. 20.

details of the several State charters, and we shall only mention the fact that the earliest born of our western commonwealths, when a change was made in her fundamental law, gave it a more democratic and popular character. This was done by making the choice of the senate and governor direct, instead of being as formerly through a college of electors; and by limiting the veto power.*

In 1799, Kentucky began, or rather threatened to begin, a system of internal improvements, by a survey of the river upon which her capital stands; the work recommended by the engineer, however, and which might have been done very cheaply, was not undertaken.†

## 1800.

The great extent of the territory northwest of the Ohio made the ordinary operations of Government extremely uncertain, and the efficient action of Courts almost impossible. The Committee of Congress who, upon the 3d of March, reported upon the subject, said,—

In the three western countries there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years; and the immunity which offenders experience attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society. The extreme necessity of judiciary attention and assistance is experienced in civil as well as criminal cases. The supplying to vacant places such necessary officers as may be wanted, such as clerks, recorders, and others of like kind, is, from the impossibility of correct notice and information, utterly neglected. This Territory is exposed, as a frontier, to foreign nations, whose agents can find sufficient interest in exciting or fomenting insurrection and discontent, as thereby they can more easily divert a valuable trade in furs from the United States, and also have a part thereof on which they border, which feels so little the cherishing hand of their proper Government, or so little dread of its energy, as to render their attachment perfectly un-

* Marshall, ii. 233. 246. 252. 292. 293, &c.—Butler, 290.

† Butler, 293.—Marshall, ii. 317.

certain and ambiguous. The committee would further suggest, that the law of the 3d of March, 1791, granting land to certain persons in the western part of said Territory, and directing the laying out of the same, remains inexecuted; that great discontent, in consequence of such neglect, is excited in those who were interested in the provision of said law, and which require the immediate attention of this legislature. To minister a remedy to these evils, it occurs to this committee that it is expedient that a division of said Territory into two distinct and separate Governments should be made; and that such division be made, by a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami River, running directly north, until it intersects the boundary between the United States and Canada.*

In accordance with the spirit of this resolution an act was passed, and approved upon the 7th of May, from which we extract these provisions.

That from and after the 4th day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north, until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purposes of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be established within the said territory a government, in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of Congress, passed on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio; and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to, and enjoy, all and singular the rights, privileges and advantages, granted and secured to the people by the said ordinance.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That so much of the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, as relates to the organization of a General Assembly therein, and prescribes the powers thereof, shall be in force and operate in the Indiana Territory, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the Governor thereof, that such is the wish of a majority of the freeholders, notwithstanding there may not be therein five thousand free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upwards: Provided, that until there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of twenty-one years and upwards, in said territory, the whole number of Representatives to the General Assembly shall not be less than seven, nor

* American State Papers, xx. 206.

more than nine, to be apportioned by the Governor to the several counties in said territory agreeably to the number of free males of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, which they may respectively contain.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed so as in any manner to affect the government now in force in the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the Indiana Territory, from and after the aforesaid fourth day of July next: Provided, That, whenever that part of the territory of the United States which lies to the eastward of a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami River, and running thence, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall be erected into an independent State, and admitted into the union on an equal footing with the original States, thenceforth said line shall become and remain permanently the boundary line between such State and the Indiana Territory, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the Legislatures of the said Territories, respectively, Chillicothe, on the Scioto River, shall be the seat of the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River; and that St. Vincennes, on the Wabash River, shall be the seat of the government for the Indiana Territory."*

The person appointed to govern the new-made Territory, was William H. Harrison,† whose commission was dated in 1801.

We have already mentioned that Connecticut in her Reserve had retained the jurisdiction thereof as well as the soil. When she disposed of the soil, however, troubles at once arose, for the settlers found themselves without a government upon which to lean. Upon their representation, the mother State, in October 1797, authorized her Senators to release her jurisdiction over the Reserve, to the Union; upon the 21st of March, 1800, a Committee of Congress reported in favor of accepting this cession, and upon the 30th of May, the release was made by the Governor of the State in accordance with a law passed during that month: the United States issuing letters patent to Connecticut for the soil, and Connecticut transferring all her claims of jurisdiction to the Federal Government.‡ At that time settlements had been commenced

* Land Laws, 451.

† Mr. Harrison had in a great measure procured the formation of the separate Territory. (Life of Harrison by Todd and Drake, p. 22.)

‡ American State Papers, xvi. 94 to 98.—Chase's Statutes, i. 64 to 66.

in thirty-five* of the townships, and one thousand persons had become settlers; mills had been built, and seven hundred miles of road cut in various directions.†

Congress having made Chillicothe the Capital of the north-western Territory, on the 3d of November 1800, the General Assembly met at that place. At this meeting Governor St. Clair in strong terms expressed his sense of the want of popularity under which he labored; he said,—

"My term of office, and yours, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, will soon expire—It is indeed, very uncertain, whether I shall ever meet another Assembly, in the character I now hold, for I well know, that the vilest calumnies and the greatest falsehoods, are insidiously circulated among the people, with a view to prevent it. While I regret the baseness and malevolence of the authors; and well know that the laws have put the means of correction fully in my power, they have nothing to dread from me but the contempt they justly merit. The remorse of their own consciences will one day be punishment sufficient:—Their arts may however succeed:—Be that as it may, of this I am certain, that, be my successor whom he may, he can never have the interests of the people of this Territory more truly at heart than I have had, nor labor more assiduously for their good than I have done; and I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote their welfare and happiness."‡

Notwithstanding the general dislike felt toward him, however, St. Clair was re-appointed in 1801 to the place he had so long occupied.

Toward the close of this year the first Missionary to the Connecticut Reserve, came thither under the patronage of the Connecticut Missionary Society. He found no township containing more than eleven families.‖

Upon the 1st of October in this year the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso was made between Napoleon as first Consul, and the

* Mr. Badger, (in American Pioneer, ii. 276,) says but thirty-one townships were inhabited: there were in the Reserve east of the Cuyahoga one hundred and three townships.—(American Pioneer, ii. 25.)

† American State Papers, xvi. 97.

‡ Burnet's Letters, p. 73. ‖ American Pioneer, ii. 275.

King of Spain, whereby the latter agreed to cede to France the Province of Louisiana.*

By this year's census Kentucky contained 179,875 whites; and 40,343 slaves; an increase in ten years of 118,742 whites, and 28,913 slaves.†

## 1801.

The Governor and several of the Legislators of the northwestern Territory having been insulted during the autumn of this year at Chillicothe, while the Assembly was in session;—and no measures being taken by the authorities of the Capital to protect the Executive,—a law was passed removing the seat of Government to Cincinnati again.‡ But it was not destined that the Territorial Assembly should meet again anywhere. The unpopularity of St. Clair already referred to, was causing many to long for a State Government and self-rule. This unpopularity arose in part from the feelings connected with his defeat; in part from his being identified with the Federal party then fast falling into disrepute; and in part from his assuming powers which most thought he had no right to exercise, especially the power of sub-dividing the counties of the Territory.

But the opposition, though very powerful out of the Assembly, was in the minority, even in the House of Representatives, and during December 1801 was forced to protest against a measure brought forward in the Council for changing the Ordinance of

* American State Papers, ii. 507. † Marshall, ii. 332.

‡ Burnet's letters, 75. We state the fact as given by Judge Burnet, but cannot reconcile it with the Journals. On the 16th of December the removal of the Seat of Government was broached in the House. (Journal of House, 62;) on the 19th it was fully debated, (Journal of House, 71 to 73;) on the 21st was passed by the House, (Journal of House, 77;) on the same day it was passed by the Council, (Journal of Council, 32, 33;) on the 24th was signed by the Speaker and President, (Journal of Council, 35,—) and given the Governor for his approbation, (Journal of House, 89.) On the night of the 25th and 26th, the only riots mentioned in the Journals took place. (Journal of Council, 39.—Journal of House, 98.) On the 21st of December Mr. Burnet asked leave of absence for ten days which was granted; (Journal of Council, 33.) The Governor's approbation to the bill was given January 1st; (Journal of House, 108.) Possibly his consent was determined by the riots.

1787 in such a manner as to make the Scioto and a line drawn from the intersection of that river and the Indian boundary to the western extremity of the Connecticut Reserve, the limit of the most eastern State to be formed from the Territory. This change, if made, would long have postponed the formation of a State Government beyond the Ohio, and against it Tiffin, Worthington, Langham, Danlinton, Massie, Dunlavy, and Morrow, recorded solemnly their objections.* Not content with this it was determined that some one should at once visit Washington on behalf of the objectors, and upon the 20th of December, Thomas Worthington obtained leave of absence for the remainder of the session.† His acts and those of his co-laborers belong to the next year.

## 1802.

By the treaty with Spain, New Orleans, or "an equivalent establishment" was to be allowed the citizens of the United States as a place of deposite for property sent down the Mississippi. Until the 16th of October, 1802, no change in relation to this place of deposit took place, but on that day Morales, the intendant of Louisiana, issued an order putting an end to the cherished and all-important privilege granted to the Americans. This led to instant excitement and remonstrance, and upon the 7th of January following, to a resolution by the House of Representatives, affirming "their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries, and the rights of navigation and commerce through the River Mississippi, as established by existing treaties."‡ The act of the Intendant had not, it appeared, been authorized by the Spanish Government, and was not acquiesced in by the Governor of Louisiana: ‖ but the suspension continued notwithstanding, until the 25th of February, 1803, when the port was opened to provisions,

* Journal of House, 81 to 83. See also Journal of Council, 16 and 17. Journal of House, 68.

† Journal of House, 93.

‡ See Documents, American State Papers, ii. 469 to 471. 527. 528. 531. 536. 544. 548.

‖ American State Papers, ii. 528.

upon paying a duty;* and, in April, orders from the King of Spain reached the United States, restoring the right of deposit.†

In January, 1802, a bill was passed the Assembly of the North-Western Territory, and approved by the Governor, establishing a university in the town of Athens.‡

We have already noticed the dissatisfaction with Governor St. Clair, which prevailed in the North-Western Territory, and the wish of a party therein to obtain a State Government, although not yet entitled to ask it under the ordinance. Mr. Worthington left late in 1801, to urge upon Congress the evils of the proposition to change the bounds of the north-western States and if advisable, to procure permission to call a convention for the formation of a State, having the boundaries mentioned in the ordinance, namely, the west line of Pennsylvania, the north and south lines of the territory, and a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami.

While Worthington was journeying, upon the 4th of January, Massie presented a resolution for choosing a committee to address Congress in respect to the proposed State Government;‖ this, upon the following day, the House refused to pass, however, by a vote of twelve to five.§ An attempt was next made to procure a census of the Territory, and an act for that purpose, passed the House,¶ but the council postponed the consideration of it until the next session,** which was to commence at Cincinnati on the fourth Monday of the following November.

Worthington, meantime, at Philadelphia, pursued the ends of his mission, and used his influence†† to effect that organization, "which terminating the influence of tyranny," was to "meliorate the circumstances of thousands by freeing them from the domination of a despotic chief."‡‡ His efforts proved successful, and upon the 4th of March a report was made to the House in favor of authorizing a State Convention. This report went upon the basis that the Territory, by the United States' census made in 1800, contained more than forty-five thousand inhabitants, and as the

* American State Papers, ii. 556.

† American State Papers, ii. 556. 561.

‡ Journal of Council, 53.

‖ Journal of House, 111.

§ Journal of the House, 115.

¶ Journal of House, 155.

** Journal of Council, 78.

†† See his letter to Mr. Giles, chairman of the committee of Congress, February 13th, 1802. (American State Papers, xx. 328.)

‡‡ See letter to him by James Finley, chairman, February 12th, 1802. (American State Papers, xx. 329.)

Government since that time had sold half a million of acres, that the territory east of the Miami, supposing the past rate of increase to continue, would, by the time a State government could be formed, contain the sixty thousand persons contemplated by the ordinance; and upon this basis proposed that a convention should be held, to determine, 1st, whether it were expedient to form a State Government, and 2d, to prepare a Constitution, if such an organization were deemed best.† In the formation of this State, however, a change of boundaries was proposed, by which, in accordance with the Fifth article of the Ordinance of 1787, all of the territory north of line drawn due east from the head of lake Michigan to Lake Erie, was to be excluded from the new government about to be called into existence. The report closed as follows:

The committee observe, in the ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory of the 20th of May, 1785, the following section, which, so far as respects the subject of schools, remains unaltered:

There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots, being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29; and out of every fractional part of a township so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found thereon for future sale. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township; also, one-third part of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines, to be sold, or otherwise disposed of as Congress shall hereafter direct.

The committee also observe, in the third and fourth articles of the the ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, the following stipulations, to wit:

Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged, &c.

Art. 4. The Legislatures of those districts or new States shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents.

The committee, taking into consideration these stipulations, viewing the lands of the United States within the said territory as an important source of revenue; deeming it also of the highest importance to the stability and permanence of the union of the eastern and western parts

† American State Papers, xx. 326.

of the United States, that the intercourse should, as far as possible, be facilitated, and their interests be liberally and mutually consulted and promoted, are of opinion that the provisions of the aforesaid articles may be varied for the reciprocal advantage of the United States and the State of ——— when formed, and the people thereof; they have therefore deemed it proper, in lieu of the said provisions, to offer the following propositions to the convention of the eastern State of the said territory, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, without any condition or restraint whatever, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States:

1st. That the section No. 16, in every township, sold, or directed to be sold by the United States, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools.

2d. That the six miles reservation, including the salt springs, commonly called the Scioto salt springs, shall be granted to the State of ——— when formed, for the use of the people thereof; the same to be used under such terms, conditions, and regulations, as the Legislature of the said State shall direct: provided the said Legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a longer term than ——— years.

3d. That one-tenth part of the nett proceeds of the lands lying in the said State, hereafter sold by Congress, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out and making turnpike or other roads, leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic to the Ohio, and continued afterwards through the State of ———; such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the roads shall pass: provided that the convention of the State of ——— shall, on its part, assent that every and each tract of land sold by Congress shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by order or under authority of the State, whether for State, county, township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of ten years, from and after the completion of the payment of the purchase money on such tract to the United States.*

In accordance with the recommendation of their committee, Congress, upon the 30th of April, passed a law, carrying, with slight modifications, the views above given, into effect.† The provisions of this law were thought by many in the Territory unauthorized,‡ but no opposition was offered to the appointment of persons to attend the Convention, and the Legislature even gave way to the embryo Government, and failed to assemble according to adjournment.‖ The Convention met upon the 1st of November; its members were generally Jeffersonian in their national politics,

* Amorican State Papers, xx. 326.

† See this act in Chase, i. 70.

‡ Burnet's Letters, 108.

‖ Burnet's Letters, 111.

and had been opposed to the change of boundaries proposed the previous year. Before proceeding to business, Governor St. Clair proposed to address them, in his official character, as the chief executive magistrate of the territory. This proposition was resisted, by several of the members; but after discussion, a motion was made and adopted, by a majority of five, that "Arthur St. Clair, sen., Esquire, be permitted to address the convention, on those points, which he deems of importance."

He advised the postponement of a State organization until the people of the original eastern division were plainly entitled to demand it, and were not subject to be bound by conditions.* This advice, given as it was, caused Jefferson instantly to remove St. Clair, but when the vote was taken upon doing that which he advised them not to do, but one of thirty-three, Ephraim Cutler of Washington, voted with the Governor.†

On one point, the proposed boundaries of the new State were altered.

To every person who has attended to this subject, and who has consulted the maps of the western country, extant at the time the ordinance of 1787 was passed; that lake Michigan was believed to be, and was represented by all the maps of that day, as being very far north of the position which it has since been ascertained to occupy. I have seen the map in the department of state, which was before the committee of Congress, who framed and reported the ordinance for the government of the territory. On that map, the southern boundary of Michigan, was represented as being above the forty-second degree of north latitude. And there was a pencil line, said to have been made by the committee, passing through the southern bend of the lake, to the Canada line, which struck the strait, not far below the the town of Detroit. That line was manifestly intended by the committee and by Congress, to be the northern boundary of our state; and on the principles by which courts of chancery construe contracts, accompanied by plats, it would seem that the map, and the line referred to, should be conclusive evidence of our boundary, without reference to the real position of the lake. When the convention sat, in 1802, the prevailing understanding was, that the old maps were nearly correct, and that the line, as defined in the ordinance, would terminate at some point, on the strait, above the Maumee bay. While the convention was in session, a man who had hunted, many years, on lake Michigan, and was well acquainted with

* Chase's Sketch, 31.

† Chase's Sketch, 31. Burnet's Letters, 110.

its position, happened to be in Chillicothe; and in conversation with one of its members, told him, that the lake extended much farther south, than was generally supposed, and that a map of the country, which he had seen, placed its southern bend many miles north of its true position. This information excited some uneasiness, and induced the convention to modify the clause, describing the north boundary, so as to guard its being depressed, below the most northern cape of the Maumee bay.*

With this change, and some extension of the school and road donations, the Convention agreed to the proposal of Congress, and upon the 29th of November, their agreement was ratified and signed;† as was also the Constitution of the State of Ohio. Of this Constitution we shall say nothing farther than that it bore in every provision the marks of democratic feeling; of full faith in the people. By the people themselves, however, it was never examined; but no opposition was offered to it, and a General Assembly was required to meet at Chillicothe on the 1st Tuesday of March, 1803.

After the agreement by Congress to the Constitution of Ohio, and her admission into the Union, the Peninsula of Michigan was wholly within the territory of Indiana.

On the 17th of September, 1802, Governor Harrison, of Indiana Territory, at Vincennes, entered into an agreement‡ with various chiefs of the Potawatomie, Eel river, Piankeshaw, Wea, Kaskaskia and Kickapoo tribes, by which were settled the bounds of a tract of land near that place, said to have been given by the Indians to its founder; and certain chiefs were named who were to conclude the matter at Fort Wayne. This was the first step taken by Harrison in those negotiations which continued through so many years, and added so much to the dominions of the Confederation. He found the natives jealous and out of temper, owing partly to American injustice, but also in a great degree, it was thought, to the acts of the British traders and agents.‖

In January of this year, Governor Harrison also communicated to the President the following letter, detailing some of the most curious land speculations of which we have any account.

The court established at this place, under the authority of the State of Virginia, in the year 1780, (as I have before done myself the honor to

* Historical Transactions of Ohio, p. 115.

† Chase's Statutes, i. 74 is the Resolution of November 29th.

‡ Dawson's Harrison, 27. ‖ Dawson's Harrison, 7 to 58.

inform you) assumed to themselves the right of granting lands to every applicant. Having exercised this power for some time without opposition, they began to conclude that their right over the land was supreme, and that they could with as much propriety grant to themselves as to others. Accordingly, an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court; and orders to that effect entered on their Journal, each member absenting himself from the court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only. The tract thus disposed of extends on the Wabash twenty-four leagues from La Pointe Coupee to the mouth of White River, and forty leagues into the country west, and thirty east from the Wabash, excluding only the land immediately surrounding this town, which had before been granted to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand acres.

The authors of this ridiculous transaction soon found that no advantage could be derived from it, as they could find no purchasers, and I believe that the idea of holding any part of the land was by the greater part of them abandoned a few years ago; however, the claim was discovered, and a part of it purchased by some of those speculators who infest our country, and through these people, a number of others in different parts of the United States have become concerned, some of whom are actually preparing to make settlements on the land the ensuing spring. Indeed, I should not be surprised to see five hundred families settling under these titles in the course of a year. The price at which the land is sold enables any body to become a purchaser; one thousand acres being frequently given for an indifferent horse or a rifle gun. And as a formal deed is made reciting the grant of the court, (made as it is pretended under the authority of the State of Virginia) many ignorant persons have been induced to part with their little all to obtain this ideal property, and they will no doubt endeavor to strengthen their claim, as soon as they have discovered the deception, by an actual settlement. The extent of these speculations was unknown to me until lately. I am now informed that a number of persons are in the habit of repairing to this place, where they purchase two or three hundred thousand acres of this claim, for which they get a deed properly authenticated and recorded, and then disperse themselves over the United States, to cheat the ignorant and credulous. In some measure, to check this practice, I have forbidden the recorder and prothonotary of this county from recording or authenticating any of these papers; being determined that the official seals of the Territory should not be prostituted to a purpose so base as that of assisting an infamous fraud.*

To Jas. Madison, *Sec'y. of State.* WM. H. HARRISON.

* American State Papers, xvi. 123.

During the session of 1802, the Legislature of Kentucky chartered an "Insurance Company," whose notes payable to bearer were to be transferred or assigned by delivery; this feature made the institution a Bank of circulation, and such it became.*

## 1803.

Upon the 11th of January, Mr. Jefferson sent a message to the Senate nominating Robert R. Livingston and James Munroe ministers at the Court of France, and Charles Pinckney and James Munroe at that of Spain, with full power to form treaties for "enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi, and in the territories eastward thereof."† This was done in consequence of the order by Morales taking from the Americans the use of New Orleans as a place of deposit; and the knowledge of the Government of the United States, that in some form a treaty had been made by which Spain had transferred her interest in Louisiana to France.

The secret‡ treaty of St. Ildefonso had been formed on the 1st of October, 1800; on the 29th of the next March, Rufus King, then Minister in London, wrote home in relation to a reported cession of Louisiana, and its influence on the United States:‖ on the 9th of June, 1801, Mr. Pinckney, at Madrid, was instructed in relation to the alledged transfer, and upon the 28th of September, Mr. Livingston, at Paris, was written to upon the same topic. On the 20th of November, Mr. King sent from London a copy of the treaty signed at Madrid, March 21, 1801, by which the Prince of Parma, (son-in-law of the King of Spain,) was established in Tuscany; this had been the consideration for the grant of Louisiana to France in the previous autumn, and that grant was now confirmed. From that time till July 1802, a constant correspondence went on between the American Secretary of State and the

* Marshall, ii. 348.

† American State Papers, ii. 475.

‡ In regard to the secresy practiced, see Mr. Livingston's letters, American State Papers, ii. 512, 513.

‖ American State Papers, ii. 509.

Ministers at Paris, London, and Madrid, relative to the important question, What can be done to secure the interests of the Union in relation to the Mississippi? Mr. Livingston, in France, was of opinion that a cession of New Orleans might possibly be obtained from that power; and to obtain it he advised the payment of "a large price" if required. Mr. Livingston at the same time wrote and laid before the French leaders an elaborate memoir intended to show that true policy required France not to retain Louisiana,* but when, on the last of August, he again made propositions, Talleyrand told him that the First Consul was not ready to receive them. Still the sagacious Ambassador felt "persuaded that the whole would end in a relinquishment of the country, and transfer of the Capital to the United States;"† and pursued his labors in hope;—asking from his Government only explicit instructions as to how much he might offer France for the Floridas, which it was supposed she would soon get from Spain, and also for New Orleans.‡ His views were acquiesced in by the President, and Mr. Munroe went out in March, 1803, bearing instructions, the object of which was "to procure a cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States."‖ All idea of purchasing Louisiana west of the Mississippi, was thus far disclaimed by Mr. Livingston, in October 1802, and by Mr. Jefferson in January 1803.§ Upon the 10th of the latter month, however, Mr. Livingston proposed to the Minister of Napoleon to cede to the United States not only New Orleans and Florida, but also all of Louisiana above the river Arkansas.¶ But such were not the views entertained in the Cabinet of the United States, and upon the 2d of March the instructions sent to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe, gave a plan which expressly left to France "all her territory on the west side of the Mississippi.**" In conformity with these orders when Talleyrand, on the 11th of the next month, asked Livingston if he wished all of Louisiana, he answered that his Government desired only New Orleans and Florida, though in his opinion, good policy would lead France to cede all west of the Mississippi above the Arkansas, so as to place a barrier between her own Colony and Canada. Talleyrand still suggested the cession of the whole French domain in North America, and

* It is in American State Papers, ii. 520 to 524.

† American State Papers, ii. 525.

‡ American State Papers, ii. 528.

‖ American State Papers, ii. 529.

§ American State Papers. ii. 526, 529.

¶ American State Papers, ii. 531, 534.

** American State Papers, ii. 540 to 544.

asked how much would be given for it; Mr. Livingston intimated that twenty millions (of francs,) might be a fair price;* this the Minister of Bonaparte said was too low, but asked the American to think of the matter.† He did think of it, and his thought was that the purchase of Louisiana entire was too large an object for the United States, and that if acquired it ought to be exchanged with Spain for the Floridas, reserving only New Orleans. On the 12th of April Mr. Munroe reached Paris, and upon the 13th the Minister of the Treasury, Marbois, who was a personal friend of Livingston had with him a long conversation from which it appeared that Napoleon, then about to renew his wars with England, wished to sell Louisiana entire, and that the only question was as to price. Bonaparte had named what equalled 125 millions of francs, but to this the Republicans turned a deaf ear; offering only 40 or 50 millions. In a short time, however, a compromise took place, and the American negotiators, going entirely beyond the letter of their instructions, agreed to pay 80 millions of francs for the vast territory upon and beyond the river first navigated by Marquette:‡—the treaty was arranged upon the 30th of the month in which the purchase had first been suggested.‖ This act of the Ministers, though unauthorized and unexpected, was at once agreed to by the President;§ Congress was summoned to meet upon the 17th of October, and on that day the treaty was laid before the Senate: by the 21st the transfer was ratified, and upon the 20th of the following December, the Province of Louisiana was officially delivered over to Governor Clairborne of Mississippi, and General Wilkinson, who were empowered to assume the Government.¶

To this transfer of Louisiana Spain at first objected, as she alledged "on solid grounds," but early in 1804 renounced her opposition.**

From what has been said it will be seen that Mr. Jefferson had no agency in the purchase of Louisiana beyond the approval of the unlooked-for act of his Ministers in France. If any person

* American State Papers, ii. 553. † American State Papers, ii. 552.

‡ See in American State Papers, ii. 557 to 560, the letters of Livingston and Monroe.

‖ The treaty is in American State Papers, ii. 507 to 508, and in Laws of Missouri (Jefferson City, 1842,) i. 1 to 4.

§ American State Papers, ii. 566.

¶ American State Papers, ii. 572, 581 to 583.

** American State Papers, ii. 567 to 572, 583.

deserves to be remembered in connection with that great bargain it was Mr. Livingston whose efforts were constant and effectual. An account of them may be found in his letters, read in the following order: 1st, that of May 12, 1803, (American State Papers, ii. 557;) 2d, that of December 30, 1801, (do. 512;) and after that in the order of dates and arrangement. The person through whom Mr. Livingston obtained the ear of Napoleon was Joseph Bonaparte.*

During June the Chiefs, agreed upon at Vincennes the previous year, transferred to Governor Harrison, at Fort Wayne, the lands claimed by the United States, about the "Post;" and their act was farther confirmed at the Capital of the Territory in August, by various chiefs and warriors.†

On the 13th of August the Kaskaskias transferred to the whites through Harrison, their lands in Illinois.‡

Upon the 15th of April the House of Representatives of the new State of Ohio, signed a bill respecting a College Township in the District of Cincinnati.‖ The history of this township is somewhat curious, and we give it in the words of Judge Burnet.

The ordinance adopted by Congress, for the disposal of the public domain, did not authorise a grant of college land, to the purchasers, of less than two millions of acres. The original proposition of Mr. Symmes being for that quantity, entitled him to the benefit of such a grant. It was his intention, no doubt, to close his contract, in conformity with his proposal. He therefore stated, in his printed publication, before referred to, that a college township had been given; and he described his situation to be, as nearly opposite the mouth of Licking river, as an entire township could be found, eligible in point of soil and situation. He also selected, in good faith, one of the best townships in the purchase, answering the description, and marked it on his map, as the college township. The township, thus selected, was the third of the first entire range, on which the town of Springdale now stands. The tract was reserved from sale, and retained for the intended purpose; until Mr. Symmes ascertained, that his agents had relinquished one half of his proposed purchase, by closing a contract for one million of acres, by which his right to college lands was abandoned, and of course not provided for in the contract. He then, very properly, erased the endorsement from the map, and offered the township for sale, and as it

* American State Papers, ii. 525, 530, 533.

† American State Papers, v. 688.

‡ American State Papers, v. 687. ‖ Journal of the House, 117.

was one of the best, and most desirable portions of his purchase, it was rapidly located. The matter remained in this situation, till the application in 1792, to change the boundaries of the purchase, and to grant a patent, for as much land, as his means would enable him to pay for. When the bill for that purpose was under consideration, General Dayton, the agent, and one of the associates of Mr. Symmes, being then an influential member of the house of representatives, proposed a section, authorising the President to convey to Mr. Symmes and his associates, one entire township in trust, for the purpose of establishing an academy, and other schools of learning, conformably to an order of Congress, of the 2nd of October, 1787. The fact was, that the right, under the order referred to, had been lost, by the relinquishment of half the proposed purchase, in consequence of which the contract contained no stipulation for such a grant. Notwithstanding, from some cause, either want of correct information, or a willingness then, to make the gratuity, — most probably the latter, the section was adopted and became a part of the law. At that time, there was not an entire township in the purchase, undisposed of. Large quantities of all of them, had been sold by Mr. Symmes, after his right to college lands had been lost, by the conduct of his agents, Dayton and Marsh. It was not, therefore, in his power to make the appropriation required by the act of Congress, though in arranging his payment at the treasury, he was credited with the price of the township. The matter remained in that situation, till about the time the legislature was elected, under the second grade of the territorial government, in 1799. Mr. Symmes then feeling the embarrassment of his situation, and aware that the subject would be taken up by the legislature, made a written proposition to the governor, offering the second township of the second fractional range, for the purposes of a college. On examination, the governor found, that he had sold an undivided moiety of that township, for a valuable consideration, in 1788 — that the purchaser had obtained a decree in the circuit court of Pennsylvania, for a specific execution of the contract; and that he had also sold several smaller portions of the same township to others, who then held contracts for same. As a matter of course the township was refused. He then appealed from the decision of the governor, to the territorial legislature. They also refused to receive it, for the same reasons, which been assigned by the governor. A similar refusal was afterward made, for the same reason, by the state legislature; to whom it was again offered. I had the charity to believe, that when Mr. Symmes first proposed the township, to the governor, it was his intention to buy up the claims against it, which he probably might have done at that time, on fair, and moderate terms; but he omitted to do so, till that arrangement became impracticable, and until his embrrrassments produced by the refusal of Congress, to confirm his contract, for the land

he had sold out of his patent, rendered it impossible for him, to make any remuneration to government, or the intended beneficiaries of the grant. The delegates representing the territory in Congress, were instructed, from time to time, to exert their influence to induce the government in some form, to secure the grant, to the people of the Miami purchase. But nothing effectual was accomplished, till the establishment of the state government in 1803; when a law was passed by Congress* vesting in the legislature of Ohio, a quantity of land equal to one entire township, to be located under their direction, for the purpose of establishing an academy, in lieu of the township already granted, for the same purpose; by virtue of the act, entitled "an act authorising the grant and conveyance of certain lands, to John C. Symmes and his associates." Under the authority of an act of the Ohio legislature, passed in April, 1803,† Jacob White, Jeremiah Morrow, and William Ludlow made a location of these lands, amounting to thirty-six sections, as they are now held by the Miami University. In consequence of the early sales, by Judge Symmes, these lands were necessarily located west of the Great Miami river; and consequently without the limit of Symmes' purchase.‡

## 1804.

Governor Harrison, on the 18th of August, purchased from the Delawares their claims to a large tract between the Wabash and Ohio;‖ from the Piankeshaws their claims to the same, and also to the lands granted by the Kaskaskias in 1803;§ from the Sacs and Foxes their title to most of the immense district between the Mississippi, Illinois, Fox river emptying into the Illinois, and Wisconsin rivers;—¶ comprehending, it is said, more than fifty-one million of acres.** This latter treaty was made at St. Louis.

During 1804 measures were taken to learn the facts as to the settlements about Detroit, and an elaborate report upon them was made by C. Jouett, the Indian Agent in Michigan:†† from that

* See Chase's Statutes, i. 72.

† See American Pioneer, i. 269.

‡ Historical Transactions of Ohio, i. 152–5.

‖ American State Papers, v. 689.

§ American State Papers, v. 690.

¶ American State Papers, 693.

** Dawson's Harrison, 59.

†† American State Papers. xvi. 190 to 192. See on titles in Michigan, American State Papers, xvi. 263 to 284.

report we take some sentences illustrative of the state of the capital.

The town of Detroit.—The charter, which is for fifteen acres square, was granted in the time of Louis XIV. of France, and is now, from the best information I have been able to collect, at Quebec. Of those two hundred and twenty-five acres, only four are occupied by the town and Fort Lenault. The remainder is a common, except twenty-four, which were added twenty years ago to a farm belonging to William Macomb. As to the titles to the lots in town, I should conceive that the citizens might legally claim, from a length of undisturbed and peaceable possession, even in the absence of a more valid and substantial tenure. Several of those lots are held by the commanding officer as appendages of the garrison. A stockade encloses the town, fort, and citadel. The pickets, as well as the public houses, are in a state of gradual decay, and, in a few days, without repairs, they must fall to the ground. The streets are narrow, straight, regular, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are, for the most part, low and inelegant; and although many of them are convenient and suited to the occupations of the people, there are perhaps a majority of them which require very considerable reparation.*

Congress, during 1804, granted a township of land in Michigan for the support of a College.†

During this year, or early in 1805, the Shawanese Prophet, brother to Tecumthe, began, as it is commonly thought, to excite the Indians to entertain hostile feelings against the Americans.‡ This may, however, be doubted as will be seen hereafter.

On the 26th of March a law was passed organizing the country purchased of France into two portions; all below the 33d degree of latitude, being formed into the Territory of Orleans, and the remainder into the District of Louisiana.‖ The former was placed under a proper territorial government;—the latter was annexed to the domain of Governor Harrison of Indiana.

* American State Papers, xvi. 191.

† Lanman, 230.

‡ McAfee. Drake's Life of Tecumseh, 86.

‖ Laws of Missouri, i. 5. Land Laws.

# 1805.

On the 11th of January, Congress made Michigan a separate territory, with Wm. Hull for its Governor: the change of government was to take place on June 30th. On the 11th of that month a fire at Detroit destroyed all the buildings at that place, public and private, together with much of the personal property of the inhabitants. On the 29th of June, the Presiding Judge reached the Strait, and upon the 1st of July, the Governor arrived there; They found the people, in part encamped on and near the site of the destroyed town, and in part scattered through the country.* From their report to Congress, made in October, we extract the following passages:

The place which bore the appellation of the town of Detroit, was a spot of about two acres of ground, completely covered with buildings and combustible materials, the narrow intervals of fourteen or fifteen feet, used as streets or lanes, only excepted; and the whole was environed with a very strong and secure defence of tall and solid pickets. The circumjacent ground, the bank of the river alone excepted, was a wide commons; and though assertions are made respecting the existence, among the records of Quebec, of a charter from the King of France, confirming this commons as an appurtenance to the town, it was either the property of the United States, or at least such as individual claims did not pretend to cover. The folly of attempting to rebuild the town, in the original mode, was obvious to every mind: yet there existed no authority, either in the country, or in the officers of the new Government, to dispose of the adjacent ground. Hence had already arisen a state of dissension which urgently required the interposition of some authority to quiet. Some of the inhabitants, destitute of shelter, and hopeless of any prompt arrangements of Government, had re-occupied their former ground, and a few buildings had already been erected in the midst of the old ruins. Another portion of the inabitants had determined to take possession of the adjacent public ground, and to throw themselves on the liberality of the Government of the United States, either to make them a donation of the ground, as a compensation for their sufferings, or to accept of a very moderate price for it. If they

* Lanman, 169.—American State Papers, xvi. 247.—Land Laws, 514.

could have made any arrangement of the various pretentions of individuals, or could have agreed on any plan of a town, they would soon have begun to build. But the want of a civil authority to decide interfering claims, or to compel the refractory to submit to the wishes of a majority, had yet prevented them from carrying any particular measure into execution. On the morning of Monday, the 1st day of July, the inhabitants had assembled for the purpose of resolving on some definitive mode of procedure. The Judges prevailed on them to defer their intentions for a short time, giving them assurances that the Governor of the territory would shortly arrive, and that every arrangement in the power of their domestic Government would be made for their relief. On these representations they consented to defer their measures for one fortnight. In the evening of the same day the Governor arrived; it was his first measure to prevent any encroachments from being made on the public land. The situation of the distressed inhabitants then occupied the attention of the members of the Government for two or three days. The result of these discussions was, to proceed to lay out a new town, embracing the whole of the old town and the public lands adjacent; to state to the people that nothing in the nature of a title could be given under any authorities then possessed by the Government; and that they could not be justified in holding out any charitable donations whatever, as a compensation for their sufferings, but that every personal exertion would be made to obtain a confirmation of the arrangements about to be made, and to obtain the liberal attention of the Government of the United States to their distresses.

A town was accordingly surveyed and laid out, and the want of authority to impart any regular title, without the subsequent sanction of Congress, being first impressed and clearly understood, the lots were exposed to sale under that reservation. Where the purchaser of a lot was a proprietor in the old town, he was at liberty to extinguish his former property in his new acquisition, foot for foot, and was expected to pay only for the surplus, at the rate expressed in his bid. A considerable part of the inhabitants were only tenants in the old town, there being no means of acquiring any new titles. The sale of course could not be confined merely to former proprietors, but, as far as possible, was confined to former inhabitants. After the sale of a considerable part, by auction, the remainder was disposed of by private contract, deducting from the previous sales the basis of the terms. As soon as the necessities of the immediate inhabitants were accommodated, the sales were entirely stopped, until the pleasure of Government could be consulted. As no title could be made, or was pretended to be made, no payments were required, or any moneys permitted to be received, until the expiration of one year, to afford time for Congress to interpose. The remaining part was stipulated to be paid in four successive annual

instalments. The highest sum resulting from the bids was seven cents for a square foot, and the whole averaged at least four cents. In this way the inhabitants were fully satisfied to commence their buildings, and the interfering pretensions of all individuals were eventually reconciled.*

In this same report attention was called to the unsettled southern boundary of Michigan, to the state of the land titles generally,† and other important points.

While in Michigan the territorial government was taking shape, Indiana‡ passed to the second grade of the same, as provided by the ordinance, and obtained her General Assembly; while various treaties with the northern tribes were transferring to the United States the Indian title to large and valuable tracts of country. On the 4th of July, the Wyandots and others, at Fort Industry, on the Maumee, ceded all their lands as far west as the western boundary of the Connecticut Reserve ;‖ upon the 21st of August, Governor Harrison, at Vincennes, received from the Miamies a region containing two million acres§ within what is now Indiana ;¶ and upon the 30th of December, at the same place purchased of the Piankeshaws a tract eighty or ninety miles wide, extending from the Wabash west to the cession by the Kaskaskias in 1803.** At this time, although some murders by the red men had taken place in the far west, the body of natives seemed bent on peace.†† But mischief was gathering. Tecumthe, his brother the prophet and other leading men, had formed at Greenville the germ of that union of tribes by which the whites were to be restrained in their invasions. We are by no means satisfied that the Great Indian of later days used any concealment, or meditated any treachery toward the United States, for many years after this time. The efforts of himself and his brother were directed to two points: first, the reformation of the savages, whose habits unfitted them for continuous and heroic effort; and second, such a union as would make the purchase of land by the United States impossible, and

* American State Papers, xvi. 247.

† Only *six* regular titles were found in Michigan; (American State Papers, xvi. 305;) in same volume, p. 263, they are erroneously said to be eight; see American State Papers, xvi. 263 to 284, 305 to 557, 592.

‡ Dawson's Harrison, 71 to 78. ‖ American State Papers, v. 695. 702.

§ Harrison's Letter, American State Papers, v. 701. ¶ Ibid, v. 696

** American State Papers, v. 704.

†† See Harrison's Letter, American State Papers, v. 705.

give to the aborigines a strength that might be dreaded. Both these objects were avowed, and both were pursued with wonderful energy, perseverance and success; in the whole country bordering upon the lakes, the power of the Prophet was felt, and the work of reformation went on rapidly.*

It was during this year that Burr paid his first visit to the West. On the 11th of July, 1804, he had shot General Hamilton, an event which he felt would "ostracise" him;† would force him to seek elsewhere for power, money, and fame. On the 2nd of March, 1805, the Vice President took his celebrated leave of the Senate, and upon the 29th of April was at Pittsburgh. His purpose in going westward was not the gratification of curiosity merely;‡ and from Wilkinson,‖ we learn that he was concerned with Dayton and others in the projected canal round the Falls, at Louisville; a proposal which had been before the United States Senate in January.§ From Pittsburgh he proceeded down the Ohio to Louisville, thence went to Lexington and Nashville by land, and from the latter place passed down the Cumberland, and upon the 6th of June reached Fort Massac.¶ During his visit to Tennessee he was treated with great attention, and both then and previously had some conversation relative to a residence in that state, with a view to political advancement.** His intentions, however, seem to have been entirely vague: among other plans, he had some thought of trying to displace Governor Claiborne of the Orleans territory, and took from Wilkinson,†† whom he met at Fort Massac, a letter to Daniel Clark, the Governor's most violent foe. On the 25th of June, Burr reached the capital of the southwest, where he remained until the 10th of July, when he crossed by land to Nashville, and spent a week with General Jackson—a man, he says, in many points after his own heart;‡‡ and upon the 20th of August, was at Lexington again: from Lexington, he went by the Falls, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia to St. Louis, where he met General Wilkinson about the middle of September. By this time,

* Drake's Tecumseh, 88. 93. 103.

† Davis' Memoirs of Burr, ii. 327. 367.

‡ Burr's Letter in Davis, ii. 359.

‖ Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 274 to 278.

§ American State Papers, xx. 419 and 479. ¶ His Journal in Davis ii. 368 to 370.

** Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. appendix, lxviii. Colonel Lyon's Deposition.

†† Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 281.—Claiborne was made Governor of Mississippi, January 6, 1802.; and transferred to Orleans Territory, December 10, 1804. (Executive Journals, i. 401. 476.)

‡‡ His Journal in Davis, ii. 372.

all his plans appear to have undergone a change again. At New Orleans he had been made aware of the existence of an association formed to invade Mexico and wrest it from Spain;* he was asked to join it, but refused. He saw, however, at that time, if not before, that, should the disputes relative to boundaries† then existing between the United States result in war,‡ an opportunity would be given to men of spirit to conquer and rule Mexico, and this idea thenceforth became his leading one.‖ But in connection with this plan of invasion, in case of war, there arose whispers in relation to effecting a separation of the western from the Atlantic states; of this we have knowledge by a letter from Daniel Clark to General Wilkinson, written September 7th.§ What Burr's conversations with the commander at St. Louis were, we are not particularly told, but we learn that he suggested the Mexican plan, and also intimated that the Union was rotten and the western people dissatisfied.¶ Such was the effect of his talk that soon after he left, Wilkinson wrote to the Secretary of the Navy advising the government to have an eye on Burr, as he was "about something, but whether internal or external," he could not learn.** Thus, during 1805, the idea of a separation of the western states from the Union by Burr and Wilkinson, had become familiar to many minds, even though the principals themselves may have had no more thought of such a thing than of taking possession of the moon, and dividing her among their friends.††

Upon the 23d of September, Lieutenant Pike, on his way up the Mississippi, bought of the Sioux two tracts, one at the mouth of the St. Croix river, the other at mouth of the St. Peters, including the Falls of St. Anthony.‡‡

In the bill authorising Ohio to become a State, was the following provision:

* Spence's deposition in Wilkinson, ii. 283, note.

† American State Papers, ii. 660 to 669.

‡ Wilkinson thought they would, and he in a great measure controlled the matter.—See his memoirs, ii. 300; General Adair in Davis, ii. 380.

‖ See General Adair's testimony in Davis, ii. 379.

§ Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. Appendix, xxxiii.—The possibility of a renewed attempt to dismember the Union by Wilkinson, aided by Burr, had been suggested in a western paper, early in the spring of 1805. (American State Papers, xx. 571.)

¶ American State Papers, xx. 579.—Wilkinson's Testimony at Burr's Trial.

** Deposition of Captain Hughes, in Wilkinson, ii. Appendix, lxx.

†† See Burr's words in Davis, ii. 378, note.

‡‡ American State Papers, v. 753. 754. 755. See account of Pike's Expeditions in 1805, '6 and '7; published at Philadelphia, 1810.

Third, that one twentieth part of the nett proceeds of the lands lying within the said State, sold by Congress, from and after the thirtieth day of June next, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out and making public roads, leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic, to the Ohio, to the said State, and through the same; such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the road shall pass.*

In conformity with this clause, steps were taken during 1805, which resulted in the making of the Cumberland, or National road.

## 1806.

During this year the conviction became more and more strong that the north-western tribes were meditating hostilities against the United States, but nothing of consequence took place;† although Tecumthe and the Prophet constantly extended and confirmed their influence.‡

In September, 1806, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke returned from their exploration of the Missouri and Oregon rivers. This expedition had been suggested by Mr. Jefferson in January, 1803,‖ His views being sanctioned by Congress, Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke entered the Missouri, May 14, 1804. The ensuing winter they spent among the Mandans, and in April, 1805, again set forward. With great difficulty the mountains were passed in the September following, and the Pacific reached upon the 17th of November. Here the winter of 1805–6 was passed. On the 27th of March, 1806, the return journey was begun, and the mountains were crossed late in June.§

* Land Laws, 476.

† Marshall (ii. 479) says that in this year or the next, the first attacks upon the Indians were made by the whites, and some of the former killed; the red men being innocent of all crime.

‡ Dawson's Harrison, 83 to 90. Drake's Tecumseh, 89 to 91.

‖ American State Papers, v. 684.

§ See American State Papers, v. 705, &c. Lewis and Clarke's Journal.

The difficulties with Spain began early in the year to assume a serious appearance; in February, acts of a semi-hostile character took place,* and in August, Spanish troops crossed the Sabine and took possession of the territory east of that river. This led first to a correspondence between Governor Claiborne and the Spaniard in command; and next to a movement by General Wilkinson and his army to the contested border.† While his troops were at Natchitoches, in immediate expectation of an engagement, Samuel Swartwout reached Wilkinson's camp, with letters from Burr and Dayton, of such a character as to bring matters in relation to the conquest of Mexico almost instantly to a crisis.

Burr, from January to August, Mr. Davis tells us, was most of the time in Washington and Philadelphia;‡ but not idle, for in a letter to Wilkinson, dated April 16th, the conspirator says, "Burr will be throughout the United States this summer;" and refers to "the association," as enlarged, and to the "project" as postponed till December.‖ In July, Commodore Truxton learned from Burr that he was interested largely in lands upon the Washita, which he proposed to settle if his Mexican project failed;§ and in August we find that he left for the west. On the 21st of that month he was in Pittsburg, and there suggested to Colonel George Morgan and his son the probable disunion of the States, growing out of the extreme weakness of the Federal Government;¶ a suggestion similar to that said to have been made, though in a much more distinct and strong form, to General Eaton, in the March preceding.** His plans, indeed, whatever their extent, were before this time fixed and perfected, for it was upon the 29th of July that he wrote from Philadelphia to General Wilkinson the letter confided to Swartwout, which led to the developement of the whole business; this letter we extract, together with Wilkinson's deposition of December 26th, explanatory of Burr's plans.

[Yours, post-marked 13th of May, is received.]* I, Aaron Burr, have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. De-

* American State Papers, ii. 798.

† American State Papers, ii. 801 to 804. See for documents Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. appendix lx. lxxxvii, to xciii. Also, American State Papers, xx. 561 to 563. 565.

‡ Memoirs, ii. 375. He had not entirely given up Eastern politics; see Adair's letter in Wilkinson, ii. appendix lxxvii.

‖ Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. appendix lxxxiii. § American State Papers, xx. 497.

¶ American State Papers, xx. 501 to 504. ** American State Papers, 493 to 596. 537.

* The parts in brackets were omitted in the copy which Wilkinson used, in causing the arrest of Bollman and others. (See American State Papers, xx. 471, 472.) This omission was the ground of the accusation hereafter referred to.

achments from different points, and under different pretences, will ren-
lezvous on Ohio, 1st November—every thing internal and external
avors views: protection of England is secured. T——— is going to
Jamaica, to arrange with the Admiral on that station; it will meet on the
Mississippi.—England.—Navy of the United States are ready to join,
and final orders are given to my friends and followers: it will be a host
of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only: Wilkinson
shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed
westward 1st. August, never to return: with him go his daughter; the
the husband will follow in October, with a corps of worthies.

Send forth an intelligent and confidential friend with whom Burr may
confer; he shall return immediately with further interesting details: this
s essential to concert and harmony of movement: send a list of all per-
sons known to Wilkinson, west of the mountains, who may be useful,
with a note delineating their characters. By your messenger send me
four or five commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under
any pretence you please; they shall be returned faithfully. Already
are orders to the contractor given, to forward six months provisions to
points Wilkinson may name; this shall not be used until the last mo-
ment, and then under proper injunctions: the project is brought to the
point so long desired. Burr guarantees the result with his life and
honor, with the lives, the honor and fortune of hundreds, the best blood
of our country. Burr's plan of operations is, to move down rapidly
from the Falls on the 15th November, with the first 500, or 1000 men
n light boats now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez be-
ween the 5th and 15th of December; there to meet Wilkinson: there
o determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance to seize
on or pass by Baton Rouge: on receipt of this send an answer; draw
on Burr for all expenses, &c. The people of the country to which we
are going, are prepared to receive us: their agents now with Burr say,
that if we will protect their religion and will not subject them to a
foreign power, that in three weeks all will be settled. The gods invite
o glory and fortune: it remains to be seen whether we deserve the
boon: the bearer of this goes express to you; he will hand a formal
letter of introduction to you from Burr: he is a man of inviolable honor
and perfect discretion; formed to execute rather than to project; capable
of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them otherwise;
he is thoroughly informed of the plans and intentions of [Burr,] and
will disclose to you as far as you inquire, and no further: he has im-
bibed a reverence for your character, and may be embarrassed in your
presence: put him at ease and he will satisfy you.*

*July* 29.

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 316.

I instantly resolved—says Wilkinson in his affidavit—to avail myself of the reference made to the bearer, and, in the course of some days, drew from him (the said Swartwout) the following disclosure: "That he had been despatched by Colonel Burr from Philadelphia; had passed through the States of Ohio and Kentucky, and proceeded from Louisville for St. Louis, where he expected to find me; but discovering at Kaskaskias that I had desended the river, he procured a skiff, hired hands, and followed me down the Mississippi to Fort Adams; and from thence set out for Natchitoches, in company with Captains Sparks and Hooke, under the pretence of a disposition to take part in the campaign against the Spaniards, then depending. That Colonel Burr, with the support of a powerful association extending from New York to New Orleans, was levying an armed body of seven thousand men from the State of New York and the western States and territories, with a view to carry an expedition against the Mexican provinces; and that five hundred men, under Colonel Swartwout and a Colonel or Major Tyler, were to descend the Alleghany, for whose accommodation light boats had been built and were ready." I inquired what would be their course; he said, "this territory would be revolutionized, where the people were ready to join them; and that there would be some seizing, he supposed, at New Orleans; that they expected to be ready to embark about the 1st of February; and intended to land at Vera Cruz, and to march from thence to Mexico." I observed that there were several millions of dollars in the bank of this place; to which he replied, "we know it full well;" and, on my remarking that they certainly did not mean to violate private property, he said, "they meant to borrow, and would return it; that they must equip themselves in New Orleans; that they expected naval protection from Great Britain; that the captains and the officers of our navy were so disgusted with the Goverment that they were ready to join; that similar disgusts prevailed throughout the western country, where the people were zealous in favor of the enterprise; and that pilot-boat built schooners were contracted for along our southern coast for their service; that he had been accompanied from the falls of Ohio to Kaskaskias, and from thence to Fort Adams by a Mr. Ogden, who had proceeded on to New Orleans with letters from Colonel Burr to his friends there." Swartwout asked me whether I had heard from Dr. Bollman; and, on my answering in the negative, he expressed great surprise, and observed, "that the Doctor and a Mr. Alexander had left Philadelphia before him with despatches for me; and that they were to proceed by sea to New Orleans, where he said they must have arrived.

Though determined to deceive him, if possible, I could not refrain telling Mr. Swartwout it was impossible that I could ever dishonor my commission; and I believe I duped him by my admiration of the plan

and by observing, that although I could not join in the expedition, the engagements which the Spaniards had prepared for me in my front might prevent my opposing it. Yet I did, the moment I had deciphered the letter, put it into the hands of Colonel Cushing, my adjutant and inspector; making the declaration that I should oppose the lawless enterprise with my utmost force. Mr. Swartwout informed me that he was under engagements to meet Colouel Burr at Nashville on the 20th of November, and requested of me to write to him, which I declined; and on his leaving Natchitoches about the 18th of October, I immediately employed Lieutenant T. A. Smith to convey the information in substance to the President without the commitment of names; for from the extraordinary nature of the project and the more extraordinary appeal to me, I could but doubt its reality, notwithstanding the testimony before me; and I did not attach solid belief to Mr. Swartwout's reports respecting their intentions on this Territory and city, until I received confirmatory advice from St. Louis.*

After leaving Pittsburg, Burr went probably direct to Blennerhassett's Island, where he had stopped the previous summer, while passing down the Ohio,† and which he thenceforth made his head-quarters. This he was probably led to do by the fact that Blennerhassett, in December, 1805, had written him, that he should like to take part in any western speculations, or in attacking Mexico, should a Spanish war actually occur.‡ This offer, together with the supposed wealth of Blennerhassett, and the admirable position of his island for Burr's purposes, made that place the very one most desirable for him to select as his centre of operations. From this point the Chief made excursions into Ohio and Kentucky, obtaining money, men, boats and provisions.‖

Among those from whom he received the most aid was Davis Floyd, of Jeffersonville, a member of the Indiana Assembly;§ this gentleman, Blennerhassett, Comfort Tyler and Israel Smith, were Burr's chiefs of division, and led the few followers that at last went down the river in his company. Meantime the rumor was prevalent "in every man's mouth,"¶ that the settlement of the Washita lands,** for which the men were nominally enlisted,

* American State Papers, xx. 472.

† Colonel Lyon, in Wilkinson, ii. appendix lxviii.

‡ Davis, ii. 392.

‖ Davis ii. 392. Butler's Kentucky, 312. American State Papers, xx. 499, &c.

§ American State Papers, xx. 524. Butler's Kentucky, 313.

¶ David C. Wallace. American State Papers, xx. 535.

** See as to these lands Lynch's evidence. American State Papers, xx. 599.

was a mere pretence, and that an attack on Mexico, if not something worse, was in contemplation.* That something was looked for beyond a conquest of the Spanish provinces seemed probable from the views expressed in a series of essays called the "Querist;" these were published in September in the Ohio Gazette, (Marietta) were written by Blennerhassett, immediately after Burr's visit to his island, and strongly intimated that wisdom called on the western people to leave the Union.† At this time Colonel Joseph Daviess was attorney for the United States in Kentucky, and he, together with others,‡ felt that the General Government ought to be informed of what was doing, and of what was rumored; Mr. Jefferson, accordingly, in the latter part of September received intimations of what was going forward, but as nothing definite could be charged there was no point of attack, and the Executive and his friends could do nothing farther than watch and wait.‖ At length, late in October, notice of the building of boats and collection of provisions having reached him, the President sent a confidential agent§ into the west, and also gave orders to the Governors and commanders to be upon their guard. Daviess, meantime, had gathered a mass of testimony implicating Burr, which led him to take the step of bringing the subject, in November, before the United States District Court, making oath, "that he was informed, and did verily believe, that Aaron Burr for several months past had been, and now is engaged, in preparing and setting on foot, and in providing and preparing the means for a military expedition and enterprize within this district, for the purpose of descending the Ohio and Mississippi therewith; and making war upon the subjects of the king of Spain." After having read this affidavit, the attorney added, "I have information, on which I can rely, that all the western territories are the next object of the scheme—and finally, all the region of the Ohio, is calculated, as falling into the vortex of the newly proposed revolution."

Upon this affidavit Daviess asked for Burr's arrest, but the motion was overruled. The accused, however, who saw at once the most politic course, came into court and demanded an investigation,

* Burnet's letters, 103. Numerous witnesses at Burr's trial, Richmond.

† American State Papers, xx. 527. 523. 535. 525 and 526. See also 531, 532, &c.

‡ See the statements and papers in Marshall, ii. 385 to 413—424 to 433.

‖ American State Papers, xx. 468.

§ Mr. John Graham, secretary of the Orleans Territory. His evidence is in American State Papers, xx. 528, &c.

which could not be had, however, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining Davis Floyd as a witness. Thus far the public generally sympathized with Burr, whose manners secured all suffrages, and who on the 1st of December was able to write to Henry Clay, his attorney, in these terms: "I have no design, nor have I taken any measure to promote a dissolution of the Union, or a separation of any one or more States from the residue. I have neither published a line on this subject, nor has any one through my agency or with my knowledge. I have no design to intermeddle with the government, or to disturb the tranquillity of the United States, nor of its territories, or of any part of them. I have neither issued nor signed, nor promised a commission to any person, for any purpose. I do not own a musket nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor does any person for me, by my authority, or my knowledge. My views have been explained to, and approved by, several of the principal officers of government, and, I believe, are well understood by the administration, and seen by it with complacency; they are such as every *man of honor and every good citizen* must approve. Considering the high station you now fill in our national councils, I have thought these explanations proper, as well to counteract the chimerical tales, which malevolent persons have industriously circulated, as to satisfy you that you have not espoused the cause of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government or the interests of his country."*

The agent from government, who was all along actively engaged in procuring evidence relative to Burr's plans, finding abundant proof of his Mexican project, and learning also that he thought the West ought to separate from the East,† determined in December, to take measures to arrest his boats and provisions. This he effected by an application to the Legislature of Ohio, through Governor Tiffin.‡ The Legislature authorized the Governor to take the necessary steps,‖ and before the 14th of December, ten boats with stores were arrested on the Muskingum, and soon after, four more were seized by the troops at Marietta.§ Blennerhassett, Tyler, and thirty or forty men, on the night of December 10th,

* Butler's Kentucky, 313. 316. See Jefferson's Message, American State Papers, xx. 469.

† So Blennerhassett told him. American State Papers, xx. 531.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 529.

‖ Journal of the Senate, p. 36.

§ See Governor Tiffin's Letters. Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 259. 260. His message of December 15th. Journal of Senate, 36.

left the Island, and proceeded down the river,*—barely escaping an arrest by General Tupper, on behalf of the State of Ohio.† On the 16th, this party united with that of Floyd at the Falls;‡ and on the 26th, the whole, together, met Burr at the mouth of the Cumberland.‖ On the 29th, the company passed Fort Massac.§

But while Daviess and Graham were laboring to put a stop to Burr's progress, the General Government had received information which enabled the President to act with decision; this was the message of Wilkinson,¶ bearing an account of Burr's letter already quoted. This Message was sent from Natchitoches upon the 22d of October,** and reached the seat of Government, November 25th; on the 27th, a proclamation was issued,†† and word sent westward to arrest all concerned.‡‡ About the same time, (November 24th or 25th,)‖‖ Wilkinson, who had done, unauthorized, upon the 1st of November,§§ the very thing he had been ordered on the 8th to do,—namely, to make an accommodation with the Spanish commander on the Sabine, ¶¶ and fall back to the Mississippi,*** reached New Orleans, and prepared to resist any attack thereon: at this city he arrested Swartwout, Peter V. Ogden, who was discharged, however, on *Habeas Corpus*, and Dr. Erick Bollman, who had also borne messages from Burr and Dayton.†††

* American State Papers, xx. 500. 596. At former reference date is misstated, should be "Sunday, 7th." See other depositions, pp. 509. 596, &c., &c.

† American State Papers, xx. 504. 505. 509. 523. 534.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 524.

‖ American State Papers, xx. 522.514. Burr went down the Cumberland, December 22. American State Papers, xx. 469.

§ American State Papers, xx. 473. 516.

¶ Given in Wilkinson, ii., appendix xcv.

** Colonel Smith, in Wilkinson ii., appendix xciv.

†† Given in Wilkinson, ii., appendix xcvi.

‡‡ Jefferson, in American State Papers, xx. 468.

‖‖ American State Papers, xx. 469. 600.

§§ Colonel Burling, in Wilkinson, ii., appendix xcvii.

¶¶ Wilkinson reached Natchitoches, September 24; he at once requested the Spanish commander to re-cross the Sabine and save bloodshed; the Spaniard did as requested, about the 30th of September. (American State Papers, xx. 544.) In a week after, Swartwout arrived. (American State Papers, xx. 557.)

*** Jefferson, in American State Papers, xx. 466.

††† Wilkinson, ii. 318. American State Papers, xx. 470.

What Burr may have felt or intended after he met his fugitive followers at the mouth of Cumberland river, late in December, 1806, it is impossible to say, but it is certain that he went on openly and boldly, protesting against the acts of Ohio, and avowing his innocence. If he had relied on Wilkinson, he was as yet undeceived with regard to him. On the 4th of January he was at Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs;* and soon after at Bayou Pierre. From this point he wrote to the authorities below, referring to the rumors respecting him, alledging his innocence, and begging them to avoid the horrors of civil war.† Word had just been received from Jefferson, however, of the supposed conspiracy; the militia were under arms; and the acting Governor of the Mississippi Territory, Cowles Mead, on the 16th of January, sent two aids to meet Colonel Burr; one of these was George Poindexter. At this meeting, an interview between the acting Governor was arranged, which took place on the 17th: at which time Burr yielded himself to the civil authority. He was then taken to Washington, the capital of the territory, and legal proceedings commenced. Mr. Poindexter was himself Attorney-general, and as such advised that Burr had been guilty of no crime within Mississippi, and wished to have him sent to the seat of government of the United States: the presiding Judge, however, summoned a Grand Jury, which, upon the evidence before them, presented—not Burr for treason—but the acting Governor for calling out the militia! That evening, Colonel Burr, fearing an arrest by officers sent by Wilkinson, forfeited his bonds and disappeared.‡ A proclamation being issued by the Governor for his apprehension,‖ he was seized on the Tombigbee river§ on his way to Florida,¶ and was sent at once to Richmond, where he arrived March 26th. On the 22d of May, Burr's examination began in the Circuit Court of the United States at Richmond, before Judge Marshall; two bills were found against him, one for treason against the United

* American State Papers, xx. 567, 610. † Ibid, 477, 478.

‡ Poindexter in American State Papers, xx. 568 to 570.—Wilkinson in do. 545.—Graham in do. 530 to 531.—Mead in do. 478.

‖ American State Papers, xx. 602. § Davis, ii. 383. ¶ Butler, 318.

States, the other for a misdemeanor in organizing an enterprise against Mexico, while at peace with the United States: but on both these charges the Jury found him "not guilty,*" "upon the principle that the offence, if committed anywhere, was committed out of the jurisdiction of the Court."† The Chief Justice, however, upon the latter charge, subsequently ordered his commitment for trial within the proper jurisdiction.‡ This commitment, however, being impliedly upon the supposition that the United States wished, under the circumstances, to prosecute the accused, and the Attorney for the government declining to do so,‖ no further steps were taken to bring the supposed culprit to justice, and the details of his doings and plans have never yet been made known.

Although a mystery still hangs about Burr's plans, in consequence of the discontinuance of the suit by the United States, we think it has been clearly proved by the trial at Richmond and other evidences—1st, that Burr went into the West in 1805 with the feeling that his day at the East was over; in New York he feared even a prosecution if he remained there:§

2nd, that his plans, until late in that year, were undefined; speculations of various kinds, a residence in Tennessee, an appointment in the Southwest, were under consideration, but nothing was determined:

3d, that he at length settled upon three objects, to one or the other of which, as circumstances might dictate, he meant to devote his energies: these were—

A separation of the West from the East under himself and Wilkinson:

Should this be, upon further examination, deemed impossible, then an invasion of Mexico by himself and Wilkinson, with or without the sanction of the federal government:

And in case of disappointment in reference to Mexico, then the foundation of a new state upon the Washita, over which he might preside as founder and patriarch.¶

* Davis, ii. 385. † Judge Marshall's language, American State Papers, xx. 641.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 645. The verdicts were of September 1st and 15th; the commitment of October 20th. In the opinion given on this last occasion, the whole subject and evidence is reviewed by the Chief Justice. (American State Papers, xx. 641 to 645.)

‖ Burr's Journal in Davis, ii. 412.

§ Adairs' letter in Wilkinson, ii. Apdendix, lxxvii.

¶ See American State Papers, xx. 530, where Burr speaks to Graham of the Washita lands and "a separate government."

That the Washita scheme was not a mere pretence, we think evident from the fact that Burr actually paid toward the purchase four or five thousand dollars:* that it was not the only object, and that the conquest of Mexico, if it could be effected, was among his settled determinations, his friends all acknowledged,† but said this conquest was to take place upon the supposition of a war with Spain, and in no other case: that Burr may have thought the government would wink at his proceedings, is very possible; and that Wilkinson either meant to aid him, or pretended he would, in order to learn his plans, is certain;‡ but the secrecy of his movements, the language of his letter to Wilkinson in July, 1806, and his whole character, convince us that he would, if he could, have invaded Mexico, whether the United States were at war or peace with Spain.§

But we cannot doubt that, going beyond a violation of the laws of the Union, he was disposed to seek a separation of that Union itself. During his visit of 1805, he was undoubtedly made fully acquainted with the old schemes for independence entertained in Kentucky, and was led to question the real attachment of the western people to the federal government. So long as he thought there was a probability of disunion, it would naturally be his first object to place himself at the head of the republic beyond the mountains, and should he find himself deceived as to the extent of disaffection in the Great Valley, all his means could be brought to bear upon Mexico. His conversations with the Morgans at Pittsburgh;§ the views of the "Querist" prepared by Blennerhasset under Burr's eye;¶ and the declarations of Blennerhasset to Henderson and Graham,** seem to leave no room for doubting the fact that a dissolution of the United States had been contemplated by the ex Vice-President, although we think there is as little reason to doubt that it had been abandoned as hopeless, long before his arrest.

With regard to Wilkinson, it is not easy to form a decided

* Lynch's testimony, American State Papers, xx. 599.

† See Davis, ii. chap. xx.

‡ Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 311. 312.

‖ See Burr's conversation with Graham, American State Papers, xx. 530.

§ American States Papers, xx. 501. 503.

¶ American State Papers, xx. 526. 527. 528.—Judge Marshall says, (American State Papers, xx. 644,) "that the object of these writings was to prepare the western states for a dismemberment, is apparent on the face of them."

** American State Papers, xx. 525. 526. 531.

opinion; the strongest fact in his favor is that he informed the government of Burr's projects, in the fall of 1805;* the strongest fact against him is, that if innocent, he was able to outwit and entrap so subtle a man as the conspirator. It has been charged against Wilkinson that he altered the letter sent him by Burr, and then swore that the copy was a true copy;† this however is fully explained by the deposition of Mr. Duncan, Wilkinson's legal adviser at New Orleans, by whom indeed the omission was suffered designedly to remain, in opposition to the General's repeated and strong expression of his wish that it should be supplied.‡ Another charge has been brought against Wilkinson since his death, that he claimed of Mexico two hundred thousand dollars for stopping Burr.‖ This charge seems improbable, and it seems equally improbable that during the persecution of the General in 1810, no knowledge of so strange an act, and one of so public a nature, should have been reached by his enemies. As it was not brought forward till 1836, eleven years after his death, no opportunity has occurred for explaining or disproving it, but it ought not to weigh against his memory until further evidence is offered in its support.

On the 27th of January, 1807, Governor Hull, of Michigan Territory, had been authorized by the federal government, to enter into a treaty with the northwestern Indians, for the lands upon the eastern side of the Peninsula, and for those west of the Connecticut Reserve, as far as the Auglaise.§ The directions then given having been repeated in September, a council was held at Detroit, and a treaty made November 17th,¶ with the Ottawas, Chippeways, Wyandots and Pottawatamies, by which the country from the Maumee to Saginaw bay, on the eastern side of Michigan, was transferred, with certain reservations, to the United States.**

Congress confirmed the old French claims to land in the west, during this year.††

A stockade was built round the new town of Detroit.‡‡

During this year was brought to a close the movement in favor

* See ante p. 494. † Davis, ii, 400.

‡ See his deposition, American State Papers, xx. 560.—Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 332.

‖ Davis, ii. 400 to 404. § American State Papers, v. 748.

¶ The treaty, (American State Papers v. 747) reads 7th; Jefferson's message (same page) and the treaty of Brownstown, (p. 757) say the 17th.

** American State Papers, v. 747. 745.

†† Lanman, 182. ‡‡ Ibid, 183.

of introducing slavery into Indiana territory. It began with the petition of four men in the Kaskaskia region in 1796.*

In 1803, it was again brought before Congress, and reported against by Mr. Randolph.† In 1804, it was a third time brought up, and the following resolution offered in the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery within the said Territory, be suspended, in a qualified manner, for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves, born within the United States, from any of the individual States: Provided, That such individual State does not permit the importation of slaves from foreign countries. And provided, further, That the descendants of all such slaves shall, if males, be free at the age of twenty-five years, and, if females, at the age of twenty-one years.‡

In 1806, the Report of the Committee offering this resolution was referred, and the same resolve again offered.‖

In 1807, the subject once more came up upon a representation by the House of Representatives and Legislative Council of the Territory.§ The National Representatives were again asked by their committee to approve the step,¶ but in the Senate a different view was taken, and it was declared inexpedient to suspend the Ordinance.**

## 1808.

During this year Tecumthe and the Prophet still continued quietly to extend their influence, professing no other end than a reformation of the Indians. Before the month of June†† they had removed from Greenville to the banks of the Tippecanoe, a tributary of the Upper Wabash, where a tract of land had been granted them by the Pottawatamies and Kickapoos. In July the Prophet sent to General Harrison a messenger begging him not to believe the tales told by his enemies, and promising a visit: in August

* American State Papers, xvi. 68—ante p. 463. † Ibid, 160. ‡ Ibid, xx. 387.
‖ Ibid, xx. 450. § Ibid, xx. 467. ¶ Ibid, 477. ** Ibid, 485.
†† Dawson, 106.

accordingly, he spent two weeks at Vincennes, and by his words and promises led the Governor to change very much his previous opinion,* and to think his influence might be beneficial rather than mischievous.†

On the 25th of November, Governor Hull met at Brownstown the Chippeways, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Wyandots, and Shawanese, and obtained from them a grant of a strip of land connecting the Maumee with the Western Reserve, and another strip connecting Lower Sandusky with the country south of the line agreed upon in 1795. These strips were to be used for roads.‡

A hemp mill company was incorporated for Madison county, Kentucky.‖

## 1809.

Through this year again we find Tecumthe and his brother strengthening themselves both openly and secretly. Harrison, however, had been once more led to suspect their ultimate designs, and was preparing to meet an emergency whenever it might arise. The probability of its being at hand was very greatly increased by the news received from the Upper Mississippi of hostile movements there among the savages. In reference to these movements and the position of the Shawanese brothers, Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War on the 5th of July as follows:

**The Shawanese prophet and about 40 followers arrived here about a week ago. He denies most strenuously any participation in the late combination to attack our settlements, which he says was entirely confined to the tribes of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers; and he claims the merit of having prevailed upon them to relinquish their intentions.**

**I must confess that my suspicions of his guilt have been rather strengthened than diminished at every interview I have had with him since his arrival. He acknowledges that he received an invitation to war against us, from the British, last fall, and that he was apprised of**

* Harrison had called him "a fool," one who spoke "the words of the devil," and "an imposter."—(Dawson, 102.)

† Dawson, 107, 108. Drake's Tecumseh, 104 to 109.

‡ American State Papers, v. 757. ‖ Marshall, ii. 455.

the intention of the Sacs, Foxes, &c. early in the spring, and warmly solicited to join in their league. But he could give no satisfactory explanation of his neglecting to communicate to me circumstances so extremely interesting to us, and towards which, I had a few months before, directed his attention, and received a solemn assurance of his cheerful compliance with the injunctions I had impressed upon him.

The result of all my enquiries on the subject, is, that the late combination was produced by British intrigue and influence, in anticipation of war between them and the United States. It was, however, premature and ill judged and the event sufficiently manifests a great decline in their influence, or in the talents and address, with which they have been accustomed to manage their Indian relations.

The warlike and well armed tribes of the Potawatamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares and Miamis, I believe neither had, nor would have joined in the combination; and although the Kickapoos, whose warriors are better than those of any other tribe, the remnant of the Wyandot excepted, are much under the influence of the prophet. I am persuaded that they were never made acquainted with his intentions, if these were really hostile to the United States.*

In this same letter the Governor at the request of the Secretary, Dr. Eustis, gives his views of the defence of the frontiers, in which portion of his epistle many valuable hints are given in relation to the course proper to be pursued in case of a war with England.

In September, October, and December, the Governor of Indiana succeeded in extinguishing the claims of the Delawares, Pottawatamies, Miamies, Eel river Indians, Weas, and Kickapoos, to certain lands upon the Wabash which had not yet been purchased, and which were believed to contain copper ore.†

The treaties with the Delawares, Pottawatamies, Miamies, and Eel river Indians, were made at Fort Wayne; the others at Vincennes; they were protested against by Tecumthe in the following year.

In 1809 the western part of the Indiana Territory, long known as "the Illinois," was made a separate Territory with the name of the great Indian nation which had once lived there.‡

On the 17th of February the Legislature of Ohio passed the charter of the Miami University. With regard to this institution

* Dawson, 130.

† American State Papers, v. 760, to 763. Dawson, 135 to 137.

‡ Brown's Illinois, 272.—Land Laws, 563.

a question at once arose, whether it should be within Symmes' Purchase, as it had been originally intended it should be, and as the charter required; or placed upon the lands with which it was endowed,—which lands it had been found necessary to select out of the Purchase, as has been already related.* The Legislature decided that the University should be upon the lands which had been appropriated to its support in the township of Oxford,† and there accordingly it was placed.

## 1810.

During this year the hostile intentions of Tecumthe and his followers toward the United States, were placed beyond a doubt. The exciting causes were—the purchase at Fort Wayne in 1809, which the Shawanese denounced as illegal and unjust; and British influence. And here, as in 1790 to 1795, it is almost impossible to learn what really was the amount of British influence, and whence it proceeded; whether from the agents merely, or from higher authority. On the one hand we have many assertions like the following:—

Fort Wayne, August 7, 1818.

Since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred men of the Saukies have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with every thing they stood in want of. The party received 47 rifles, and a number of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality.

JOHN JOHNSON, Indian Agent.

Vincennes, September 17, 1811.

——— states that almost every Indian from the country above this had been, or were then gone to Malden, on a visit to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If then the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Indians

* Ante, p. 488.

† Burnet's letters, 155, 156.—American Pioneer, i. 269.

to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages.

——— succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes (including the Weas and Eel Rivers, for they are all Miamies,) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet, and the United States. Lapousier the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by ——— what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood; whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty or not, but he would give no answer.

——— reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, an a visit to the British agents at Malden. He had never known one-fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief,) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, 25 pounds of powder, 50 pounds of lead, 3 blankets, 3 trouds of cloth, 10 shirts and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the king's stores at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by 20,000 pounds sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk. It cannot be to secure their trade; for all the peltry collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year, if sold in the London market, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians.*

On the other hand we know that Sir James Craig, the Governor of Canada, wrote on the 25th of November 1810 to Mr. Morier, the British Minister at Washington, authorizing him to inform the United States Government that the northern savages were meditating hostilities;† we know also that in the following March Sir James wrote to Lord Liverpool in relation to the Indians, and spoke of the information he had given the Americans, and that his conduct was approved;‡ we have farther the repeated denial by the English Minister at Washington of any influence having been exerted over the frontier tribes adverse to the States, by the authority, or with the knowledge of the English Ministry or the

* American State Papers, v. 799. 801 to 804.

† American State Papers, iii. 453.—Gaston in Congress; quoted by Dawson, 175.

‡ American State Papers, iii. 462.

Governor of Canada.* These things, we think, must lead us to acquit the *rulers* of Great Britain, but they do not show who, nor how high in authority the functionaries were who tried, as Tecumthe told Harrison, to set the red men, as dogs, upon the whites.†

But however we may think the evil influence originated, certain it is that the determination was taken by "the successor of Pontiac," to unite all the western tribes in hostility to the United States, in case that Power would not give up the lands bought at Fort Wayne, and undertake to recognize the principle, that no purchases should be thereafter made unless from a Council representing all the tribes united as one nation. By various acts the feelings of Tecumthe became more and more evident, but in August, he having visited Vincennes to see the Governor, a council was held at which, and at a subsequent interview, the real position of affairs was clearly ascertained—of that council we give the account contained in Mr. Drake's life of the Great Chieftain.

Governor Harrison had made arrangements for holding the council on the portico of his own house, which had been fitted up with seats for the occasion. Here, on the morning of the fifteenth, he awaited the arrival of the chief, being attended by the judges of the Supreme Court, some officers of the army, a sergeant and twelve men, from Fort Knox, and a large number of citizens. At the appointed hour Tecumseh, supported by forty of his principal warriors, made his appearance, the remainder of his followers being encamped in the village and its environs. When the chief had approached within thirty or forty yards of the house, he suddenly stopped, as if awaiting some advances from the governor. An interpreter was sent requesting him and his followers to take seats on the portico. To this Tecumseh objected—he did not think the place a suitable one for holding the conference, but preferred that it should take place in a grove of trees—to which he pointed—standing a short distance from the house. The governor said he had no objection to the grove, except that there were no seats in in it for their accommodation. Tecumseh replied, that constituted no objection to the grove, the earth being the most suitable place for the Indians, who loved to repose upon the bosom of their mother. The governor yielded the point, and the benches and chairs having been removed to the spot, the conference was begun, the Indians being seated on the grass.

Tecumseh opened the meeting by stating, at length, his objections to the Treaty of Fort Wayne, made by Governor Harrison in the previous year; and in the course of his speech, boldly avowed the principle of

* American State Papers, 453. iii. 453, 462. † Dawson, 159.

his party to be, that of resistance to every cession of land, unless made by all the tribes, who, he contended, formed but one nation. He admitted that he had threatened to kill the chiefs who signed the treaty of Fort Wayne; and that it was his fixed determination not to permit the village chiefs, in future, to manage their affairs, but to place the power with which they had been heretofore invested, in the hands of the war chiefs. The Americans, he said, had driven the Indians from the sea coast, and would soon push them into the lakes; and, while he disclaimed all intention of making war upon the United States, he declared it to be his unalterable resolution to take a stand, and resolutely oppose the further intrusion of the whites upon the Indian lands. He concluded, by making a brief but impassioned recital of the various wrongs and aggressions inflicted by the white men upon the Indians, from the commencement of the revolutionary war down to the period of that council; all of which was calculated to arouse and inflame the minds of such of his followers as were present.

To him the Governor replied, and having taken his seat, the interpreter commenced explaining the speech to Tecumseh, who, after listening to a portion of it, sprung to his feet and began to speak with great vehemence of manner.

The governor was surprised at his violent gestures, but as he did not understand him, thought he was making some explanation, and suffered his attention to be drawn towards Winnemac, a friendly Indian lying on the grass before him, who was renewing the priming of his pistol, which he had kept concealed from the other Indians, but in full view of the governor. His attention, however, was again directed towards Tecumseh, by hearing General Gibson, who was intimately acquainted with the Shawanoe language, say to Lieutenant Jennings, "those fellows intend mischief; you had better bring up the guard." At that moment, the followers of Tecumseh seized their tomahawks and war clubs, and sprung upon their feet, their eyes turned upon the governor. As soon as he could disengage himself from the arm chair in which he sat, he rose, drew a small sword which he had by his side, and stood on the defensive. Captain G. R. Floyd, of the army, who stood near him, drew a dirk, and the chief Winnemac cocked his pistol. The citizens present were more numerous than the Indians, but were unarmed; some of them procured clubs and brick-bats, and also stood on the defensive. The Rev. Mr. Winans, of the Methodist church, ran to the governor's house, got a gun, and posted himself at the door to defend the family. During this singular scene, no one spoke, until the guard came running up, and appearing to be in the act of firing, the governor ordered them not to do so. He then demanded of the interpreter, an explanation of what had happened, who replied that Tecumseh had interrupted him,

declaring that all the governor had said was false; and that he and the Seventeen Fires had cheated and imposed on the Indians.*

The governor then told Tecumseh that he was a bad man, and that he would hold no further communication with him; that as he had come to Vincennes under the protection of a council-fire, he might return in safety, but that he must immediately leave the village. Here the council terminated.†

The now undoubted purposes of the Brothers being of a character necessarily leading to war, Governor Harrison proceeded to strengthen himself for the contest by preparing the militia, and posting the regular troops that were with him, under Captains Posey and Cross at Vincennes.‡

## 1811.

During the first half of this year, while the difficulties with England made a war with her every day more probable, nothing took place to render a contest with the Indians any the less certain. In June Harrison sent to the Shawanese leaders a message bidding them beware of hostilities.‖ To this Tecumthe gave a brief reply, promising the Governor a visit. This visit he paid in July, accompanied by three hundred followers;—but as the Americans were prepared and determined, nothing resulted from the meeting; and the Chief proceeded to the South, as it was believed, to enlist the Creeks in his cause.§

Harrison, meanwhile, had taken steps to increase his regular troops,¶ and had received the promise of strong reinforcements, with orders, however, to be very backward in employing them** unless in case of absolute need. Under these circumstances his plan as given to the Secretary of War upon the 1st of August was to again warn the Indians to obey the treaty of Greenville, but at

* Dawson's Historical Narrative. † Drake's Life of Tecumseh, 125.

‡ Dawson, 139, 160, 170, 173.

‖ Dawson, 180.

§ Dawson, 179 to 187.—Drake, 134 to 145. The mother of Tecumthe was a Creek.

¶ Dawson, 179. ** Dawson, 190 to 192.

the same time to prepare to break up the Prophet's establishment, if necessary.*

Messages were sent out as proposed, and deputations from the natives followed,† promising peace and compliance, but the Governor, having received his reinforcements, commenced his proposed progress. On the 5th of October he was on the Wabash sixty or sixty-five miles above Vincennes, at which point he built "Fort Harrison."‡ Here one of his sentinels was fired upon, and news were received from the friendly Delawares which made the hostile purposes of the Prophet plain.‖ The Governor then determined to move directly upon Tippecanoe, still offering peace, however. Upon the 31st of October he was near the mouth of the Vermillion river, where he built a block house for the protection of his boats, and a place of deposite for his heavy baggage;§ from that point he advanced without interruption into the immediate vicinity of the Prophet's town, where he was met by ambassadors; he told them he had no hostile intentions in case the Indians were true to existing treaties, and made preparations to encamp.

In a few moments the man who had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the present was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water; he informed me that there was a creek to the northwest which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately despatched two officers to examine it, and they reported that the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the chief, and a mutual promise was again made for a suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it—it was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops, that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front (towards the Indian town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank ran a small stream clothed with willows, and brushwood. Towards the left flank this bench of high land widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one

* Dawson, 192. † Dawson, 196.

‡ Dawson, 197.—Dawson says 65 miles from Vincennes; Perkins in his History of the War of 1812 (p. 94) says 60 miles.

‖ Dawson, 197, 198, 199.

§ Dawson, 203.—Official account, American State Papers, v. 776.

hundred and fifty yards from the right flank, terminated in an abrupt point. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left, and something more than half that distance on the right flank—these flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of mounted riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Major-General Wells, of the Kentucky militia, who served as a major; the other by Spencer's company of mounted riflemen, which amounted to eighty men. The front line was composed of one battalion of United States' infantry under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battalion of United States' troops under the command of Captain Baen, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Decker. The regular troops of this line joined the mounted riflemen under General Wells on the left flank, and Colonel Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left.

Two troops of Dragoons, amounting to in the aggregate about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and Captain Parke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described, excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack the order of encampment was the order of battle, and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my troops I used a single rank, or what is called Indian file—because in Indian warfare, where there is no shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare the extension of line is of the first importance. Raw troops also manœuvre with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my tent every evening by signal, to give them the watchword and their instructions for the night—those given for the night of the 6th were, that each corps which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment, should hold its own ground until relieved. The dragoons were directed to parade dismounted in case of a night attack, with their pistols in their belts, and to act as a corps de reserve. The camp was defended by two captains' guards, consisting each of four non-commissioned officers and forty-two privates; and two subalterns' guards of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day. The troops were regularly called up an hour before day, and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th, I had risen at a quarter after four o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank—but a single gun was fired by the sentinels or

by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line—but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Captain Barton's company of the 4th United States' regiment, and Captain Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was exceedingly severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy; our fires afforded a partial light, which if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim; they were therefore extinguished as soon as possible. Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (19-20ths of whom had never been in action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and with less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as I could mount my horse, I rode to the angle that was attacked—I found that Barton's company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company and the late Capt. Wentworth's, under Lieut. Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's. My attention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States' riflemen (then however armed with muskets) and the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott of the 4th regiment. I found Major Daviess forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded, and his party driven back. The Indians were however immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by Captain Snelling at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack,

the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe: Captain Spencer, and his first and second lieutenants, were killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded—those companies however still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank, towards the centre of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the 4th United States' regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until daylight, which should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view, I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line, Snelling's, Posey's, (under Lieutenant Albright,) and Scott's, and from the rear line, Wilson's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and at the same time, I ordered Cook's and Baen's companies, the former from the rear, and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing my intentions precisely, had taken the command of these companies, had charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons with which I meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were, however, ready, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the infantry, at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Captain Cook, and Lieutenant Larebee had, agreeably to my order, marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to a precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered, to pursue the enemy with dragoons, but being engaged at that time on the other flank, I did not observe it, until it was too late.

I have thus, sir, given you the particulars of an action, which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance, by both parties. The Indians, manifested a ferocity uncommon, even with them—to their savage fury our troops opposed that cool, and deliberate valor, which is characteristic of the Christian soldier.*

The Americans in this battle had not more than 700 efficient men,—non-commissioned officers and privates;† the Indians are

* American State Papers, v. 777. † Harrison in American State Papers, v. 778.

believed to have had 800 to 1000 warriors.* The loss of the American army was 37 killed on the field, 25 mortally wounded, and 126 wounded,† that of the Indians about 40 killed on the spot, the number of wounded being unknown.‡

Governor Harrison, although very generally popular, had enemies, and after the battle of Tippecanoe they denounced him, 1st for suffering the Indians to point out his camping ground; 2d, for allowing himself to be surprised by his enemy; and 3d, because he sacrificed either Daviess or Owen, (accounts differed) by placing one or the other on a favorite white horse of his own, which caused the savages to make the rider an especial mark. To these charges elaborate replies have been made;‖ we cannot do more than say, to the 1st, that although as Harrison relates, the Indians pointed out the creek upon which was the site of his encampment, his own officers found, examined, and approved that particular site, and other military men have since approved their selection: § to the 2d the only reply needed is, that the facts were just as stated in the despatch we have quoted; ¶ and to the 3d, that Daviess was killed on foot, and Owen on a horse not General Harrison's: the last story probably arose from the fact that Taylor, a fellow aid of Owen, was mounted on a horse of the Governor's; but Taylor was not killed, though the horse he rode was.**

The battle of Tippecanoe was fought upon the 7th of November, and upon the 4th of the following month Harrison writes that the frontiers never enjoyed more perfect repose; †† though it seems to be clear that the disposition to do mischief was by no means extinguished among the savages.‡‡

During this year two events took place, beside the battle of Tippecanoe, which make it especially noticeable in the history of the West; the one was, the building of the steamer New Orleans, the first boat built beyond the Alleghanies; the other was the series of Earthquakes which destroyed New Madrid, and affected

* Dawson, 216.—Drake's Tecumseh, 152. Harrison estimated the savages at 600 at least.—American State Papers, v. 778.

† American State Papers, v. 779. ‡ Dawson, 216,

‖ See especially Dawson, 204 to 250. § Taylor in Dawson, 208, 226.—McAfee.

¶ Todd and Drake, 34 to 36.—Dawson, 212, 220, &c., 246, &c.

** Harrison in Todd and Drake 37. †† American State Papers, v. 779.

‡‡ Dawson, 258 to 268.—Marshall, ii. 480, &c.—John Johnston of Piqua thinks the Indians might have been attached to the Americans.—(Cist's Miscellany, ii. 298.)

the whole valley.—Of the latter event we give the following description from the pen of Dr. Hildreth:*

The centre of its violence was thought to be near the Little Prairie, twenty-five or thirty miles below New Madrid; the vibrations from which were felt all over the valley of the Ohio, as high up as Pittsburgh. The first shock was felt in the night of the 16th of December, 1811, and was repeated at intervals, with decreasing violence, into February following. New Madrid, having suffered more than any other town on the Mississippi from its effects, was considered as situated near the focus from whence the undulations proceeded.

From an eye-witness, who was then about forty miles below that town, in a flat boat, on his way to New Orleans with a load of produce, and who narrated the scene to me, the agitation which convulsed the earth and the waters of the mighty Mississippi filled every living creature with horror. The first shock took place in the night, while the boat was lying at the shore in company with several others. At this period there was danger apprehended from the southern Indians, it being soon after the battle of Tippecanoe, and for safety several boats kept in company, for mutual defence in case of an attack. In the middle of the night there was a terrible shock and jarring of the boats, so that the crews were all awakened and hurried on deck with their weapons of defence in their hands, thinking the Indians were rushing on board, The ducks, geese, swans, and various other aquatic birds, whose numberless flocks were quietly resting in the eddies of the river, were thrown into the greatest tumult, and with loud screams expressed their alarm in accents of terror. The noise and commotion soon became hushed, and nothing could be discovered to excite apprehension, so that the boatmen concluded that the shock was occasioned by the falling in of a large mass of the bank of the river near them. As soon as it was light enough to distinguish objects, the crews were all up making ready to depart. Directly a loud roaring and hissing was heard, like the escape of steam from a boiler, accompanied by the most violent agitation of the shores and tremendous boiling up of the waters of the Mississippi in huge swells, rolling the waters below back on the descending stream, and tossing the boats about so violently that the men with difficulty could keep on their feet. The sandbars and points of the islands gave way, swallowed up in the tumultuous bosom of the river; carrying down with them the cottonwood trees, cracking and crashing, tossing their arms to and fro, as if sensible of their danger, while they disappeared beneath the flood. The water of the river, which the day before

* In Carey's Museum for April 1789, p. 363, in an account of the Great Earthquake of 1727.—On those of 1811, see also Senator Linn's letter in Wetmore's Missouri Gazetteer, (St. Louis, 1837,) 134 to 142.—Drake's Picture of Cincinnati.—Flint's Recollections.

was tolerably clear, being rather low, changed to a reddish hue, and became thick with mud thrown up from its bottom; while the surface, lashed violently by the agitation of the earth beneath, was covered with foam, which, gathering into masses the size of a barrel, floated along on the trembling surface. The earth on the shores opened in wide fissures, and closing again, threw the water, sand and mud, in huge jets, higher than the tops of the trees. The atmosphere was filled with a thick vapor or gas, to which the light imparted a purple tinge, altogether different in appearance from the autumnal haze of Indian summer, or that of smoke. From the temporary check to the current, by the heaving up of the bottom, the sinking of the banks and sandbars into the bed of the stream, the river rose in a few minutes five or six feet; and, impatient of the restraint, again rushed forward with redoubled impetuosity, hurrying along the boats, now set loose by the horror-struck boatmen, as in less danger on the water than at the shore, where the banks threatened every moment to destroy them by the falling earth, or carry them down in the vortices of the sinking masses. Many boats were overwhelmed in this manner, and their crews perished with them. It required the utmost exertions of the men to keep the boat, of which my informant was the owner, in the middle of the river, as far from the shores, sandbars and islands, as they could. Numerous boats were wrecked on the snags and old trees thrown up from the bottom of the Mississippi, where they had quietly rested for ages, while others were sunk or stranded on the sandbars and Islands. At New Madrid several boats were carried by the reflux of the current into a small stream that puts into the river just above the town, and left on the ground by the returning water a considerable distance from the Mississippi. A man who belonged to one of the company boats was left for several hours on the upright trunk of an old snag in the middle of the river, against which his boat was wrecked and sunk. It stood with the roots a few feet above the water, and to these he contrived to attach himself, while every fresh shock threw the agitated waves against him, and kept gradually settling the tree deeper into the mud at the bottom, bringing him nearer and nearer to the deep muddy waters, which, to his terrified imagination, seemed desirous of swallowing him up. While hanging here, calling with piteous shouts for aid, several boats passed by without being able to relieve him, until finally a skiff was well manned, rowed a short distance above him, and dropped down stream close to the snag, from which he tumbled into the boat as she floated by. The scenes which occurred for several days, during the repeated shocks were horrible. The most destructive took place in the beginning, although they were repeated for many weeks, becoming lighter and lighter until they died away in slight vibrations, like the jarring of steam in an immense boiler. The sulphurated gases that were discharged during the shocks

tainted the air with their noxious effluvia, and so strongly impregnated the water of the river, to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles below, that it could hardly be used for any purpose for a number of days. New Madrid, which stood on a bluff bank, fifteen or twenty feet above the summer floods, sunk so low that the next rise covered it to the depth of five feet. The bottoms of several fine lakes in the vicinity were elevated so as to become dry land, and have since been planted with corn!*

In the midst of this terrible convulsion the first of western steamers was pursuing her way toward the south. But before we give a sketch of her progress, let us recall to the minds of our readers the previous steps taken in regard to steam navigation.

In 1781 the invention of Watt's double-acting engine was made public; and in 1784 it was perfected;† previous to this time many attempts had been made to apply steam to navigation, but, from want of a proper engine all had been failures; and the first efforts to apply the new machine to boats were made in America by John Fitch and James Rumsey. The conception by Fitch, if we may trust the statement made by Robert Wickliffe,‡ was ended as early as June 1780, anterior to the announcement of Watt's discovery of the double-acting engine, though many years after his single engine had been patented.‖

This conception Fitch said he communicated to Rumsey. The latter gentleman, however, proposed a plan so entirely different from that of his fellow countrymen, (a plan which he is said to have originated in 1782,§) that we cannot think him a plagiarist. The idea of steam navigation was not new; it was the question,—How shall we use the steam? which was to be so answered as to immortalize the successful respondent:—and to this question Fitch replied, By using Watt's engine so as to propel a system of paddles at the sides of the boat; while Rumsey said, By applying

* American Pioneer, i. 129. † Renwick on steam engine, 260.

‡ American Pioneer, i. 33.—Wickliffe says Fitch acquired a pre-emption right in Kentucky before 1778. Whittlesey, in his life of the inventor, (Sparks' American Biography, vol. xvi.—or New Series, vol. vi. p. 104,) tells us he did not go west till 1780. Whittlesey further says (pp. 92, 111) that the first idea of using steam occurred to Fitch in 1785, and yet a controversy existed between him and Rumsey as to priority of invention. (American Biography, New Series, vi. 115.—American Pioneer, 36,) although Rumsey had exhibited his boat in 1784. (American Biography, New Series, vi. 90.—Sparks' Washington, ix. 68, 104.) There is an error here somewhere but we cannot say where.

‖ It was patented in 1769.—See Renwick, 209.

§ Cincinnati Directory, for 1819, p. 64. Others say in 1783; see Whittlesey in American Biography, New Series, vi. 90.

the old atmospheric engine to pump up water at the bow and force it out at the stern of your vessel, and so drive her by water acting upon water.—Referring our readers therefore to the authorities quoted below relative to Fitch and others,* we must be content with saying that all failed until Fulton, in 1807, launched his vessel upon the Hudson.—Fitch's failure, however, was not from any fault in his principle, and had his knowledge of mechanics equalled Fulton's, or had his means been more ample, or had he tried his boat on the Hudson where coaches could not compete with him, as they did on the level banks of the Delaware,† we cannot doubt he would have entirely succeeded twenty years before his plans were realized by the genius of another.‡

When Fulton had at length attained, by slow degrees, success upon the Hudson, he began to look elsewhere for other fields of action, and the west which had attracted the attention of both of his American predecessors could not fail to catch his eye. Mr. Latrobe, who spoke as will be seen by authority, says,—

The complete success attending the experiments in steam navigation made on the Hudson and the adjoining waters previous to the year 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western rivers; and in the month of April of that year, Mr. Roosevelt of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers, with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not. At this time two boats, the North River and the Clermont, were running on the Hudson. Mr. R. surveyed the rivers from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and as his report was favorable, it was decided to build a boat at the former town. This was done under his direction, and in the course of 1811 the first boat was launched on the waters of the Ohio. It was called the 'New Orleans,' and intended to ply between Natchez in the State of Mississippi, and the city whose name it bore. In October it left Pittsburgh for its experimental voyage. On this occasion no freight or passengers were taken, the object being merely to bring the boat to her station. Mr. R., his young wife and family, Mr. Baker the engineer, Andrew Jack the pilot, and six hands, with a few domestics, formed her whole burden. There were no wood-yards at that time, and

* Renwick on the Steam-engine, 257 to 269.—Life of Fitch by Charles Whittlesey. Sparks' American Biography. New Series, vi. 85 to 166. American Pioneer, i. 32 to 37.

† This suggestion is made by Whittlesey, (Life of Fitch, 161,) and is the key we think to the problem of Fitch's failure.

‡ Mr. Wickliffe, (American Pioneer, i. 34 to 37,) gives some curious anecdotes relative to Fitch.

constant delays were unavoidable. When, as related, Mr. R. had gone down the river to reconnoitre, he had discovered two beds of coal, about one hundred and twenty miles below the Rapids at Louisville, and now took tools to work them, intending to load the vessel with the coal, and to employ it as fuel, instead of constantly detaining the boat while wood was procured from the banks.

Late at night on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburgh, they arrived in safety at Louisville, having been but seventy hours descending upwards of seven hundred miles. The novel appearance of the vessel, and the fearful rapidity with which it made its passage over the broad reaches of the river, excited a mixture of terror and surprise among many of the settlers on the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached; and it is related that on the unexpected arrival of the boat before Louisville, in the course of a fine still moonlight night, the extraordinary sound which filled the air as the pent-up steam was suffered to escape from the valves on rounding to, produced a general alarm, and multitudes in the town rose from their beds to ascertain the cause. I have heard that the general impression among the good Kentuckians was, that the comet had fallen into the Ohio; but this does not rest upon the same foundation as the other facts which I lay before you, and which, I may at once say, I had directly from the lips of the parties themselves. The small depth of water in the Rapids prevented the boat from pursuing her voyage immediately; and during the consequent detention of three weeks in the upper part of the Ohio, several trips were successfully made between Louisville and Cincinnati. In fine, the waters rose, and in the course of the last week in November, the voyage was resumed, the depth of water barely admitting their passage.*

This steamer, after being nearly overwhelmed by the earthquakes, reached Natchez at the close of the first week of January, 1812.

* Rambler in North America, vol. i. 87.

# 1812.

We have already referred to those causes of complaint on the part of the United States against England, which at length led to the war of 1812: they were, the interference with American trade enforced by the blockade system; the impressment of American seamen; the encouragement of the Indians in their barbarities; and the attempt to dismember the Union by the mission of Henry.* Through the winter of 1811–12, these causes of provocation were discussed in Congress and the public prints, and a war with Great Britain openly threatened: even in December, 1811, the proposal to invade Canada in the following spring before the ice broke up, was debated in the House of Representatives;† and in particular was urged the necessity of such operations at the outset of the anticipated contest, as should wrest from the enemy the command of the upper lakes, and secure the neutrality or favor of the Indian tribes by the conquest of Upper Canada.‡ While, therefore, measures were taken to seize the Lower province, other steps were arranged for the defence of the northwest frontier against Indian hostility, and which, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain, would enable the United States to obtain the command of Lake Erie.‖ These steps, however, were by no means suitable to the attainment of the object last named; in place of a naval force upon lake Erie, the necessity of which had been pressed upon the executive by Governor Hull of Michigan Territory, in three memorials,§ one of them as early as the year 1809, a second dated March 6th, and a third on or about April 11th, 1812; and although the same policy was pointedly urged upon the Secretary of War by General Armstrong, in a private letter of January 2nd,¶— yet the government proposed to use no other than military means, and

* See the Senate's Manifesto of June 3d, 1812. American State Papers, iii. 567.

† Niles' Register, i. 459, &c.

‡ Niles' Register, i. 72. 311; ii. 5. 86. 239.

‖ Madison's Message, November 4, 1812. American State Papers, i. 80.

§ Hull's Defence, 24. 25 to 32 & 33.

¶ See this letter, which is a lesson on war, given to Eustis by his successor, in Armstrong's Notices, i. appendix, No. 22, p. 234.

hoped by the presence of two thousand soldiers, to effect the capture or destruction of the British fleet.* Nay, so blind was the War Department, that it refused to increase the number of troops to three thousand, although informed by General Hull, that that was the least number from which success could be hoped.† When, therefore, Governor, now General Hull (to whom, in consideration of his revolutionary services, and his supposed knowledge of the country and the natives, the command of the army destined for the conquest of the Canadas had been confided) commenced his march from Dayton on the 1st of June, it was with means which he himself regarded as utterly inadequate to the object aimed at, a fact which sufficiently explains the conduct of his vacillating, nerveless conduct.‡ Through that whole month, he and his troops toiled on toward the Maumee, busy with their roads, bridges and blockhouses.‖ On the 24th, advices from the Secretary of War, dated on the 18th, came to hand, but not a word contained in them made it probable that the long-expected war would be immediately declared,§ although Col. McArthur at the same time received word from Chillicothe warning him, on the authority of Thomas Worthington, then Senator from Ohio, that before the letter reached him, the declaration would have been made public.¶ This information McArthur laid before General Hull; and when, upon reaching the Maumee, that Commander proposed to place his baggage, stores, and sick on board a vessel, and send them by water to Detroit, the backwoodsman warned him of the danger, and refused to trust his own property on board.** Hull, however, treated the report of war as the old story which had been current through all the spring, and refused to believe it possible that the government would not give him information at the earliest moment that the measure was resolved on. He, accordingly, on the 1st of July, embarked his disabled men and most of his goods on board the Cuyahoga Packet, suffering his aid-de-camp in his carelessness to send by her even his instructions and army-roll, and then proceeded upon his way.†† The next day, July 2nd, a

* Madison's Message, November 4, 1812.

† Hull's trial. General Porter's testimony—quoted Armstrong's Notices, i. 50.

‡ In relation to Hull's appointment, see the statement by John Johnston of Piqua. (Cist's Miscellany, ii. 293.)

‖ McAfee's History, 50 to 56. McDonald's Life of McArthur.

§ Hull's Defence, 7.

¶ Hull's Defence, 10. ** Ibid, 11. †† Ibid, 16.

letter of the same date with that received upon the 24th of June, reached him, and apprised him that the declaration was indeed on that day made ;* and before his astonishment was over, word was brought of the capture of his packet off Malden, with all his official papers. The conduct of the executive at this time was certainly most remarkable ; having sent an insufficient force to effect a most important object, it next did all in its power to ensure the destruction of that force. On the 1st of June, Mr. Madison recommended war to the Senate ;† on the 3d of June, Mr. Calhoun reported in favor of it, and in an able manifesto set forth the reasons ;‡ and on the 19th proclamation of the contest was made.‖ Upon the day preceding, Congress having passed the needful act, the Secretary of War wrote to General Hull one letter saying nothing of the matter, and sent it by a special messenger,—and a second containing the vital news, which he confided to a half organized post as far as Cleveland, and thence literally to accident.§ Nor is this all : while the General of the northwestern army was thus, not uninformed merely, but actually misled, letters franked by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States bore the notice of what had been done to the British post of St. Joseph, near the northwestern shore of lake Huron ; and also to Malden, which place it reached upon the 28th of June.¶ And as if to complete the circle of folly, the misled General, through neglect,** suffered his official papers, which he owned ought never to have been out of his possession, to pass into that of the foe, and thus informed them of his purposes and his strength.

That strength, however, was such, compared with their own, that no effort was made to prevent the march of the Americans to Detroit, nor to interfere with their passage across the river to Sandwich, where they established themselves on the 12th of July, preparatory to attacking Malden itself, and commencing the conquest and conversion of Upper Canada.†† And here, at once, the incapacity of Hull showed itself; by his own confession he took every step under the influence of two sets of fears ; he dared not,

* Hull's Defence, 11, 12.

† American State Papers, iii. 405.

‡ American State Papers, iii. 567.

‖ Niles Register, ii. 273.

§ Armstrong's Notices, i, 48.—Hull's Defence, 11. 14, 15.

¶ Armstrong's Notices, i. appendix, No. 6, p. 195.

** Hull's Defence, 17. There is no reason to think that Hull knew these papers were sent : he expressly denies it.

†† McAfee, 60.

on the one hand, act boldly for fear that his incompetent force would be all destroyed; while, on the other hand, he dared not refuse to act, for fear his militia, already uneasy, would utterly desert him.* Thus embarrassed, he proclaimed freedom and the need of submission to the Canadians;† held out inducements to the British militia to desert, and to the Indians to keep quiet, and sat still at Sandwich, striving to pacify his bloodthirsty backwoodsmen, who itched to be at Malden. To amuse his own army, and keep them from trying dangerous experiments, he found cannon needful to the assault of the British posts, and spent three weeks making carriages for five guns.‡ While these were under way, Colonel Cass and Colonel Miller, by an attack upon the advanced parties of the enemy, demonstrated the willingness and power of their men to push their conquests, if the chance were given, but Hull refused the opportunity:‖ and when at length the cannon were prepared, the ammunition placed in wagons, and the moment for assault agreed on, the General, upon hearing that a proposed attack on the Niagara frontier had not been made, and that troops from that quarter were moving westward, suddenly abandoned the enterprise, and with most of his army, on the night of the 7th of August, returned to Detroit,§ having effected nothing except the destruction of all confidence in himself on the part of the whole force under his control, officers and privates.

Meantime, upon the 29th of July, Colonel Proctor had reached Malden, and perceiving instantly the power which the position of that post gave him over the supplies of the army of the United States, he commenced a series of operations the object of which was to cut off the communications of Hull with Ohio, and thus not merely neutralize all active operations on his part, but starve him into surrender or force him to detail his whole army in order to keep open his way to the only point from which supplies could reach him.¶ A proper force on lake Erie, or the capture of Malden, would have prevented this annoying and fatal mode of warfare, but the imbecility of the government and that of the General, combined to favor the plans of Proctor. Having by his measures stopped the stores on their way to Detroit, at the river Raisin, he next defeated the insufficient band of two hundred men

* Hull's Defence, 42. 49, 50. † See the Proclamation, McAfee, 61.

‡ Hull's Defence, 59, 60. See McAfee, 60, &c.

§ McAfee, 64, &c. See Cass' Letter of July 17, 1812, in Niles' Register, ii. 383.

‖ Hull's Defence, 70, 71. McAfee, 76, 77. ¶ Armstrong's Notices, i. 24, 25.

under Van Horne, sent by Hull to escort them;* and so far withstood that of five hundred under Miller,† as to cause Hull to recall the remnant of that victorious and gallant band, though it had completely routed the British and Indians.‡ By these means Proctor amused the Americans until General Brock reached Malden, which he did upon the 13th of August, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Detroit itself.‖ And here again occurred a most singular want of skill on the part of the Americans. In order to prevent the forces in Upper Canada from being combined against Hull, General Dearborn had been ordered to make a diversion in his favor at Niagara and Kingston;§ but in place of doing this, he made an armistice with the British commanders, which enabled them to turn their attention entirely to the more distant west, and left Hull to shift for himself.¶ On the 14th of August, therefore, while a third party, under McArthur, was despatched by Hull, to open his communications with the river Raisin, though by a new and impracticable road, General Brock appeared at Sandwich, and began to erect batteries to protect his farther operations.** These batteries Hull would not suffer any to molest, saying that if the enemy would not fire on him he would not on them;†† and though, when summoned to surrender upon the 15th, he absolutely refused,‡‡ yet upon the 16th, without a blow struck, the Governor and General crowned his course of indecision and unmanly fear, by surrendering the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, together with fourteen hundred brave men longing for battle, to three hundred English soldiers, four hundred Canadian militia disguised in red coats, and a band of Indian allies.‖‖

For this conduct he was accused of treason and cowardice, and found guilty of the latter.§§ Nor can we doubt the justice of the sentence. However brave he may have been personally, he was as a commander a coward; and moreover, he was influenced, con-

* McAfee, 73 to 75. † McAfee, 77 to 82.

‡ See on this expedition, Armstrong's Notices, i. 26 to 30; and especially Dalliba's Narrative. Hull sent a written order to return, while Miller and his men thought only of advancing. (Dalliba, 35.)

‖ Armstrong's Notices, i. 31, note. § Ibid, i. appendix, No. 10, p. 206.

¶ Ibid, i. 97. 207. ** McAfee, 84, 85.

†† Dalliba's testimony, Hull's Trial, quoted in Armstrong's Notices, i. 33, note.

‡‡ See his answer, McAfee. 86. ‖‖ See terms of capitulation, McAfee, 90.

§§ See charges and sentence in Hull's Trial: the charges are in Hull's Defence also.

fessedly, by his fears as a father, lest his daughter and her children should fall into the hands of the Indians.* In truth his faculties seem to have been paralyzed by fear;† fear that he should fail, fear that his troops would be untrue to him, fear that the savages would spare no one if opposed with vigor, fear of some undefined and horrid evil impending. Mc'Afee accuses him of intemperance,‡ but no effort was made on his trial to prove this, and we have no reason to think it a true charge; but his conduct was like that of a drunken man, without sense or spirit.‖

But the fall of Detroit, though the leading misfortune of this unfortunate summer, was not the only one. Word, as we have stated, had been sent through the kindness of some friend under a frank from the American Secretary of the Treasury, informing the British commander at St. Joseph, a port about forty miles from Mackinac, of the declaration of war; while Lt. Hanks, commanding the American fortress itself, received no notice from any source. The consequence was an attack upon the key of the northern lakes on the 17th of July by a force of British, Canadians and savages, numbering in all 1021; the garrison amounting to but fifty-seven effective men, felt unable to withstand so formidable a body, and to avoid the constantly threatened Indian massacre, surrendered as prisoners of war and were dismissed on parole.§

Less fortunate in its fate was the garrison of Fort Dearborn at Chicago. General Hull sent word to the commander at that fortress, (Captain Heald,) of the loss of Mackinac, and directed him to distribute his stores among the Indians, and retire to Fort Wayne. Heald proceeded to do this, but it was soon evident that the neighboring savages were not to be trusted, and he in consequence determined not to give them, what they most of all wanted, the spirit and the powder in the fortress. This they learned, and this it was, as Blackhawk asserted, which led to the catastrophe. On the 15th of August, all being ready, the troops left the fort, but before they had proceeded more than a mile and and a half, they were attack-

* Hull's Defence, 101.

† See the evidence of many officers quoted in his evidence, 179 to 210.

‡ McAfee, 82.

‖ The British account of Hull's surrender may be found in Niles's Register, iii, 14, 33, 265 to 267. Cass' account do. 37 to 39. Hull's do. 53 to 57. Articles of Capitulation, do. 13. Various anecdotes, do. 44.

§ See report of Lieutenant Hanks, McAfee 71, 72. Also, British account, which makes the assailing party less, in Niles' Register, ii. 413, 425.

ed by the Indians, and two-thirds of them (from 50 to 60) massacred at once.*

Thus, by the middle of August the whole northwest with the exception of Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison was again in the hands of the British and their red allies. Early in September these two posts were also attacked, and the latter, had it not been defended with the greatest vigor, would have been taken. Its defender was Captain Taylor, now General Taylor, the commander of the army in Mexico, and at present the most eminent of American military men; and that his present position is derived from the possession of true merit was proved by his conduct at Fort Harrison no less than by his behavior at Palo Alto, Resaca de Palma, and Monterey, as the following account will show.

Letter from Captain Z. Taylor, commanding fort Harrison, Indiana Territory, to General Harrison.

Fort Harrison, September 10th.

Dear Sir—On Thursday evening, the third instant, after retreat beating, four guns were heard to fire in the direction where two young men (citizens who resided here) were making hay, about four hundred yards distance from the fort. I was immediately impressed with the idea that they were killed by the Indians, as the Prophet's party would soon be here for the purpose of commencing hostilities, and that they had been directed to leave this place, as we were about to do. I did not think it prudent to send out at that late hour of the night to see what had become of them; and their not coming in convinced me that I was right in my conjecture. I waited until eight o'clock next morning, when I sent out a corporal with a small party to find them if it could be done without running too much risk of being drawn into an ambuscade. He soon sent back to inform me that he had found them both killed, and wished to know my further orders; I sent the cart and oxen, had them brought in and buried; they had been shot with two balls, scalped, and cut in the most shocking manner. Late in the evening of the fourth instant, old Joseph Lenar and between 30 and 40 Indians arrived from the Prophet's town, with a white flag; among whom were about ten women, and the men were composed of chiefs of the different tribes that compose the Prophet's party. A Shawanee man, that spoke good English, informed me that old Lenar intended to speak to me next morning, and try to get something to eat.

At retreat beating I examined the men's arms, and found them all in good order, and completed their cartridges to fifteen rounds per man.

* Captain Heald's account may be found in Niles' Register, iii. 155—and a letter from Walter Jordan who was present, in same work, vol. iv. 160. See also, Brown's Illinois, 306 to 316.

As I had not been able to mount a guard of more than six privates and two non-commissioned officers for some time past, and sometimes part of them every other day, from the unhealthiness of the company; I had not conceived my force adequate to the defence of this post should it be vigorously attacked, for some time past.

As I had just recovered from a very severe attack of the fever, I was not able to be up much through the night. After tatoo, I cautioned the guard to be vigilent, and ordered one of the non-commissioned officers, as the sentinels could not see every part of the garrison, to walk round on the inside during the whole night, to prevent the Indians taking any advantage of us, provided they had any intention of attacking us. About 11 o'clock I was awakened by the firing of one of the sentinels; I sprang up, ran out, and ordered the men to their posts; when my orderly sergeant, who had charge of the upper block-house, called out that the Indians had fired the lower block-house, (which contained the property of the contractor, which was deposited in the lower part, the upper having been assigned to a corporal and ten privates as an alarm post.) The guns had began to fire pretty smartly from both sides. I directed the buckets to be got ready and water brought from the well, and the fire extinguished immediately, as it was perceivable at that that time; but from debility or some other cause, the men were very slow in executing my orders—the word fire appeared to throw the whole of them into confusion; and by the time they had got the water and broken open the door, the fire had unfortunately communicated to a quantity of whiskey (the stock having licked several holes through the lower part of the building, after the salt that was stored there, through which they had introduced the fire without being discovered, as the night was very dark) and in spite of every exertion we could make use of, in less than a moment it ascended to the roof and baffled every effort we could make to extinguish it. As that block-house adjoined the barracks that make part of the fortifications most of the men immediately gave themselves up for lost, and I had the greatest difficulty in getting my orders executed—and, sir, what from the raging of the fire—the yelling and howling of several hundred Indians—the cries of nine women and children (a part soldiers' and a part citizens' wives, who had taken shelter in the fort) and the desponding of so many of the men, which was worse than all—I can assure that my feelings were unpleasant—and indeed there were not more than ten or fifteen men able to do a great deal, the others being sick or convalescent—and to add to our other misfortunes, two of the strongest men in the fort, and that I had every confidence in jumped the picket and left us. But my presence of mind did not for a moment forsake me. I saw, by throwing off a part of the roof that joined the block-house that was on fire, and keeping the end perfectly wet, the whole row of buildings might be

saved, and leave only an entrance of eighteen or twenty feet for the entrance of the Indians after the house was consumed; and that a temporary breast-work might be executed to prevent their even entering there—I convinced the men that this might be accomplished and it appeared to inspire them with new life, and never did men act with more firmness and desperation. Those that were able (while the others kept up a constant fire from the other block-house and the two bastions) mounted the roofs of the houses, with Dr. Clark at their head, who acted with the greatest firmness and presence of mind the whole time the attack lasted, which was seven hours, under a shower of bullets, and in less than a moment threw off as much of the roof as was necessary. This was done only with a loss of one man and two wounded, and I am in hopes neither of them dangerously; the man that was killed was a little deranged, and did not get off the house as soon as directed, or he would not have been hurt—and although the barracks were several times in a blaze, and an immense quantity of fire against them, the men used such exertions that they kept it under and before day raised a temporary breast-work as high as a man's head, although the Indians continued to pour in a heavy fire of ball and an innumerable quantity of arrows during the whole time the attack lasted, in every part of the parade. I had but one other man killed, nor any other wounded inside the fort, and he lost his life by being too anxious—he got into one of the *gallies* in the bastions, and fired over the pickets, and called out to his comrades that he had killed an Indian, and neglecting to stoop down in an instant he was shot dead. One of the men that jumped the pickets, returned an hour before day, and running up towards the gate, begged for God's sake for it to be opened. I suspected it to be a stratagem of the Indians to get in, as I did not recollect the voice. I directed the men in the bastion, where I happened to be, to shoot him let him be who he would, and one of them fired at him, but fortunately he ran up to the other bastion, where they knew his voice, and Dr. Clarke directed him to lie down close to the pickets behind an empty barrel that happened to be there, and at day-light I had him let in. His arm was broke in a most shocking manner; which he says was done by the Indians—which I suppose, was the cause of his returning—I think it probable that he will not recover. The other they caught about 130 yards from the garrison, and cut him all to pieces. After keeping up a constant fire until about six o'clock the next morning, which we began to return with some effect after day-light, they removed out of the reach of our guns. A party of them drove up the horses that belonged to the citizens here, and as they could not catch them very readily, shot the whole of them in our sight, as well as a number of their hogs. They drove off the whole of the cattle, which amounted to 65 head, as well as the public oxen. I had the vacancy filled up before night, (which

was made by the burning of the block-house) with a strong row of pickets, which I got by pulling down the guard-house. We lost the whole of our provisions, but must make out to live upon green corn until we can get a supply, which I am in hopes will not be long. I believe the whole of the Miamies or Weas, were among the Prophet's party, as one chief gave his orders in that language, which resembled Stone Eater's voice, and I believe Negro Legs was there likewise. A Frenchman here understands their different languages, and several of the Miamies or Weas, that have been frequently here, were recognized by the Frenchman and soldiers, next morning. The Indians suffered smartly, but were so numerous as to take off all that were shot. They continued with us until the next morning, but made no further attempt upon the fort, nor have we seen any thing more of them since. I have delayed informing you of my situation, as I did not like to weaken the garrison, and I looked for some person from Vincennes, and none of my men were acqnainted with the woods, and therefore I would either have to take the road or the river, which I was fearful was guarded by small parties of Indians that would not dare attack a company of rangers that was on a scout; but being disappointed, I have at length determined to send a couple of my men by water, and am in hopes they will arrive safe. I think it would be best to send the provisions under a pretty strong escort, as the Indians may attempt to prevent their coming. If you carry on an expedition against the Prophet this fall, you ought to be well provided with every thing, as you may calculate on having every inch of ground disputed between this and there that they can defend with advantage. Z. TAYLOR.

His Excellency Gov. HARRISON.

Fort Harrison, September 13, 1812.

Dear Sir—I wrote you on the 10th instant, giving you an account of the attack on this place, as well as my situation, which account I attempted to send by water, but the two men whom I dispatched in a canoe after night, found the river so well guarded, that they were obliged to return. The Indians had built a fire on the bank of the river, a short distance below the garrison, which gave them an opportunity of seeing any craft that might attempt to pass, and were waiting with a canoe ready to intercept it. I expect the fort, as well as the road to Vincennes, is as well or better watched than the river. But my situation compels me to make one other attempt by land, and my orderly sergeant, with one other man, sets out to night with strict orders to avoid the road in the day time, and depend entirely on the woods, although neither of them have ever been in Vincennes by land, nor do they know any thing of the country, but I am in hopes they will reach you in safety. I send them with great reluctance from their ignorance of the woods. I

think it very probable there is a large party of Indians waylaying the road between this and Vincennes, likely about the Narrows, for the purpose of intercepting any party that may be coming to this place, as the cattle they got here will supply them plentifully with provisions for some time to come.

Z. TAYLOR.*

His Excellency Gov. Harrison.

But before the surrender of Hull took place, extensive preparations had been made in Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, to bring into service a large and efficient army.† Three points needed defence, Fort Wayne and the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Illinois River: the troops destined for the first point were to be under the command of General Winchester, a revolutionary officer resident in Tennessee and but little known to the frontier men;† those for the Wabash were to be under Harrison, whose name since the battle of Tippecanoe was familiar everywhere; while Governor Edwards of the Illinois Territory, was to command the expedition upon the river of the same name. Such were the intentions of the Government, but the wishes of the people frustrated them, and led, first, to the appointment of Harrison to the command of the Kentucky volunteers, destined to assist Hull's army,‖ and next to his elevation to the post of commander-in-chief over all the forces of the west and north-west: this last appointment was made September 17th, and was notified to the General upon the 24th of that month.§ Meantime Fort Wayne had been relieved, and the line of the Maumee secured;¶ so that when Harrison found himself placed at the head of military affairs in the west, his main objects were, first, to drive the Indians from the western side of the Detroit River; second, to take Malden; and third, having thus secured his communications, to recapture the Michigan Territory and its dependencies.** To do all this before winter, and thus be prepared to conquer Upper Canada, Harrison proposed to take possession of the Rapids of the Maumee

* Niles' Register, iii. 90. McAfee, 153.

† McAfee, 102 to 110.

‡ Armstrong's Nctices, i. 52 to 66. Appendix, No. 8. p. 203. McAfee, 131.

‖ The propriety of this step was much questioned, see McAfee, 107, &c. Armstrong's Notices, i. 58.

§ McAfee 140.—Also, Letter of Secretary of War, McAfee 118.

¶ See the details in McAfee, 120 to 139.

** Armstrong's Notices, i. 59. McAfee, 142.

and there to concentrate his forces and his stores; in moving upon this point he divided his troops into three columns, the right to march from Wooster through Upper Sandusky, the centre from Urbana by Fort McArthur on the heads of the Scioto, and the left from St. Mary's by the Au-Glaize and Maumee,—all meeting, of course, at the Rapids.* This plan, however, failed: the troops of the left column under Winchester, worn out and starved, were found on the verge of mutiny, and the mounted men of the centre under General Tupper were unable to do any thing, partly from their own want of subordination, but still more from the shiftlessness of their commander;† this condition of the troops, and the prevalence of disease among them, together with the increasing difficulty of transportation after the autumnal rains set in, forced upon the commander the conviction that he must wait until the winter had bridged the streams and morasses with ice,‡ and even when that had taken place he was doubtful as to the wisdom of an attempt to conquer without vessels on Lake Erie.‖

Thus, at the close of the year 1812, nothing effectual had been done towards the reconquest of Michigan: Winchester, with the left wing of the army was on his way to the Rapids, his men enfeebled by sickness, want of clothes, and want of food; the right wing approaching Sandusky; and the centre resting at Fort McArthur.§

Several smaller operations, however, had taken place since the 1st of October, with various success. Early in that month General Hopkins led a corps of 2000 mounted volunteers from Vincennes against the Kickapoo villages upon the Illinois; but being misled by the guides, after wandering in the prairies for some days to no purpose, the party returned to the capital of Indiana notwithstanding the wishes and commands of their general officers.¶ Chagrined at the result of this attempt, the same commander in November led a band of infantry up the Wabash, and succeeded in destroying several deserted villages, and losing several men in an ambuscade. His enemy, declining a combat, and the cold proving severe, he was forced to retire to Vincennes again.** Governor Edwards, meanwhile, had marched against the natives

* McAfee, 142, &c. 192, &c. at the latter reference Harrison's letter is given.

† McAfee, 146 to 151. General Tupper's account is in Niles' Register, iii. 167.

‡ McAfee, 164, 165. ‖ McAfee, 187. 196 to 199. Dawson, 333 to 341.

§ McAfee, 201, 199, 168.

¶ McAfee, 158. General Hopkins' account is in Niles' Register, iii. 204.

** McAfee, 160.—Hopkins' account is in Niles' Register, iii. 264.

at the head of Peoria Lake, and killed twenty of them without loss to himself.* Still later, in December, General Harrison despatched a party of 600 men against the Miami villages upon the Mississinneway, a branch of the Wabash. This body, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, destroyed several villages, and fought a severe battle with the Indians, who were defeated; but the severity of the weather, the number of his wounded (forty-eight,) the scarcity of provisions, and the fear of being attacked by Tecumthe, at the head of 600 fresh savages, led Colonel Campbell to retreat immediately after the battle, without destroying the principal town of the enemy. The expedition, however, was not without results, as it induced some of the tribes to come openly and wholly under the protection and within the borders of the Republic.†

## 1813.

On the 10th of January, Winchester with his troops reached the Rapids, General Harrison with the right wing of the army being still at Upper Sandusky, and Tupper with the centre at Fort McArthur.‡ From the 13th to the 16th messengers arrived at Winchester's camp from the inhabitants of Frenchtown on the river Raisin, representing the danger to which that place was exposed from the hostility of the British and Indians, and begging for protection.‖ These representations and petitions excited the feelings of the Americans, and led them, forgetful of the main objects of the campaign, and of military caution, to determine upon the step of sending a strong party to the aid of the sufferers.§ On the 17th, accordingly, Colonel Lewis was despatched with 550 men to the river Raisin, and soon after Colonel Allen followed with 110 more. Marching along the frozen borders of the Bay and Lake, on the afternoon of the 18th the Americans reached

* McAfee, 162.

† McAfee, 176 to 182.—Campbell's and Harrison's accounts are in Niles' Register, iii. 316, 331.

‡ McAfee, 202, 203. ‖ McAfee, 204.

§ See Colonel Allen's speech in Armstrong's Notices, i. 67.

and attacked the enemy who were posted in the village, and after a severe contest defeated them. Having gained possession of the town, Colonel Lewis wrote for reinforcements and prepared himself to defend the position he had gained.* And it was evident that all his means of defence would be needed, as the place was but eighteen miles from Malden where the whole British force was collected under Procter. Winchester, on the 19th, having heard of the action of the previous day, marched with 250 men, which was the most he dared detach from the Rapids, to the aid of the captor of Frenchtown, which place he reached on the next evening. But instead of placing his men in a secure position, and taking measures to prevent the secret approach of the enemy, Winchester suffered the troops he had brought with him to remain in the open ground, and took no efficient measures to protect himself from surprise, although informed that an attack might be expected at any moment.† The consequence was that during the night of the 21st the whole British force approached undiscovered, and erected a battery within 300 yards of the American camp. From this, before the troops were fairly under arms in the morning, a discharge of bombs, balls, and grape-shot, informed the devoted soldiers of Winchester of the folly of their commander, and in a moment more the dreaded Indian yell sounded on every side. The troops under Lewis were protected by the garden pickets behind which their commander, who alone seems to have been upon his guard, had stationed them; those last arrived were, as we have said, in the open field, and against them the main effort of the enemy was directed. Nor was it long so directed without terrible results; the troops yielded, broke and fled, but fled under a fire which mowed them down like grass: Winchester and Lewis, (who had left his pickets to aid his superior officer,) were taken prisoners. Upon the party who fought from behind their slight defences, however, no impression could be made, and it was not till Winchester was induced to send them what was deemed an order to surrender‡ that they dreamed of doing so. This Procter persuaded him to do by the old story of an Indian massacre in case of continued resistance, to which he added a promise of help and protection for the wounded, and of a removal at the earliest

* Lewis' account may be found in Niles' Register, iv. 49.

† McAfee, 211.—Winchester in his own account owns that he entirely disregarded the warning given him.

‡ He says he did not mean it for an order, but merely for advice.

moment; without which last promise the troops of Lewis refused to yield even when required by their General.* But the promise, even if given in good faith, was not redeemed, and the horrors of the succeeding night and day will long be remembered by the inhabitants of the frontier. Of a portion of those horrors we give a description in the words of an eye-witness.

Nicholasville, Kentucky, April 24th, 1813.

Sir:—Yours of the 5th instant, requesting me to give you a statement respecting the late disaster at Frenchtown, was duly received. Rest assured, sir, that it is with sensations the most unpleasant that I undertake to recount the infamous and barbarous conduct of the British and Indians after the battle of the 22d January. The blood runs cold in my veins when I think of it.

On the morning of the 23d, shortly after light, six or eight Indians came to the house of Jean Baptiste Jereaume, where I was, in company with Major Graves, Captains Hart and Hickman, Doctor Todd, and fifteen or twenty volunteers, belonging to different corps. They did not molest any person or thing on their first approach, but kept sauntering about until there was a large number collected, (say one or two hundred) at which time they commenced plundering the houses of the inhabitants, and the massacre of the wounded prisoners. I was one amongst the first that was taken prisoner, and was taken to a horse about twenty paces from the house, after being divested of part of my clothing, and commanded by signs there to remain for further orders. Shortly after being there, I saw them knock down Captain Hickman at the door, together with several others with whom I was not acquainted. Supposing a general massacre had commenced, I made an effort to get to a house about one hundred yards distant, which contained a number of wounded, but on my reaching the house, to my great mortification, found it surrounded by Indians, which precluded the possibility of my giving notice to the unfortunate victims of savage barbarity. An Indian chief of the Tawa tribe of the name of M'Carty, gave me possession of his horse and blanket, telling me by signs, to lead the horse to the house which I had just before left. The Indian that first took me, by this time came up and manifested a hostile disposition towards me, by raising his tomahawk as if to give me the fatal blow, which was prevented by my very good friend M'Carty. On my reaching the house which I had first started from, I saw the Indians take off several prisoners, which I afterwards saw in the road, in a most mangled condition, and entirely stripped of their clothing.

Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and Blythe, were collected round a

* McAfee, 215.

carryall, which contained articles taken by the Indians from the citizens. We had all been placed there, by our respective captors, except Blythe, who came where we were entreating an Indian to convey him to Malden, promising to give him forty or fifty dollars, and whilst in the act of pleading for mercy, an Indian more savage than the other, stepped up behind, tomahawked, stripped and scalped him. The next that attracted my attention, was the houses on fire that contained several wounded, whom I knew were not able to get out. After the houses were nearly consumed, we received marching orders, and after arriving at Sandy Creek, the Indians called a halt and commenced cooking; after preparing and eating a little sweetened gruel, Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and myself, received some, and were eating, when an Indian came up and proposed exchanging his moccasins for Mr. Searls' shoes, which he readily complied with. They then exchanged hats, after which the Indian inquired how many men Harrison had with him, and, at the same time, calling Searls a Washington or Madison, then raised his tomahawk and struck him on the shoulder, which cut into the cavity of the body. Searls then caught hold of the tomahawk and appeared to resist, and upon my telling him his fate was inevitable, he closed his eyes and received the savage blow which terminated his existence. I was near enough to him to receive the brains and blood, after the fatal blow, on my blanket. A short time after the death of Searls, I saw three others share a similar fate. We then set out for Brownstown, which place we reached about 12 or 1 o'clock at night. After being exposed to several hours incessant rain in reaching that place, we were put into the council house, the floor of which was partly covered with water, at which place we remained until next morning, when we again received marching orders for their village on the river Rouge, which place we made that day, where I was kept six days, then taken to Detroit and sold. For a more detailed account of the proceedings, I take the liberty of referring you to a publication which appeared in the public prints, signed by Ensign J. L. Baker, and to the publication of Judge Woodward, both of which I have particularly examined, and find them to be literally correct, so far as came under my notice.

I am, sir, with due regard, your fellow-citizen,

GUSTAVUS M. BOWER,

Surgeon's Mate 5th Regiment Kentucky Volunteers.

JESSE BLEDSOE, Esq., Lexington.*

* American State Papers, xii. 372. Do. 367 to 375.

Of the American army, which was about 800 strong, one-third were killed in the battle and the massacre which followed, and but 33 escaped.*

General Harrison, as we have stated, was at Upper Sandusky when Winchester reached the Rapids; on the night of the 16th word came to him of the arrival of the left wing at that point, and of some meditated movement. He at once proceeded with all speed to Lower Sandusky, and on the morning of the 18th sent forward a battalion of troops to the support of Winchester. On the 19th he learned what the movement was that had been meditated and made, and with additional troops he started instantly for the falls where he arrived early on the morning of the 20th; here he waited the arrival of the regiment with which he had started, but which he had outstripped; this came on the evening of the 21st, and on the following morning, was despatched to Frenchtown, while all the troops belonging to the army of Winchester yet at the falls, 300 in number, were also hurried on to the aid of their commander.† But it was of course, in vain; on that morning the battle was fought, and General Harrison with his reinforcements met the few survivors long before they reached the ground. A council being called it was deemed unwise to advance any farther, and the troops retired to the Rapids again: here, during the night another consultation took place, the result of which was a determination to retreat yet farther in order to prevent the possibility of being cut off from the convoys of stores and artillery upon their way from Sandusky. On the next morning, therefore, the block-house which had been built was destroyed, together with the provisions it contained, and the troops retired to Portage river 18 miles in the rear of Winchester's position, there to await the guns and reinforcements which were daily expected, but which, as it turned out, were detained by rains until the 30th of January.‡ Finding his army 1700 strong, General Harrison on the 1st of February again advanced to the Rapids where he took up a new and stronger position, at which point he ordered all the troops as rapidly as possible to gather. He did this in the hope of being able before the middle of the month to advance upon Mal-

* McAfee, 221.—See the accounts of Winchester and Major Madison in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix No. 7, p. 196.—In Niles' Register, iv. 9 to 13, may be found the British account, Winchester's, and one accompanied by a diagram: same vol. p. 29, is a fuller account by Winchester, and on page 83 one by Lewis and the other officers.

† McAfee, 209 to 211, 227 to 235. ‡ McAfee, 236 to 239.

den, but the long continuance of warm and wet weather kept the roads in such a condition that his troops were unable to join him, and the project of advancing upon the ice was entirely frustrated; so at length the winter campaign had to be abandoned, as the autumnal one had been before.

So far the military operations of the northwest had certainly been sufficiently discouraging; the capture of Mackinac, the surrender of Hull, the massacre of Chicago, and the overwhelming defeat of Frenchtown, are the leading events. Nothing had been gained, and of what had been lost nothing had been retaken: the slight successes over the Indians by Hopkins, Edwards, and Campbell, had not shaken the power or the confidence of Tecumthe and his allies, while the fruitless efforts of Harrison through five months to gather troops enough at the mouth of the Maumee to attempt the reconquest of Michigan, which had been taken in a week, depressed the spirits of the Americans, and gave new life and hope to their foes.

About the time that Harrison's unsuccessful campaign drew to a close, a change took place in the War Department, and General Armstrong succeeded his incapable friend, Dr. Eustis. Armstrong's views were those of an able soldier: in October, 1812, he had again addressed the Government through Mr. Gallatin, on the necessity of obtaining the command of the lakes,* and when raised to power determined to make naval operations the basis of the military movements of the northwest. His views in relation to the coming campaign in the West, were based upon two points, viz. the use of regular troops alone, and the command of the lakes, which he was led to think could be obtained by the 20th of June.†

Although the views of the Secretary, in relation to the non-employment of militia, were not, and could not be, adhered to, the general plan of merely standing upon the defensive until the command of the lake was secured, was persisted in, although it was the 2nd of August instead of the 1st of June, before the vessels on Erie could leave the harbor in which they had been built. Among these defensive operations of the spring and summer of 1813, that at Fort or Camp Meigs, the new post taken by Harrison

* Armstrong's Notices, i. 177, note.— Steps to command the lake had been taken before October.—See Niles' Register, iii. 142. 127.

† Armstrong's Notices, i. appendix, No. 23, p. 245. The Secretary and General did not entirely agree as to the plans of the campaign. See the Notices, i. 176, &c. McAfee, 249, &c. Full accounts of the arrangement of the army in this year, may be seen in Niles' Register, iv. 145. 158. 187.

at the Rapids, and that at Lower Sandusky, deserve to be especially noticed. It had been anticipated that, with the opening of spring, the British would attempt the conquest of the position upon the Maumee, and measures had been taken by the General to forward reinforcements, which were detained however, as usual, by the spring freshets and the bottomless roads. As had been expected, on the 28th of April, the English forces began the investment of Harrison's camp, and by the 1st of May had completed their batteries; meantime, the Americans behind their tents had thrown up a bank of earth twelve feet high, and upon a basis of twenty feet, behind which the whole garrison withdrew the moment that the gunners of the enemy were prepared to commence operations. Upon this bank, the ammunition of his Majesty was wasted in vain, and down to the 5th, nothing was effected by either party. On that day, General Clay, with 1200 additional troops, came down the Maumee in flatboats, and, in accordance with orders received from Harrison, detached 800 men under Colonel Dudley to attack the batteries upon the left bank of the river, while, with the remainder of his forces, he landed upon the southern shore, and after some loss and delay, fought his way into camp. Dudley, on his part, succeeded perfectly in capturing the batteries, but instead of spiking the cannon, and then instantly returning to his boats, he suffered his men to waste their time, and skirmish with the Indians, until Proctor was able to cut them off from their only chance of retreat; taken by surprise, and in disorder, the greater part of the detachment became an easy prey, only 150 of the 800 men escaping captivity or death.* This sad result was partially, though but little, alleviated by the success of a sortie made from the fort by Colonel Miller, in which he captured and made useless the batteries, that had been erected south of the Maumee.† The result of the day's doings had been sad enough for the Americans, but still the British General saw in it nothing to encourage him; his cannon had done nothing, and were in fact no longer of value; his Indian allies found it "hard to fight people who lived like groundhogs";‡ news of the American successes below had been received; and additional troops were approaching from Ohio and Kentucky. Proctor, weighing all things, determined to retreat, and upon the 9th of May returned to Malden.‖

* Harrison's Report. † McAfee, 264 to 272. ‡ See Tecumthe's Speech, McAfee,

‖ For account of seige of Fort Meigs, by Harrison, &c. see Niles' Register, iv. 191, &c., 210, &c. For diary of seige, do. iv. 243; for British account, do. iv. 272. O'Fallon's (aid to Ge. Harrison) is in National Intelligencer, June 16, 1840.

The ship-building going forward at Erie had not, meanwhile, been unknown to or disregarded by the English, who proposed all in good time to destroy the vessels upon which so much depended, and to appropriate the stores of the republicans: "the ordnance and naval stores you require," said Sir George Prevost to General Proctor, "must be taken from the enemy, whose resources on lake Erie must become yours. I am much mistaken, if you do not find Captain Barclay disposed to play that game."* Captain Barclay was an experienced, brave, and able seaman, and was waiting anxiously for a sufficient body of troops to be spared ihm, in order to attack Erie with success;—a sufficient force was promised him on the 18th of July, at which time the British fleet went down the lake to reconnoitre, and if it were wise, to make the proposed attempt upon the Americans at Erie; none, however, was made.† About the same time, the followers of Proctor again approached Fort Meigs, around which they remained for a week, effecting nothing, though very numerous. The purpose of this second investment seems, indeed, rather to have been the diversion of Harrison's attention from Erie, and the employment of the immense bands of Indians which the English had gathered at Malden,‡ than any serious blow; and finding no progress made, Proctor next moved to Sandusky, into the neighborhood of the commander-in-chief. The principal stores of Harrison were at Sandusky, while he was himself at Seneca, and Major Croghan at Fort Stephenson or Lower Sandusky. This latter post being deemed indefensible against heavy cannon, and it being supposed that Proctor would of course bring heavy cannon, if he attacked it, the General and a council of war called by him, thought it wisest to abandon it; but before this could be done after the final determination of the matter, the appearance of the enemy upon the 31st of July made it impossible. The garrison of the little fort was composed of 150 men, under a commander just past his 21st year,‖ and with a single piece of cannon, while the investing force, including Tecumseh's Indians, was, it is said, 3,300 strong, and with six pieces of artillery, all of them, fortunately, light ones. Proctor demanded a surrender, and told the unvarying story of

* Letter of July 11th, given in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix, No. 19, p. 228.

† Letter of General DeRottenburg, in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix, No. 19, p. 229. McAfee, 343.

‡ McAfee, 297 to 299; 2,500 warriors were about Malden.

‖ General Harrison, quoted in McAfee, 329.

the danger of provoking a general massacre by the savages, unless the fort was yielded: to all which the representative of young Croghan replied by saying that the Indians would have none left to massacre, if the British conquered, for every man of the garrison would have died at his post.* Proctor, upon this, opened his fire, which being concentrated upon the northwest angle of the fort, led the commander to think that it was meant to make a breach there, and carry the works by assault: he therefore proceeded to strengthen that point by bags of sand and flour, while under cover of night he placed his single six pounder in a position to rake the angle threatened, and then, having charged his infant battery with slugs, and hidden it from the enemy, he waited the event. During the night of the 1st of August, and till late in the evening of the 2d, the firing continued upon the devoted northwest corner; then, under cover of the smoke and gathering darkness, a column of 350 men approached unseen to within 20 paces of the walls. The musketry opened upon them, but with little effect,—the ditch was gained, and in a moment filled with men: at that instant, the masked cannon, only thirty feet distant, and so directed as to sweep the ditch,—was unmasked and fired,—killing at once 27 of the assailants; the effect was decisive, the column recoiled, and the little fort was saved with the loss of one man:—on the next morning the British and their allies, having the fear of Harrison before their eyes, were gone, leaving behind them in their haste, guns, stores, and clothing.†

From this time all were busy in preparing for the long anticipated attack upon Malden. Kentucky especially sent her sons in vast numbers, under their veteran Governor, Shelby, and the yet more widely distinguished Richard M. Johnson. On the 4th of August, Perry got his vessels out of Erie into deep water; but for a month was unable to bring matters to a crisis: on the 10th of September, however, the fleet of Barclay was seen standing out of port, and the Americans hastened to receive him. Of the contest we give Perry's own account.

United States schooner Ariel, Put-in-Bay,
13th September, 1813.

Sir: In my last I informed you that we had captured the enemy's fleet on this lake. I have now the honor to give you the most impor-

* McAfee, 325.

† McAfee, 324 to 328.—The accounts by Croghan and Harrison are in Niles' Register, iv. 388 to 390. A further account and plan of the fort in do, v. 7 to 9.

tant particulars of the action. On the morning of the 10th instant, at sunrise, they were discovered from Put in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under weigh, the wind light at S. W. and stood for them. At 10 A. M. the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward; formed the line and brought up. At 15 minutes before 12, the enemy commenced firing; at 5 minutes before 12, the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed to the Lawrence, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow line being shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the Sailing Master. In this situation she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister shot distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and a greater part of the crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced, from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At half past 2, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the Niagara, gallantly into close action; I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the Niagara, the flag of the Lawrence come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At 45 minutes past two, the signal was made for "close action." The Niagara being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliot, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and a schooner, surrendered, a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

Those officers and men who were immediately under my observation evinced the greatest gallantry, and I have no doubt that all others conducted themselves as became American officers and seamen.*

Meanwhile the American army had received its reinforcements,

* American State Papers, xiv. 295. For Perry's Letters, see Niles's Register, v. 60 to 62. See also Cooper's Naval History; Life of Commodore Elliott, (Philadelphia, 1836;) Tristam Burgess' account of the battle, with diagrams, (Boston, 1839.)

and was only waiting the expected victory of the fleet to embark. On the 27th of September, it set sail for the shore of Canada, and in a few hours stood around the ruins of the deserted and wasted Malden, from which Proctor had retreated to Sandwich, intending to make his way to the heart of Canada, by the valley of the Thames.* On the 29th, Harrison was at Sandwich, and McArthur took possession of Detroit and the territory of Michigan. At this point Colonel Johnson's mounted rifle regiment, which had gone up the west side of the river, rejoined the main army. On the 2nd of October, the Americans began their march in pursuit of Proctor, whom they overtook upon the 5th. He had posted his army with its left resting upon the river, while the right flank was defended by a marsh; the ground between the river and the marsh was divided lengthwise by a smaller swamp, so as to make two distinct fields in which the troops were to operate. The British were in two lines, occupying the field between the river and small swamp; the Indians extended from the small to the large morass, the ground being suitable to their mode of warfare, and unfavorable for cavalry. Harrison at first ordered the mounted Kentuckians to the left of the American army, that is, to the field farthest from the river, in order to act against the Indians, while with his infantry formed in three lines and strongly protected on the left flank to secure it against the savages, he proposed to meet the British troops themselves. Before the battle commenced, however, he learned two facts, which induced him to change his plans; one was the bad nature of the ground on his left for the operations of horse; the other was the open order of the English regulars, which made them liable to a fatal attack by cavalry. Learning these things, Harrison, but whether upon his own suggestion or not, we cannot say, ordered Colonel Johnson with his mounted men to charge, and try to break the regular troops, by passing through their ranks and forming in their rear. In arranging to do this, Johnson found the space between the river and small swamp too narrow for all his men to act in with effect; so, dividing them, he gave the right hand body opposite the regulars in charge to his brother James, while crossing the swamp with the remainder, he himself led the way against Tecumthe and his savage followers. The charge of James Johnson was perfectly successful; the Kentuckians received the fire of the British, broke through their ranks, and forming beyond them, produced such a

* See official accounts in Niles' Register, v. 117.

panic by the novelty of the attack, that the whole body of troops yielded at once. On the left the Indians fought more obstinately, and the horsemen were forced to dismount, but in ten minutes Tecumthe was dead,* and his followers, who had learned the fate of their allies, soon gave up the contest:—in half an hour all was over, except the pursuit of Proctor, who had fled at the onset. The whole number, in both armies, was about 5000, the whole number killed less than forty, so entirely was the affair decided by panic. We have thus given an outline of the battle of the Thames, which practically closed the war in the northwest; and to our own we add part of Harrison's official statement.

The troops at my disposal consisted of about 120 regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under his excellency Governor Shelby, averaging less than 500 men, and Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an agregate something above 3,000.† No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of 500 men, formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's and Chiles's brigade as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of major-General Henry; the whole of General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Colonel Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left and forming upon that flank to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moment's reflection, however convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do any thing on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security; I, therefore, determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once, by a charge of the mounted infantry: the measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no im-

* As to who killed Tecumthe, see Drake's life of that chief, p. 199 to 219, and Atwater's History of Ohio, 236.

† This estimate was too high, there were not more than 2,500. The British were nearly as numerous. See McAfee, Dawson, &c.

pediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th regiment under their Colonel (Paull) occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crotchet formed by the front line, and general Desha's division was an important point. At that place, the venerable governor of Kentucky was posted, who at the age of sixty-six preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant adjutant general, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp, and Brigadier General Cass, who having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over; the British officers seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.*

* Niles' Register, v. 130. Dawson, 427.

Those who wish to see a fuller account, are referred to the authorities below, many of which are easily accessible.*

## 1814.

We have said that the battle of the Thames practically closed the war in the northwest:—the nominal operations which followed were as follows,—

First, was undertaken an expedition into Canada in February 1814, by Captain Holmes, a gallant young officer whose career closed soon after. In the previous month the enemy had taken post again upon the Thames, not far above the field of Proctor's defeat; Holmes directed his movement against this point. Before he reached it, however, he learned that a much stronger force than his own was advancing to meet him, and taking up an eligible position upon a hill, he proceeded to fortify his camp, and waited their approach. They surrounded and attacked his entrenchments with great spirit, but being met with an obstinacy and courage equal to their own, and losing very largely from the well-directed fire of the unexposed Americans, the British were forced to retreat again, without any result of consequence to either party.†

Second; a fruitless attempt was made by the Americans to retake Mackinac. It had been proposed to do this in the autnmn of 1813, after the battle of the Thames, but one of the storms, which at that season are so often met with upon the Lakes,—by obliging the vessels that were bringing stores from below to throw over the baggage and provisions,—defeated the undertaking.‡ Early in the following April the expedition up Lake Huron was once more talked of; the purpose being twofold, to capture Mackinac, and to destroy certain vessels which it was said the English

* Dawson, 425 to 432.—Drake's Tecumseh, 193 to 219.—Atwater's Ohio, 233 to 238. Butler's Kentucky, 433 to 448.—Hall's Life of Harrison.—Todd and Drake's Life of Harrison.—See American accounts of the battle of the Thames, in Niles' Register, v. 129 to 134.—British accounts do. 285.—See also letter from R. M. Johnson in Armstrong's Notices. Appendix, vol. i.—The whole number of troops furnished by Kentucky up, to this time, was supposed to be about 17,400: see particulars in Niles' Register, v. 173.

† McAfee, 441 to 444.—Holmes' own account is in Niles' Register, vi. 115.—See also, same vol. p. 80.

‡ McAfee, 403.

were building in Gloucester bay, at the southeast extremity of the Lake. This plan, however, was also abandoned; in part, from a want of men; in part, from a belief that Great Britain did not, as had been supposed, intend to make an effort to regain the command of the Upper Lakes; and also, in part, from a misunderstanding between General Harrison and Colonel Croghan, who commanded at Detroit, on the one hand, and the Secretary of War on the other. General Armstrong had seen fit to pass by both the officers named, and to direct his communications to Major Holmes their junior, a breach of military etiquette that offended them both, and, in connection with other matters of a similar kind, led General Harrison to resign his post.* No sooner, however, had the plan of April been abandoned than it was revived again, in consequence of new information as to the establishment at Gloucester bay, or properly at Mackadash.† In consequence of the orders issued upon the 2d of June, 750 men under Colonel Croghan embarked in the American squadron commanded by Sinclair, and upon the 12th of July entered Lake Huron. After spending a week in a vain effort to get into Mackadash in order to destroy the imaginary vessels there building, the fleet sailed to St. Josephs, which was found deserted; thence a small party was sent to St. Mary's falls, while the remainder of the forces steered for Mackinac. At the former point the trading house was destroyed, and the goods seized: at Mackinac the result was far different; the troops landed upon the west of the island upon the 4th of August, but after a severe action, in which Major Holmes and eleven others were killed, still found themselves so situated, as to lead Croghan to abandon the attempt to prosecute the attack; and Mackinac was left in the possession of the enemy. Having failed in this effort, it was determined by the American leaders to make an attempt to capture the schooner Nancy, which was conveying supplies to the island fortress. In this, or rather in effecting the destruction of the vessel, they succeeded, and having left Lieutenant Turner to prevent any other provisions from Canada reaching Mackinac, the body of the fleet sailed for Detroit, which it reached, shattered and thinned by tempests. Meanwhile the crew of the Nancy, who had escaped, passed over to Mackinac in a boat which they found, and an expedition was at once arranged

* McAfee, 414 to 422.—Harrison's resignation is on 419.

† McAfee, 421 to 425:—Armstrong's letters are given.

by Lieut. Worsley who had commanded them, for frustrating all the plans of Croghan and Sinclair. Taking with him 70 or 80 men in boats, he first attacked and captured the Tigress, an American vessel lying off St. Josephs; and next, sailing down the Lake in the craft thus taken, easily made the three vessels under Turner, his own. In this enterprize, therefore, the Americans failed signally at every point.*

In the third place, an attempt was made to control the tribes of the Upper Mississippi by founding a fort at Prairie du Chien.† Early in May Governor Clarke of Missouri was sent thither, and there commenced Fort Shelby without opposition. By the middle of July, however, British and Indian forces sent from Mackinac surrounded the post, and Lieutenant Perkins, having but 60 men to oppose to 1200, and being also scant of ammunition, after a defence of some days, was forced to capitulate: so that there again the United States was disappointed and defeated.‡

A fourth expedition was led by General McArthur, first against some bands of Indians which he could not find; and then across the peninsula of Upper Canada to the relief of General Brown at Fort Erie. The object of the last movement was either to join General Brown, or to destroy certain mills on Grand river, from which it was known that the English forces obtained their supplies of flour. On the 26th of October, McArthur, with 720 mounted men, left Detroit, and on the 4th of November was at Oxford: from this point he proceeded to Burford, and learning that the road to Burlington was strongly defended, he gave up the idea of joining Brown and turning toward the Lake by the Long Point road, defeated a body of militia who opposed him, destroyed the mills, five or six in number, and managing to secure a retreat along the Lake shore, although pursued by a regiment of regular troops nearly double his own men in number,—on the 17th reached Sandwich again with the loss of but one man. This march, though productive of no very marked results, was of consequence from the vigor and skill displayed both by the commander and his troops. Had the summer campaign of 1812 been conducted with equal spirit Michigan would not have needed to be retaken, and

* McAfee, 422 to 437.—The official accounts are in Niles' Register, vii. 4 &c., 18, 156, 173, and Appendix to same vol. 129 to 135.

† See letter of Governor Edwards to Governor Shelby. (Niles' Register, iv. 148,) dated March 22, 1813.

‡ McAfee, 439 to 442.

the labors of Perry and Harrison would have been uncalled for in the northwest.*

With McArthur's march through Upper Canada the annals of war in the northwest close.

Meanwhile, upon the 22d of July, a treaty had been formed at Greenville, under the direction of General Harrison and Governor Cass, by which the United States and the faithful Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, gave peace to the Miamies, Weas, and Eel river Indians, and to certain of the Pottawatamies, Ottawas, and Kickapoos; and all the Indians engaged to aid the Americans should the war with Great Britain continue.† But such, happily was not to be the case, and on the 24th of December the treaty of Ghent was signed by the representatives of England and the United States.‡ This treaty during the next year was followed by treaties with the various Indian tribes of the west and northwest, giving quiet and security to the frontiers once more.‖

On the 26th of February the body of John Cleves Symmes, the founder of the Miami settlement, was buried at North Bend.§

## 1816.

On the 18th of March Pittsburgh was incorporated as a City: it had been incorporated as a Borough on the 22d of April, 1794.

In 1817 it contained five glass-houses, four air-furnaces, one hundred and nine stores, eight steam-engines in mills, 1,303 houses, 8,000 people, and manufactured 400 tons of nails by steam.¶

On the 28th of December the Bank of Illinois, at Shawneetown,

* McAfee, 444 to 453.—McArthur's own account is in Niles' Register, vii. 239, 282, &c.

† American State Papers, v. 826 to 836.—Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 298.

‡ Holmes' Annals, ii. 471.

‖ American State Papers, vi. 1 to 25, 93 to 95, 128.

§ American Pioneer, i. 120.

¶ American Pioneer, i. 307, 309. This paper contains many facts respecting Pittsburgh.

Ill., was incorporated for twenty years, with a capital of $300,000, one-third subscribed by the State.*

Columbus was this year made permanently the Capital of Ohio.

## 1817.

Congress in 1804 had granted to Michigan a township of land, for the support of a College; in this year, (1817,) the University of Michigan was established by the governor and judges.†

During 1817, an effort was made to extinguish the Indian title within the State of Ohio, and had the Miamies attended the council, held at the Rapids of the Maumee, in September, it probably would have been done.‡ As it was, Cass and McArthur purchased of the other tribes nearly the whole north-west of the Buckeye State:‖ the number of acres, exclusive of reservations, being estimated at 3,694,540, for which were paid 140,893 dollars; being 3 cents and 8 mills an acre.§

A full history of banking in Ohio would as much exceed our limits as we fear it would the patience of our readers. But as about this time the disposition to an excess in the creation of such institutions was plainly manifested, it may not be improper to mention the leading acts of the Legislature in reference to the subject.

The earliest bank chartered was the Miami Exporting Company of Cincinnati, the bill for which passed in April 1803.¶

Banking was with this Company a secondary object, its main purpose being to facilitate trade, then much depressed;** nor was it till 1808 that the first bank, strictly speaking, that of Marietta, was chartered.†† During the same session the proposition of founding a state bank was considered, and reported upon by Mr. Worthington; it resulted in the establishment of the bank of Chillicothe.‡‡

* Brown's Illinois. 429. See post, A. D. 1843. † Lanman, 230, and note.
‡ Cass and McArthur, in American State Papers, vi. 138.
‖ American State Papers, vi. 131 to 140; and 166.
§ See details in American State Papers, vi. 149, 150.
¶ Chase's Statutes, iii. 2019. ** Burnet's letters, 149.
†† Chase's Statutes, iii. 2022. Journal of the House, 1807–8, pp. 103, 106, 122.
‡‡ See Journal of the House, 110, 111, 121, 125, 134.—Chase's Statutes, iii. 2025.

From that time charters were granted to similar institutions up to the year 1816, when the great banking law was passed, incorporating twelve new banks, extending the charters of old ones, and making the State a party in the profits and capital of the institutions thus created and renewed, without any advance of means on her part. This was done in the following manner: each new bank was at the outset to set apart one share in twenty-five for the State, without payment, and each bank, whose charter was renewed, was to create for the State; stock in the same proportion; each bank, new and old, was yearly to set apart out of its profits a sum which would make, at the time the charter expired, a sum equal to one twenty-fifth of the whole stock, which was to belong to the State; and the dividends coming to the State were to be invested and reinvested until one-sixth of the stock was State property:—the last provision was subject to change by future legislatures.*

This interest of the State in her banks continued until 1825, when the law was so amended as to change her stock into a tax of two per cent upon all dividends made up to that time, and four per cent upon all made thereafter.† But before the law of 1816, in February, 1815, Ohio had begun to raise a revenue from her banking institutions, levying upon their dividends a tax of four per cent.‡ This law, however, was made null with regard to such banks as accepted the terms of the law of 1816. After 1825, no change was made until March, 1831, when the tax was increased to five per cent.‖

Two important acts have been more lately passed by the legislature, to which we can do nothing more than refer. In 1839, a law was enacted, appointing bank commissioners, who were to examine the various institutions and report upon their condition. This inquisition was resisted by some of the banks, and much controversy followed, both in and out of the general assembly.§ In 1845 a new system of banking was adopted, embracing both a State bank with branches, and independent banks.¶

* Chase ii. 913 to 924. See especially sections 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40.

† Chase, ii. 1463. ‡ Chase, ii. 868. ‖ Chase, iii. 1820.

§ Revised Statutes of 1841, Art. "Banks,". Reports of Bank Commissioners, 1839, &c.

¶ Laws of 1845. p. 24 to 54.

## 1818.

On the 18th of April, Congress authorized the people of Illinois to form a State constitution; this was done during the ensuing summer, and adopted August 26th. The northern boundary of the State as fixed by Congress, was lat. 42° 30′; but the right to go so far north has been disputed, Governor Doty, of Wisconsin, having asserted that the north line under the ordinance of 1787, must be a due east and west line, drawn through the head of Lake Michigan: this claim, however, it is not supposed will be much insisted on.*

All the territory north of the new State of Illinois was attached to Michigan.†

Great emigration took place to Michigan in consequence of the sale of large quantities of public lands.‡

By various treaties the Indian title in Indiana, Illinois, and the north-west, was still further extinguished.‖

## 1819.

The Walk-in-the-Water, the first steam-boat in the upper lakes, (Erie, Huron, and Michigan,) began her trips, going once as far as Mackinac.§ The following sketch of the lake trade since that time we take from the National Intelligencer.

In 1826 the first steamboat was seen on the waters of Lake Michigan, a pleasure trip having been made during that year to Green Bay; and, although during the following years similar trips were made to that place, it was not until 1832 that a boat visited Chicago. In 1833, the trade upon the upper lakes was carried on by eleven steam-boats, costing

* Brown's Illinois, 350 to 352, and note iii. p. 353. See post, 1837.

† Lanman, 225. ‡ Lanman, 221.

‖ American State Papers, vi. 167 to 179. § Lanman, 222.

about $360,000, and two trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay, In 1834, there were eighteen boats, costing $600,000, and three trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay. The commerce west of Detroit, at that time, and for many years afterwards, being almost entirely confined to the Indian trade and to supplying the United States military posts, some small schooners were also employed. The trade rapidly increased with the population, until, in 1840, there were upon the Upper Lakes forty-eight steamers of from 150 to 750 tons burden, and costing $2,200,000 the business west of Detroit producing to the owners about $201,000. In 1841 the trade had so augmented as to employ six of the largest boats in running from Buffalo to Chicago, and one to Green Bay, and during that year the sailing vessels had increased to about 250, of from 30 to 350 tons, costing about $1,250,000. In 1845 there were upon the upper Lakes sixty vessels, including propellers, moved by steam, measuring 23,000 tons, and 320 sailing vessels, costing $4,600,000, some of them measuring 1,200 tons. The increase in that year was 47 vessels, carrying 9,700 tons, and costing $650,000; and since the last fall 16 steamers and 14 sailing vessels of the largest class have been put under construction. In 1845, there were upon Lake Ontario fifteen steam-boats and propellers, and about 100 sailing vessels, having a burden of 18,000 tons, and costing $1,500,000, many of which, by using the Welland Canal, carry on business with Chicago and other places on the western lakes. Since the close of the last season many additional vessels have been built on this lake.

The commerce of the port of Buffalo alone during the year 1845, amounted to $33,000,000 in value; and that of all the other places on the lakes exceeding that amount, would make an aggregate of full $70,000,000, while even this would be greatly augmented if we could add the value of the commerce of the upper lakes, which, by the way of the Welland Canal, goes direct to the Canadian ports. The steamboats alone leaving Buffalo for the west in the year 1845, carried from that place 97,736 passengers, of whom 20,636 were landed at Detroit, 1,670 at Mackinac, 12,775 at Milwaukie, 2,790 at Southport, 2,750 at Racine, and 20,244 at Chicago. If to this aggregate we were to add the numbers arriving at Buffalo from the west, and the numbers leaving there in sailing vessels, the multitudes going between other places on those lakes, and some 50,000 who were passengers in the vessels on Lake Ontario, we would have a grand total of at least 250,000 passengers on the lakes during the last year, whose lives were subjected to all the risks attending the navigation of those waters, exclusive of the officers and crews of all the vessels engaged in that navigation. During the last five years upwards of four hundred lives and property worth more than a million of dollars have been lost on the lakes.

On the 24th of September Lewis Cass concluded at Saginaw a treaty with the Chippewas, by which another large part of Michigan was ceded to the United States.*

On the 30th of August, Benjamin Parke, for the United States, bought at Fort Harrison, of the Kickapoos of Vermillion River, all their lands upon the Wabash ;† while on the 30th of July, at Edwardsville, Illinois, Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, bought of the main body of the same tribe their claims upon the same waters, together with other lands reaching west to the mouth of the Illinois River.‡

In this year the United States appropriated $10,000 annually toward the civilization of the Indians, but no part was at first expended, as the best modes of effecting the object were not apparent.‖

During 1819 also, a report was made to Congress upon the Missouri fur trade, exhibiting its condition at that time and tracing its history: it may be found in the 6th volume of the American State Papers, p. 201.

The second United States bank was chartered in 1816. On the 28th of January 1817 this bank opened a branch at Cincinnati; and on the 13th of October following another branch at Chillicothe, which did not commence banking, however, until the next spring.§ These branches Ohio claimed the right to tax, and passed a law by which, should they continue to transact business after the 15th of September 1819, they were to be taxed fifty thousand dollars each, and the State Auditor was authorized to issue his warrant for the collection of such tax.¶ This law was passed with great deliberation apparently, and by a full vote. The branches not ceasing their business, the authorities of the State prepared to collect their dues; this, however, the bank intended to prevent, and for the purpose of prevention, filed a Bill in Chancery in the United States Circuit Court, asking an injunction upon Ralph Osborn, Auditor of State, to prevent his proceed-

* American State Papers, vi. 194 to 200. Governor Cass estimated the purchase at 6 million acres.

† American State Papers, vi. 196, 197, 198.

‡ American State Papers, vi. 196, 197.

‖ See Calhoun in American State Papers, vi. 200, 201.—Also *post* A. D. 1824.

§ State of the case for the appellants &c ; (Cincinnati 1823,) p, 3. Report of Ohio Legislature in American State Papers, xxi, 647,

¶ State or the case, &c; 3, 4—American State Papers, xxi, 646, 647—Chase's Statutes, ii, 1072,

ing in the act of collection.* Osborn, by legal advice, refused to appear upon the 4th of September, the day named in the writ, and in his absence the court allowed the injunction, though it required bonds of the bank, at the same time, to the extent of $100,000;—which bonds were given. On Tuesday the 14th of September, as the day for collection drew nigh, the bank sent an agent to Columbus, who served upon the Auditor a copy of the Petition for Injunction, and a subpœna to appear before the court upon the 1st Monday in the following January, but who had no copy of the Writ of Injunction which had been allowed. The petition and subpœna Osborn enclosed to the Secretary of State, who was then at Chillicothe, together with his warrant for levying the tax; requesting the Secretary to take legal advice, and if the papers did not amount to an Injunction to have the warrant executed; but if they did, to retain it. The lawyers advised that the papers were not equivalent to an injunction, and thereupon the State Writ for collection was given to John L. Harper, with directions to enter the banking house and demand payment of the tax; and upon refusal, to enter the vault and levy the amount required: he was told to offer no violence, and if opposed by force, to go at once before a proper Magistrate and depose to that fact. Harper, taking with him T. Orr and J. McCollister, on Friday, September 17th, went to the bank, and first securing access to the vault, demanded the tax; payment was refused, and notice given of the Injunction which had been granted;† but the officer, disregarding this notice, entered the vault, and seized in gold, silver and notes $98,000, which upon the 20th he paid over to the State Treasurer, H. M. Curry.‡ The officers concerned in this collection were arrested and imprisoned by the United States Circuit Court for a contempt of the injunction granted, and the money taken was returned to the bank.‖ The decision of the Circuit Court was in February 1824 tried before the Supreme Court and its decree affirmed, whereupon the State submitted.§ Meantime, however, in December 1820 and January 1821 the Legislature of Ohio had passed the following resolutions:—

* State of the case, &c; 4—Chillicothe Supporter of September 22d, 1819, quoted in Liberty Hall of Cincinnati, of September 24th,

† State of the case, &c; 5,

‡ State of the case, 7—Chillicothe Supporter of September 22d,

‖ Chase's Sketch, 43, § Chase's Sketch, 43.

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio*, That, in respect to the powers of the Governments of the several States that compose the American Union, and the powers of the Federal Government, this General Assembly do recognise and approve the doctrines asserted by the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia in their resolutions of November and December, 1798, and January, 1800, and do consider that their principles have been recognised and adopted by a majority of the American people.

*Resolved*, *further*, That this General Assembly do assert, and will maintain, by all legal and constitutional means, the right of the States to tax the business and property of any private corporation of trade, incorporated by the Congress of the United States, and located to transact its corporate business within any State.

*Resolved*, *further*, That the bank of the United States is a private corporation of trade, the capital and business of which may be legally taxed in any State where they may be found.

*Resolved*, *further*, That this General Assembly do protest against the doctrine that the political rights of the separate States that compose the American Union, and their powers as sovereign States, may be settled and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States, so as to conclude and bind them in cases contrived between individuals, and where they are, no one of them, parties direct."*

In accordance with these resolves the bank was for a time deprived of the aid of the State laws in the collection of its debts, and the protection of its rights;—and an attempt was made, though in vain, to effect a change in the Federal Constitution which would take the case out of the United States tribunals.†

* American State Papers, xxi. 653, 654.

† Chase's Sketch, 44.—Chase's Statutes, ii. 1185, 1198.

# 1820.

Toward the close of this year Missouri entered the Union. It will be remembered that the vast country known as Louisiana and transferred by France to the United States in 1803, was divided into the Territory of Orleans, and District of Louisiana, the latter being annexed to Indiana; this was in March 1804.* In March 1805 the *District* of Louisiana became the *Territory* of Louisiana under its own territorial government.† In June 1812 this became the Territory of Missouri, having then for the first time, a General Assembly.‡ Thus it continued until, late in 1819, application was made for admission into the Union;‖—there being then in the Territory nearly one hundred thousand persons. Upon this application arose that debate and agitation in reference to the admission of new slave States into the Confederacy, which will ever be remembered in our country. The result of the whole was a law, passed March 6 1820, authorizing the people of Missouri to form a Constitution to suit themselves, slavery or no slavery, but prohibiting, thenceforward, all servitude in the United States Territories and the States formed therefrom north of thirty-six and a half degrees of north latitude.§ The provisions of Congress having been agreed to in July by the Missouri Convention,¶ and a Constitution having been formed, on the 23d of November the act of admission was completed.**

In November 1819, Governor Cass had written to the War Department, proposing a tour along the southern shore of Lake Superior, and toward the heads of the Mississippi; the purposes being to ascertain the state of the fur trade, to examine the copper region, and especially to form acquaintance and connections with the various Indian tribes.†† In the following January the Secretary of War wrote approving the plan, and in May the expedition

* Ante, p. 489.—Land Laws, 503 to 510.

† Laws of Missouri, i. 6 to 8.

‡ Laws of Missouri, i. 9 to 13.—Land Laws, 614.

‖ American State Papers, xxi. 557.

§ Laws of Missouri, i. 628 to 631. ¶ Laws of Missouri, i. 632 to 634.

** American State Papers, xxi. 625.—Land Laws, 761, 793, 828.

†† American State Papers, vi. 318.

started. A full account of it by Mr. Schoolcraft is easily accessible,* and we need only say that it was attended with as much success as could have been hoped for.

During this year and from this time forward treaties were made with the western and northwestern tribes extinguishing by degrees their title throughout a great part of the original northwestern territory:—of these treaties we shall not, hereafter, speak particularly, except inasfar as they stand connected with the Blackhawk war of 1832. The documents can be found in the sixth volume of the American State Papers; up to 1826 in the Land Laws, p. 1056; in the Executive Papers published since 1826;—and up to 1837 in the Collection of Indian Treaties published at Washington in that year. †

## 1822.

Upon the 31st of January the Ohio Assembly passed a law "authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio river by a canal."‡

This act grew out of events a sketch of which we think it may be worth while to present.

One of the earliest of modern navigable canals was made in Lombardy in 1271; it connected Milan with the Tesino. About the same time, or perhaps earlier, similar works were commenced in Holland. It was not, however, till 1755 that any enterprize of the kind was undertaken in England; this was followed, three years later, by the Duke of Bridgewater's first canal constructed by Brindley.‖ In 1765 an act of Parliament authorized the great work by which Brindley and his patron proposed to unite Hull and Liverpool:—the Trent and the Mersey. This great undertaking was completed in 1777.§ The idea thus carried into effect in Great Britain was soon borne across the Atlantic. The

* Published at Albany 1821, i. vol.

† See list of Indian lands in each State and Territory in 1825, in American State Papers, vi. 545.

‡ Canal Documents published by Kilbourn, p. 26.

‖ Penny Cyclopedia article "canal."—American State Papers, xx. 832 to 834.

§ American State Papers, xx. 834.

great New York canal was suggested by Gouverneur Morris, in 1777; but, as early as 1774, Washington tells us that he had thought of a system of improvements by which to connect the Atlantic with the Ohio; which system, ten years later, he tried most perseveringly to induce Virginia to act upon with energy. In a letter to Governor Harrison, written October 10th 1784,* he also suggests that an examination be made as to the facilities for opening a communication, through the Cuyahoga, and Muskingum or Scioto, between Lake Erie and the Ohio. Such a communication had been previously mentioned by Jefferson in March, 1784; he even proposed a canal to connect the Cuyahoga and Big Beaver. Three years later, Washington attempted to interest the federal government in his views, and exerted himself, by all the means in his power, to learn the exact state of the country about the sources of the Muskingum and Cuyahoga. After he was called to the presidency, his mind was employed on other subjects; but the whites who had meantime began to people the West, used the course which he had suggested, (as the Indians had done before them,) to carry goods from the Lakes to the settlements on the Ohio; so that it was soon known definitely, that upon the summit level were ponds, through which, in a wet season, a complete water connection was formed between the Cuyahoga and Muskingum.

From this time the public mind underwent various changes; more and more persons becoming convinced that a canal between the heads of two rivers was far less desirable, in every point of view, than a complete canal communication from place to place, following the valleys of the rivers, and drawing water from them. In 1815, Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, proposed a canal from some point on the Great Miami to the city in which he resided; and in January, 1818, Mr., afterwards Governor Brown, writes thus, "Experience, the best guide, has tested the infinite superiority of this mode of commercial intercourse over the best roads, or any navigation of the beds of small rivers. In comparing it with the latter, I believe you will find the concurrent testimony of the most skilful and experienced engineers of France and England, against the river, and in favor of the canal, for very numerous reasons."

Meanwhile along the Atlantic various experiments had been tried both in regard to improving rivers and digging canals. In

* Sparks' Washington, ix. 68.

October 1784, Virginia, acting under the instigation of Washington, passed a law "for clearing and improving the navigation of James river:"* in March 1792, New York established two Companies for "Inland Lock Navigation;" the one to connect the Hudson with Lake Champlain, the other to unite it with Lake Ontario, whence another canal was to rise round the Great Falls to Erie.† These enterprises, and various others were presented to Congress by Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in an elaborate report made April 4th, 1808.‡ Subsequent to this report, in April 1811, the General Assembly of New York passed a law for the Great Erie canal, and at the head of the Commissioners was Gouverneur Morris, who had proposed the plan thirty-four years previous.‖ To aid her in this vast work New York asked the power of the Federal Government,§ and Ohio passed resolutions in favor of the aid being given.¶ No great help however was given; and New York with the strength imparted by the energy of Clinton, carried through her vast work; and when Ohio began to speak of similar efforts, through the same voice that had encouraged her during her labors, the Empire State spoke encouragement to her younger sister.** When, therefore, Governor Brown in his inaugural address of December 14, 1818, referred to the necessity of providing cheaper ways to market for the farmers of Ohio, he spoke to a people not unprepared to respond favorably. In accordance with the Governor's suggestion, Mr. Sill, on the 7th of January 1819, moved that a committee be appointed to report on the expediency of a canal from the Lake to the Ohio: this was followed on the next day by a further communication from Governor Brown, and the subject was discussed through the winter. In the following December the Executive again pressed the matter, and in January 1820 made a full statement of facts relating to routes so far as they could be ascertained. Farther information was communicated in February, and on the 20th of that month an Act passed, appointing Commissioners to

* See the Act and subseqnent ones in Gallatin's Report of 1808. (American State Papers, xx. 798 to 804.)—See also, American State Papers, xxi. 1006.

† See as above, American State Papers, xx. 781 to 789: as to progress of the work. Ditto, 769 to 780.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 724 to 921.

‖ This Act is in American State Papers, xxi. 166.

§ American State Papers, xxi. 165. ¶ American State Papers, xxi. 178.

** Atwater's History, 251, 252.

determine the course of the proposed canal, provided Congress would aid in its construction, and seeking aid from Congress.—That aid not having been given, nothing was done during 1820 or 1821, except to excite and extend an interest in the subject, but upon the 3d of Jauuary 1822, Micajah Williams, chairman of a committee to consider that part of the Governor's message relating to internal improvements,—offered an elaborate report upon the subject; and brought in the bill to which we have already referred as having been passed upon the 31st of the last mentioned month.*

The examination authorized by that law was at once commenced, Mr. James Geddes being the engineer.

Upon the same day (December 6, 1821) on which Mr. Williams moved for a committee on canals, Caleb Atwater moved for one upon schools; and on the same day that the law above referred to was passed, one was also passed authorizing the appointment of Commissioners to report to the next Legislature a plan for establishing a complete system of Common Schools. To the history of that subject we next ask the reader's attention.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided, that, "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be for ever encouraged." In the previous Ordinance of 1785, regulating the sale of lands in the West, section No. 16 of every township was reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." And the Constitution of Ohio, using the words of the Ordinance of 1787, says, that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provision." In accordance with the feelings shown in these several clauses, the Governors of Ohio always mentioned the subject of education with great respect in their messages,† but nothing was done to make it general. It was supposed, that people would not willingly be taxed to educate the children of their poor neighbors; not so much because they failed to perceive the necessity that exists for all to be educated, in order that the Commonwealth may be safe and prosperous; but because a vast number, that lived in Ohio, still doubted whether Ohio would be

* The messages, resolutions, reports and laws are all in the "Public Documents concerning the Ohio canals," compiled and published by John Kilbourn, Columbus, 1828: p. 2 to p. 31.

† See especially Governor Worthington's messages, and that of 1819 in particular.

their ultimate abiding-place. They came to the West to make money rather than to find a home, and did not care to help educate those whose want of education they might never feel.

Such was the state of things until about the year 1816, at which time several persons in Cincinnati, who knew the benefits of a free-school system, united, and commenced a correspondence with different portions of the State. Their ideas being warmly responded to, by the dwellers in the Ohio Company's purchase, and the Western Reserve more particularly, committees of correspondence were appointed in the different sections, and various means were resorted to, to call the attention of the public to the subject; among the most efficient of which was the publication of an *Education Almanac* at Cincinnati. This work was edited by Nathan Guilford, a lawyer of that place, who had from the first taken a deep interest in the matter. For several years this gentleman and his associates labored silently and ceaselessly to diffuse their sentiments, one attempt only being made to bring the subject into the legislature: this was in December 1819, when Ephraim Cutler of Washington county brought in a bill for establishing common schools, which was lost in the Senate.* At length, in 1821, it having been clearly ascertained, that a strong feeling existed in favor of a common school system through the eastern and northeastern parts of the State, and it being also known that the western men, who were then about to bring forward their canal schemes, wished to secure the assistance of their less immediately benefited fellow citizens, it was thought to be a favorable time to bring the free school proposition forward; which, as we have stated above was done by Mr. Atwater.

* Atwater's History, 254. In speaking of common schools we mean always free schools established upon a State system. In January 1821, a law was passed in Ohio authorizing Township Common Schools in which the tuition, &c., was to be paid by those parents who were able to pay.—See Chase, ii. 1176.

## 1823.

On the 3d of January, Mr. Worthington, on behalf of the canal commissioners, presented a report upon the best route for a canal through the State, and a farther examination was agreed upon;* which was made during the year.

The friends of the common school system continued their efforts, and although they did not succeed in procuring an Assembly favorable to their views, they diffused information and brought out inquiry.†

On the 14th of February the General Assembly of Illinois appointed five commissioners, to devise measures for uniting the waters of Lake Michigan and the Illinois River.‡ The plan of a canal at this point had been entertained for some years; a full report respecting it having been made to the War Department, by Major Stephen H. Long, in March, 1817, and laid before Congress in December, 1819.‖

Michigan during this year was invested with a new form of Territorial Government; Congress having authorized the appointment of a Legislative Council of nine members, to be chosen by the President from eighteen candidates elected by the people.§

## 1824.

The friends of canals, and those of free common schools in Ohio, finding a strong opposition still existing to the great plans of improvement offered to the people, during this year strained every nerve to secure an Assembly in which, by union, both measures might be carried. Information was diffused and interest excited by every means that could be suggested, and the autumn

* Ohio Canal Documents, 31 to 53.

† Atwater's History, 262.

‡ Brown's Illinois, 416.

§ Lanman's Michigan, 227.

‖ American State Papers, xxi. 555 to 557.

elections were in consequence such as to ensure the success of the two bills which were to lay the foundation of so much physical and intellectual good to Ohio.*

The subject of civilizing the Indians was taken up as early as July, 1789, and were kept constantly in view by the United States Government from that time forward; in 1819, ten thousand dollars annually were appropriated by Congress to that purpose, and great pains were taken to see that they were wisely expended.† In March of this year a report was made by Mr. McLean, of Ohio, upon the proposition to stop the appropriation above named; against this proposition he reported decidedly, and gave a favorable view of what had been done, and what might be hoped for.‡

## 1825.

Upon the 4th of February a law was passed by Ohio, authorizing the making of two canals, one from the Ohio to Lake Erie, by the valleys of the Scioto and Muskingum; the other from Cincinnati to Dayton; and a canal fund was created: the vote in the house in favor of the law was 58 to 13, in the senate 34 to 2.‖

Upon the day following, the law to provide for a system of common schools was also passed by large majorities.§

These two laws were carried by the union of the friends of each, and by the unremitting efforts of a few public-spirited men.

* See the names of the members of the Ohio Assembly for 1824-5, and their votes in Atwater, 363.

†See American State Popers, vols, v. and vi. indexes.—See particularly vi. 646 to 654.

‡ American State Papers, vi. 457 to 459.

‖ Ohio Canal Documents, 158 to 166.—Chase ii. 1472.

§ Chase ii. 1466.

# 1832.

In 1804 General Harrison purchased from the Sacs and Foxes, at St. Louis, an immense extent of country west of the Mississippi, as we have already stated.* This purchase, some of the chiefs said, was unauthorised by the proper persons among the Indians; and when settlers began to press upon them, enmity, as in all such cases, sprang up in the bosoms of the red men. No trouble of consequence occurred, however, until after the United States government, in 1825, acted as mediator between the Sioux on the one hand, and the Sacs and Foxes, the Chippeways, and the Ioways on the other.† This led the whites in 1827, to interfere between the contending tribes, in a manner which roused the hostility of the natives, and caused the murder of several Americans, and an attack upon two boats carrying United States stores. General Atkinson thereupon marched into the Indian country and seized the culprits, who were tried and a part condemned, and executed in December, 1828. Among those discharged was Blackhawk,‡ a Sac chief belonging to a leading family of that tribe, and at that time sixty years old.‖ Two years, later, in July, 1830, a treaty was made at Prairie du Chien by which the Sacs and Foxes ceded to the United States all their lands east of the Mississippi; to this cession Blackhawk objected as unfair and illegal, and refused to vacate the lands upon which he and his party were living—the old Sac village at the mouth of Rock river. This led to a declaration by Governor Reynolds of Illinois, upon the 28th of May, 1831, that the State was invaded by a hostile band of savages; he thereupon ordered out the militia, and called upon General Gaines for regular troops; these troops, in June 1831, took possession of the disputed ground without opposition; the Indians crossed to the west side of the Mississippi, and a treaty was made.§ In 1832, however, Blackhawk again crossed into

* See A. D. 1804. † American State Papers, vi. 608.

‖ Brown's Illnois, 357.

‖ Life of Blackhawk, dictated by himself, (Cincinnati, 1833,) pp. 13—104.

§ Life of Blackhawk by himself, 102 to 107.—Drake's Life of Blackhawk, 102 to 117.

Illinois, notwithstanding he was warned against doing so by General Atkinson, who commanded at Fort Armstrong in Rock Island.* Troops, both regular and militia, were at once mustered and marched in pursuit of the native band.† Among the troops was a party of volunteers under Major Stillman, who, on the 14th of May was out upon a tour of observation, and close in the neighborhood of the savages. On that evening, having discovered a party of Indians, sent, Blackhawk says, with a friendly message, Stillman seized some of them and killed others. This done, the whites galloped forward to attack the remainder of the savage band, but he was met with so much energy and determination, that he and his followers took to their heels in utter consternation. Such was the issue of the first action in the Blackhawk war, the whites being 200 in number, the red men from 40 to 80.‡

The attack by Stillman's party made longer peace hopeless; and although Blackhawk had with him but a few warriors of his own tribe, the majority still adhering to Keokuk, who was a friend of the whites, and had made the sale at Prairie du Chien,‖—and though he had no hope of aid from the other Indian nations,—he could not retreat. On the 21st of May a party of his warriors, about seventy in number, attacked the Indian Creek settlement in La Salle county, Illinois, killed fifteen persons, and took two young women prisoners; these were afterwards returned to their friends late in July, through the efforts of the Winnebagoes.§ On the following day a party of spies was attacked and four of them slain, and other massacres followed. Meanwhile 3000 Illinois militia had been ordered out, who rendezvoued upon the 20th of June, near Peru; these marched forward to the Rock River, where they were joined by the United States troops, the whole being under the command of General Brady. Six hundred mounted men were also ordered out, while General Scott, with nine companies of artillery, hastened from the seaboard by the way of the lakes to Chicago, moving with such celerity, that some of his troops, we are told, actually went 1800 miles in eighteen days; passing in

* Built in 1816. (Drake's Blackhawk, 92.)

† Life of Blackhawk by himself, 113 to 118.—Drake's Blackhawk, 146.

‡ Brown, 363, note. Report carried the number up to 1500. Blackhawk says forty. See Blackhawk's Life by himself, 118 to 124; Brown, 361; Drake 147 to 156.

‖ See Drake's account of Keokuk in his Life of Blackhawk, 128 to 142.

§ The narrative of one of them, Mrs. Munson, may be found in Brown's Illinois, 382. —See Blackhawk's Life by himself, 129.

that time from Fort Munroe on the Chesapeake to Chicago.* Long before the artillerists *could* reach the scene of action, however, the western troops had commenced the conflict in earnest, and before they *did* reach the field, had closed it. On the 24th of June, Blackhawk and his two hundred warriors were repulsed by Major Demont with but one hundred and fifty militia: this skirmish took place between Rock river and Galena. The army then continued to move up Rock river, near the heads of which it was understood that the main party of the hostile Indians was collected; and as provisions were scarce, and hard to convey in such a country, a detachment was sent forward to Fort Winnebago, at the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers to procure supplies. This detachment, hearing of Blackhawk's whereabouts, pursued and overtook him on the 21st of July, near the Wisconsin river and in the neighborhood of the Blue Mounds. General Henry, who commanded the party, formed with his troops three sides of a hollow square, and in that order received the attack of the Indians; two attempts to break the ranks were made by the natives in vain; and then a general charge was made by the whole body of Americans, and with such success that, it is said, fifty-two of the red men were left dead upon the field, while but one American was killed and eight wounded.†

Before this action Henry had sent word of his motions to the main army, by whom he was immediately rejoined, and on the 28th of July the whole crossed the Wisconsin in pursuit of Blackhawk, who was retiring toward the Mississippi. Upon the bank of that river, nearly opposite the Upper Ioway, the Indians were overtaken and again defeated, on the 2nd of August, with a loss of one hundred and fifty men, while of the whites but eighteen fell.‡ This battle entirely broke the power of Blackhawk; he fled, but was seized by the Winnebagoes, and upon the 27th was delivered to the officers of the United States, at Prairie du Chien.

General Scott, during these months of July and August, was contending with a worse than Indian foe. The Asiatic cholera had just reached Canada; passing up the St. Lawrence, at Detroit

* Brown's Illinois, 373,

† Blackhawk gives a very different account; see his Life, 131.—Drake suggests that the writer of Blackhawk's own life, misinterpreted him.—See Drake's Life of Blackhawk, 159.

‡ See Drake, 166, &c; Brown, 369, &c.: both give the official account. Blackhawk says that he and his men wished to surrender, but the whites fired on his flag of truce.: (His Life, 134—135:) Throcmorton's letter (Brown, 370—Drake, 163) confirms the chief's statement.

it overtook the western-bound armament, and thenceforth the camp became a hospital. On the 8th of July, his thinned ranks landed at Fort Dearborn or Chicago, but it was late in August before they reached the Mississippi. The number of that band who died from the cholera must have been at least seven or eight times as great as that of all who fell in battle.*

In September the Indian troubles were closed by a treaty which relinquished to the white men thirty millions of acres of land, for which stipulated annuities were to be paid. To Keokuk a reservation of forty miles square was given, in consideration of his fidelity; while Blackhawk and his family were sent as hostages to Fort Monroe in the Chesapeake, where they remained till June, 1833.† The chief afterwards returned to his native wilds, where he died.

Blackhawk cannot rank with Pontiac or Tecumthe; he fought only for revenge, and showed no intellectual power: but he was a fearless man, and devoid of cunning and deceit.

The same disease which decimated General Scott's troops, during the autumn of this year and the summers of 1833 and 1834, spread terror through the whole West, though during the last year it was comparatively mild. We have room to notice only three facts in relation to it; the first is, that other diseases diminished while it prevailed;—the second, that many points which were spared in 1832, (as Lexington, Ky.) were devastated in 1833;—the third, that its appearance and progress presented none of the evidences of infection or contagion.

A visitation less fatal than the cholera, but for the time most disastrous, had come upon the valley of the Ohio in the preceding February. A winter of excessive cold was suddenly closed by long continued and very heavy rains, which, unable to penetrate the frozen ground, soon raised every stream emptying into the Ohio to an unusual heighth. The main trunk, unable to discharge the water which poured into it, overflowed its banks and laid the whole valley, in many places several miles in width, under water.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| * In Stillman's defeat, | 12 | Cholera at Detroit, | 2 | died. |
| Lost by Stephenson and Dodge, | 7 | " at Fort Gratiot, near | 200 | " |
| At battle of Wisconsin | 1 | " on lake Michigan, | 30 | " |
| " Mississippi | 18 | " at Fort Dearborn, | 90 | " |
| By Demont, | — | " after leaving Ft. D. | — | " |

(See Brown's Illinois, 373, &c.)

† Full accounts are given in Drake's Life, 200, &c.; Brown's Illinois, 376; and in the Chief's autobiography.

The towns and villages along the river banks were flooded in some instances so deeply as to force the inhabitants to take refuge on the neighboring hills; — and the value of the property injured and destroyed must have been very great, though its amount could not, of course, be ascertained. The water continued to rise from the 7th to the 19th of February, when it had attained the height of 63 feet above low water mark at Cincinnati.*

## 1837.

In April, 1834, a census had shown that Michigan possessed a population sufficient to entitle her to admission into the Union. In May, 1835, a convention, held at Detroit, prepared a State constitution, and asked to it the assent of Congress. This Congress refused, but passed a conditional act, by which the applicant might become a State should certain stipulations be assented to; this assent was to be signified through a convention, and one met for the purpose in September, 1836: this body declined acceding to the conditions. Thereupon a second convention was chosen which in the following December accepted the terms offered, and after some discussion in Congress in relation to the legality of this acceptance, Michigan was recognised as a Sovereign State of the Union.

The question which caused the difficulty above referred to, and which at one time threatened civil war, was this; What is the true southern boundary of Michigan? The ordinance of 1787, provided for the formation in the North West Territory of three States, and also provided that Congress might form one or two others north of an east and west line drawn through the head, or southern extremity of Lake Michigan. This, at the time Ohio had been admitted, was construed to mean that the two northern States, the offspring of the will of Congress, must not come south of the east and west line specified, but might by Congress be limited to a line north of that. In accordance with this view,

* See Papers of the time.—A letter from Morgan Neville, in the introduction to Flint's Geography: Cincinnati, 1832.

Ohio, as already related,* was made to extend northward so as to include the Maumee Bay. This construction of the ordinance Michigan disputed, and when Ohio sent surveyors to mark out the boundary as defined by Congress, the territorial authorities of Michigan drove them away by an armed force; and placed a military party in the disputed district. At this time commissioners were sent by the President, who prevailed upon the parties so far to recede, as to allow the people of the district to acknowledge either jurisdiction until the question was settled by the proper authority; and thus matters stood stood until, when she asked for admission among the States, Michigan was told that she could be admitted only on condition she recognized the boundary as claimed by Ohio; this at length she did, as we have seen, and then became one of the federal sisterhood.†

During this year occurred the riots at Alton, Illinois, which resulted in the death of Elijah P. Lovejoy. Mr. L. was a clergyman, who had been engaged in editing a paper at St. Louis. His strong anti-slavery views, as avowed in his papers, aroused the enmity of the Missouri people, and he was forced to leave the State. He then established himself at Alton, but there also his sentiments caused excitement, and his press was destroyed. A second press was procured, and destroyed: but, nothing daunted, Mr. Lovejoy determined upon procuring a third. At this time great excitement existed in Alton, in consequence of a claim put forward by some opponents to instant abolition, to sit in a convention called upon the subject of slavery: this excitement went so far as to threaten a riot‡ but it was prevented. In this convention it was resolved to re-establish the "Observer," Mr. Lovejoy's paper, at Alton,‖ which resolution was agreed in by one meeting of citizens,§ while another advised Mr. Lovejoy to "be no longer identified with any newspaper establishment" in their city.¶ His answer to that advice, in which he avowed his intention to go on cost what it would, will rank hereafter high among the records of earnest, soul-felt, eloquence,** but at the time it was unable to prevent the adoption of a course which was a passive sanction of

* Ante, p. 480.

† See on this subject Lanman, 241 to 244. Burnet's Letters, 76. Papers of the day. Congress Documents.

‡ Beecher on Alton Riots, 36.

‖ Beecher on Alton Riots, 44.

§ Beecher on Alton Riots, 46 to 49, 50.

¶ Beecher on Alton Riots, 73.

** Beecher on Alton Riots, 85 to 91.

mob-law.* And the occasion for mob-law soon came. News being received that the third press was coming from St. Louis, those who wished its destruction waited its arrival, but that being purposely delayed by its friends, it did not arrive until three in the morning of the 7th of September. It was then placed, without opposition, in the store of Messrs. Godfrey & Gilman, where thirty or more of Lovejoy's friends, organized as a legal volunteer company, were waiting its reception. When it was known the next day (the 7th,) that the press had been stored, such threats of vengeance were uttered as induced the mayor to lay the matter before the common council, but no steps were taken to prevent an outbreak. About ten o'clock at night, a number of Mr. Lovejoy's friends being at the store where the press was, armed and authorized by the mayor to defend themselves if attacked,†—a body of men, also with arms, demanded the press. Mr. Gilman, the owner of the store, refused to give it up. The store was then attacked and guns fired on both sides by which one without was killed. The mob then prepared to set fire to the roof by ascending a ladder placed against the side of the store where there were no windows or doors. At this moment the mayor came upon the ground but he could do nothing. Being requested by the leaders of the mob to enter the building and again demand the press, he did so, but the demand was again refused. At this time he once more authorized the besieged to defend themselves. The rioters finding the press withheld, recommenced the attack upon the roof, and those within found their only hope to lie in going out of the store to the corner of the building, and firing upon those persons upon the ladder. This was done once successfully, and the mob driven back; but upon a second attempt, while Mr. Lovejoy, standing without the store at the corner, was looking round for his foes, he was fired upon from some place of concealment: five balls entered his body, and in a few moments he died. His friends were forced soon after to escape as they best could, and the press was destroyed. The conflict lasted from one hour and a half to two hours; the bells were rung, and the streets were crowded, the night being a moonlight one. Indictments were afterwards found both against the assailants and the defendants of the store; both were tried, and both acquitted.‡

* The meeting declined to pass a resolution pledging themselves to aid the mayor in case of violence.—Beecher, 96.

† Beecher on Alton Riots, 105.

‡ Beecher's Narrative. Brown's History, 460 to 463.

# 1843.

Among the events of this year, deserving notice, was the liquidation of the Illinois State Bank; and we shall here say what we have to say in relation to banking in Illinois.

In 1816, the bank of Shawanee-town was chartered for twenty years, with a capital of $300,000, one third of which was to be subscribed by the State. In 1821 this institution closed its doors, "and remained dormant," till 1835, when its charter was extended to 1857, and it resumed business. Two years later, in March, 1837, the capital was increased by 1,400,000 dollars, all subscribed by the State. But the great crash which soon prostrated business throughout the United States, involved this with other institutions of a like kind in difficulties too great to be surmounted; and though the State, in 1841, offered to relieve the bank from a forfeiture of its charter provided it would pay $200,000 of the State debt, in 1843 it was found necessary to close its concerns once more.

The State Banks were not more fortunate. The constitution of Illinois like that of Indiana, provided that no other than a State bank and its branches should be allowed. In March, 1819, a State bank was accordingly chartered, with a nominal capital of four millions, but its stock was not sold. In 1821, another State bank, with a capital of half a million was chartered, to be managed by the Legislature. This went into operation, but with little or no real capital, so that its bills were soon at an enormous discount, and it failed. In February, 1835, a third State bank was formed, with a capital of a million and a half, which in 1837, was increased to three and a half millions of dollars: this institution survived till January, 1843, when the Legislature were forced to close its doors;—its bills being worth about fifty cents on the dollar.*

* See on Illinois banks, Brown's History, 428 to 441.

# 1844.

On the 27th of June the Mormon leader, Joseph Smith, was killed at Carthage, Illinois, by "an armed mob."*

The history of Mormonism cannot yet be written; its votaries are even now (October, 1846) struggling and starving among the vast plains and mountains of the immense country beyond the Mississippi; the news of the conquest of Nauvoo are but a few weeks old. Still we are bound to present some outlines of the rise and progress of this remarkable system. Smith, its reputed founder, was born in Vermont, about 1807, and reared in New-York; his education was imperfect,† and his family are said to have been superstitious.‡ When about fifteen or sixteen years old he began to see visions,‖ which continued through some seven years. At length on the 22d of September, 1827, the "records" upon which Mormonism rests, were delivered to the prophet. "These records," says Cowdrey,

Were engraved on plates which had the appearance of gold, Each plate was not far from seven by eight inches in width and length, being not quite as thick as common tin. They were filled on both sides with engravings, in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume, as the leaves of a book, and fastened at the edge with three rings running through the whole. This volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters or letters upon the unsealed part, were small and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, as well as much skill in the art of engraving. With the records was found a curious instrument, called by the ancients, Urim and Thummim, which consisted of two transparent stones, clear as crystal, set in two rims of a bow—this was in use in ancient times by persons called Seers—it was an instrument, by the use of which they received revelations of things distant, or of things past or future."

The story of his gold plates getting abroad, the holder was waylaid by robbers and persecuted by fanatics, until he was forced to flee into Pennsylvania to his father-in-law:—there he began the

* Brown's Illinois, 488. † Brown's Illinois, 386. ‡ Hunt's Mormon War, 5.
‖ Smith's own account in Brown's Illinois, 388 to 390, and Cowdrey's 390 to 392. As to Cowdrey, see Hunt's Mormon War. 10.

work of translation. The issue of this work was, "The Book of Mormon." This book gives the history of Lehi and his posterity, from about 660 B. C. to 400 A. D.: these lived for the most part in America, Lehi and his sons having emigrated thither. After the emigration, terrible wars took place between the Nephites or faithful, and the Lamanites or heathen, in which all the former were destroyed except Mormon, his son Moroni, and a few others. Mormon and his son abridged the records of their ancestors, and added their own, and thus the Book was completed.*

An account referred to in the note, gives us reason to think this Book was not written by Smith, but by one Spalding, as a sort of romance, and that it was seen and stolen by Sidney Rigdon, afterwards Smith's right hand man, and by him made known to the Prophet.

Rigdon, however, had at first no open connection with Smith, and was converted by a special mission sent into his neighborhood in October 1830.† From the time of Rigdon's conversion the progress of Mormonism was wonderfully rapid, he being a man of more than common capacity and cunning.—Kirtland, Ohio, became the chief city for the time being, while large numbers went to Missouri in consequence of revelations to that effect. In July 1833, the number of Mormons in Jackson county Missouri, was over 1200.‡—Their increase having produced some anxiety among the neighboring settlers a meeting was held in the month just named from whence emanated resolutions forbidding all Mormons thenceforth to settle in that county, and intimating that all who did not soon remove of their own will would be forced to do so.‖ Among the resolutions was one requiring the Mormon paper to be stopped, but as this was not at once § complied with the office of the paper was destroyed. Another large meeting of the citizens being held, the Mormons became alarmed and contracted to remove.¶ Before this contract, however, could be complied with, violent proceedings were again resorted to:** houses were destroyed, men whipped, and at length some of both parties were

* As to the true origin of this Book, we have a full statement, which seems worthy of credit, made by Mrs. Spalding, the widow of the alledged author. It may be found in the Western Messenger for August, 1839, p. 288.—See also Hunt, 12 to 90.—Brown's Illinois, 392, 402.

† Hunt, 93 to 112. ‡ Hunt, 128. ‖ See the resolutions in Hunt, 129, 130.

§ The Mormons were allowed *two hours* to determine upon their course. (Hunt, 130.)

¶ See contract in Hunt, 131.

** The contract was for removal before January and April 1834, (see it in Hunt 131,) but the Mormons were attacked in October 1833.

killed. The result was a removal of the Mormons across the Missouri into Clay county.

These outrages being communicated to the Prophet at Kirtland, he took steps to bring about a great gathering of his disciples, with which, marshalled as an army, in May, 1834, he started for Missouri, which in due time he reached, but with no other result than the transfer of a certain portion of his followers as permanent settlers to a region already too full of them. At first the citizens of Clay county were friendly to the persecuted; but ere long trouble grew up, and the wanderers were once more forced to seek a new home, in order to prevent outrages. This home they found in Caldwell county, where, by permission of the neighbors and State legislature, they organized a county government, the country having been previously unsettled. Soon after this removal, numbers of Mormons flocking in, settlements were also formed in Davis and Carroll:—the three towns of the new sect being Far West in Caldwell; Adam-on-di-ah-mond, called Diahmond or Diahman, in Davis; and Dewit, in Carroll. Thus far the Mormon writers and their enemies pretty well agree in their narratives of the Missouri troubles;* but thenceforth all is contradiction and uncertainty. These contradictions we cannot reconcile, and we have not room to give both relations; referring our readers, therefore, to Hunt and Greene, we will, in a few words state our own impressions of the causes of the quarrel and the catastrophe.

The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints held two views which they were fond of dwelling upon, and which were calculated to alarm and excite the people of the frontier. One was, that the West was to be their inheritance, and that the unconverted dwellers upon the lands about them were to be destroyed, and the saints to succeed to their property.† The destruction spoken of was to be, as Smith taught, by the hand of God; but those who were threatened naturally enough concluded that the Mormons might think themselves instruments in His hand to work the change they foretold and desired. They believed also, with or without reason, that the saints, anticipating,—like many other heirs, the income of their inheritance, helped themselves to what they needed of food and clothing; or, as the world called it, were arrant thieves.

* We have quoted Hunt, Anti-mormon, who gives the documents; for the Mormon view of same events, see "Facts, &c. by John P. Greene. Cincinnati, 1839"—pp. 10 to 12. 17. 18.

† See Smith in Hunt, 140. 142. Same work, 128. 182, &c.

The other offensive view was, the descent of the Indians from the Hebrews, taught by the Book of Mormon, and their ultimate restoration to their share in the inheritance of the faithful:* from this view, the neighbors were easily led to infer a union of the Saints and savages to desolate the frontier. Looking with suspicion upon the new sect, and believing them to be already rogues and thieves, the inhabitants of Carrol and Davis counties were of course opposed to their possession of the chief political influence, such as they already possessed in Caldwell, and from the fear that they would acquire more, arose the first open quarrel. This took place in August, 1838, at an election in Davis county, where their right of suffrage was disputed. The affray which ensued being exaggerated, and some severe cuts and bruises being converted into mortal wounds by the voice of rumor, a number of the Mormons of Caldwell county went to Diahmond, and after learning the facts, by force or persuasion induced a magistrate of Davis, known to be a leading opponent of theirs, to sign a promise not to molest them any more by word or deed. For this Joe Smith and Lyman Wight were arrested and held to trial. By this time the prejudices and fears of both parties were fully aroused; each anticipated violence from the other, and to prevent it each proceeded to violence. The Mormons of Caldwell, legally organized, turned out to preserve the peace; and the Anti-mormons of Davis, Carrol, and Livingston, acting upon the sacred principle of self-defence, armed and embodied themselves for the same commendable purpose. Unhappily, in this case, as in many similar ones, the preservation of peace was ill confided to men moved by mingled fear and hatred; and instead of it, the opposing forces produced plunderings, burnings, and bloodshed, which did not terminate until Governor Boggs, on the 27th of October, authorised General Clark, with the full military power of the State, to exterminate or drive from Missouri, if he thought necessary, the unhappy followers of Joe Smith.† Against the army, 3500 strong, thus brought to annihilate them, and which was evidently not a mob, the 1400 Mormons made no resistance; 300 fled, and the remainder surrendered. The leaders were examined and held to trial, bail being refused;‡ while the mass of the unhappy people were stripped of their property to pay the expenses of the war, and driven, men,

* See Hunt, 280, &c.

† See his order in Greene's pamphlet, 26.

‡ Greene, 32.—The evidence on the examination is in Hunt, 195 to 274.

women, and children,—in mid winter, from the state,—naked and starving. Multitudes of them were forced to encamp without tents, and with scarce any clothes or food, on the bank of the Mississippi, which was too full of ice for them to cross.* The people of Illinois, however, received the fugitives, when they reached the eastern shore, with open arms, and the saints entered upon a new, and yet more surprising series of adventures, than those they had already passed through.

The Mormons found their way from Missouri into the neighboring state, through the course of the year 1839, and missionaries were sent abroad to paint their sufferings, and ask relief for those who were thus persecuted because of their religious views; although their *religious* views appear to have had little or nothing to do with the opposition experienced by them in Missouri. After wandering for a time in uncertainty, the Saints fixed upon the site of Commerce, a village on the Mississippi, as the spot upon which to rest; and there, in the spring of 1840, began the city of Nauvoo. To this city, the legislature of Illinois which met in the ensuing winter, proceeded to grant most extraordinary privileges. The size was to be indefinitely large; and power was also given to buy property elsewhere: the city laws were not made void, if contrary to state laws, as is usual in such charters; and the powers bestowed upon the Mayor were enormous: a "Nauvoo Legion" was provided for, armed from the public arsenals, and the use of this corps was given to the Mayor, as far as he should need it, for city purposes: a University, an Agricultural Manufacturing Association, and a Hotel with a capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were also chartered. Under this extraordinary act, Joe Smith, who had escaped from Missouri, proceeded as Mayor, Commander of the Legion, Tavern-keeper, Prophet and Priest, to play what pranks he pleased. "On the 8th of December, 1843," says Judge Brown,—

> An extra ordinance was passed by the city council of Nauvoo, for the extra case of Joseph Smith, by the first section of which it is enacted, "That it shall be lawful for any officer of the city, with or without process, to arrest any person who shall come to arrest Joseph Smith with process growing out of the Missouri difficulties; and the person so arrested, shall be tried by the municipal court upon testimony, and if found guilty, sentenced to the municipal prison for life."
>
> On the 17th of February, 1842, an ordinance was passed, entitled, "An ordinance concerning marriages," by the second section of which

* See Greene, p. 40.

a person is authorised to marry with, or without license. We* have a statute, requiring a license in all cases, from the clerk of the commissioner's court. * * * * * * * *

On the 21st of November, 1843, an ordinance was passed by the city council, making it highly penal, even to one hundred dollars fine, and six month's imprisonment, for any officer to serve a process in the city of Nauvoo, "unless it be examined by, and receive the approval and signature of the mayor of said city, on the back of said process."†

Under these proceedings, difficulties soon arose. Some of Smith's followers becoming opposed to him, had established a new paper, "the Nauvoo Expositor." This the Prophet, as president of the council, pronounced "a nuisance," and proceeded to abate it, or destroy it, by force. Those interested procured a writ from the proper court for the arrest of the leader, but the writ was not endorsed by the Mayor and could not be executed. Then arose the question—How long shall the laws of the State be thus set at defiance?—and men through all the country round about vowed to see the warrants executed at the point of the bayonet. Two or three thousand men, some from Missouri and Ioway, being gathered against the city of the Saints, Governor Ford came forward as a pacificator. Of what followed, we give a description in the words of Judge Brown.

On Monday, the 24th of June, 1844, Lieutenant General Joseph Smith, ("the prophet,") and General Hyrum Smith, his brother, having received assurances from Governor Ford of protection, — in company with some of their friends, left Nauvoo for Carthage, in order to surrender themselves up as prisoners, upon a process which had previously been issued, and was then in the hands of a public officer to be executed. About four miles from Carthage, they were met by Captain Dunn and a company of cavalry, on their way to Nauvoo, with an order from Governor Ford for the State arms in possession of the Nauvoo legion. Lieutenant General Smith having endorsed upon the order his admission of its service, and given his directions for their delivery, returned with Captain Dunn to Nauvoo, for the arms thus ordered by Governor Ford to be surrendered. The arms having been given up in obedience to the aforesaid order, both parties again started for Carthage, whither they arrived a little before twelve o'clock, at night. On the morning of the 25th, an interview took place between the Smiths and Governor Ford. Assurances of protection by the latter were repeated, and the two Smiths were surrendered into the custody of an officer. Bail having afterward been given for their appearance at court, to

* That is, the state of Illinois. † Brown's Illinois, 398.

answer the charge for "abating the Nauvoo Expositor," a mittimus was issued on the evening of the 25th, and the two Smiths were committed to jail on a charge of treason, "until delivered by due course of law." On the morning of the 26th, another interview was had between the Governor and the accused, and both parties seemed to be satisfied. Instead of being confined in the cells, the two Smiths, at the instance of their friends, were put into the debtor's room of the prison, and a guard assigned for its, as well as their security. During this time their friends, as usual, had access to them in jail, by permission of the governor. On the same day, (June 26,) they were taken before the magistrate who had committed them to prison, and further proceedings, on the complaint for treason, were postponed until the 29th. On the morning of the 27th, Governor Ford discharged a part of the troops under his command, and proceeded with a portion of the residue, a single company only, to Nauvoo; leaving the jail, the prisoners, and some two or three of their friends, guarded by seven or eight men, and a company of about sixty militia, the Carthage Grays, a few yards distant in reserve.

About six o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, during the absence of Governor Ford, the guard stationed at the prison were overpowered by an armed mob in disguise; the jail broken and entered, and the two Smyths, (Joseph and Hyrum,) without any pretence of right or authority whatever, were wantonly slain. Having effected their object, all of which was accomplished in a few minutes, they immediately dispersed.*

The Mormons, who appear to have ascribed the outrage to persons from Missouri,† were prevailed upon to continue quiet, and no farther outbreak occurred, until those troubles began which have so lately ended in their expulsion from Nauvoo.‡

In June of this year occurred a rise of the Mississippi, which caused vast suffering and extensive damage. Many towns were entirely under water.

## 1845.

May 8th.—On this day the first observations of consequence were made at the Cincinnati Observatory; they were upon the Transit of Mercury. This Observatory, one of the first in the world in respect to the power of its Equatorial, is entirely the

* Brown, 487.

‡ The account of the Mormons in Illinois we take entirely from Brown. A trustworthy and full history of Mormonism up to the destruction of Nauvoo, is much to be desired.

† See the letter of Richards and others (leading Mormons) in Brown, 489.

result of the energy, perseverance, and patience, of one man, Olmsted M. Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell, then a Professor in the Cincinnati College, in the spring of 1842 delivered in Cincinnati a course of lectures upon Astronomy, in order to see if the subject could be made popular.—He perfectly succeeded. About May 1st of that year he began to ask the citizens of Cincinnati to contribute toward the purchase of a Great Equatorial Telescope to be mounted in or near that city. During the same month, through his exertions, a Society was organized whose object it was to found an Observatory and prosecute Astronomical researches. This Society soon took into consideration the best mode of procuring a first rate Instrument, and upon deliberation, authorized Professor Mitchell to go to Europe and obtain one. He left Cincinnati for this object on the 11th of June, 1842. Having visited London and Paris, Mr. M. determined that his mission could be satisfactorily accomplished only by going to Munich, where Frauenhofer had established his celebrated manufactory of achromatic refracting lenses. At that place Mr. M. made his contract, and returning to England stayed for awhile as an operative in the Greenwich Observatory, in order to learn the detail of observation, and thence returned to the United States.

In November 1843 the Corner Stone of the Cincinnati Observatory was laid by John Quincy Adams, and an address was delivered by that venerable statesman and student. The building, however, was not really commenced until the following May, and was then carried forward only by the energy and untiring perseverance of Mr. Mitchell, who at the same time planned, directed, contracted, raised, or rather *made funds*, acted as paymaster, advised the mechanics, and labored by their side. In April, 1845, the Observatory building was finished. Meantime the Telescope had been paid for, mostly by the single subscriptions of men laboring to support their families;—its cost being $10,000. It was received at Cincinnati in the spring of 1845, and was mounted about the close of April; every arrangement having been made by the projector and executor of the whole plan.

This we note, as the First Observatory ever erected by "The People" in modern times.

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## ERRORS AND OMISSIONS.

Some typographical errors, not noticed below, are to be found in this volume, but the reader can correct them without difficulty.

Page 30 Note † 1st line, after "Paris, 1781," insert "vol. vi."
35 Note * 2nd line, after "Indiana" insert "vol. i."
41 Note † last line, for "ii" read "No. 2."
43 Note * 1st line, for "354 read "344."
50 25th line, for "57" read "1751."
52 Note ‡ 1st line, for "typography" read "topography."
54 Note † 4th line, place the colon after "Pickaway."
57 Note * 2nd line, for "484" read "434."
do Instead of the note || "Sparks, Wash. vol. ii. p. 230," read "Spark's Franklin, iii. 230." and for "‡" in the 4th note, read "||"
58 Note †, for "328" read "428."
68 In 5th line from bottom, after "appendix to the" insert "2d volume of the."
84 Transpose the notes.
91 5th line, for "1764" read "1774."
96 Note †, for "83" read "106."
107 Note * 1st line, for "was" read "were."
116 In the head line, for "1767" read "1769."
127 3d line, for "Wangusta," read "West Augusta."
131 last line, for "Fort" read "Camp."
138 Note *, after "series" insert "vol. ii."
152 Note * 6th line, after "series" insert "vol. i. 278."
178 2d line from bottom, for "Abbudie" read "Abbadie."
202 23d line, for "Colonel Bowman" read "Major Bowman." N. B. John Bowman was Col. Joseph Bowman, Captain, and then Major.
260 Note || for "G. W. Leigh" read "B. W."
268 Note * 1st line, for "say" read "says."
278 Note * after "Hall" insert "the Wilderness and War path."
336 Note † 2d line, for "1781" read "1791."
341 In head line, for "Ferguson's" read "Armstrong's."
406 3d line, for "Trueman" read "Freeman."
510 6th line from bottom, for "Johnson" read "Johnston."
526 12th line, for "conduct" read "cause."
529 Insert as a note to the passage ending "red coats," in 5th line from bottom; "Brock's official report, quoted by Armstrong, i. 35."
530 Note †, for "in his evidence" read "in his defence."
543 Note ‡, for "72" read "372."
553 Under the head of 1816 should be inserted the admission of Indiana to the Union.

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